

Workers Party Platform-- Why Does Labor Need A Program of Action?

By Max Shachtman

(Editor's Note: This is the first in a series of several articles on the platform of the Workers Party, which the party "recommends . . . for adoption as the fighting program of the trade union movement and of the national Independent Labor Party which it must form.")

The number of workers organized into the CIO, AFL, the United Mine Workers, the Railroad Brotherhoods and other independent unions has reached the figure of about 13,000,000 men and women.

LABOR'S ORGANIZED POWER

This makes the organized labor movement numerically more powerful than it has ever been in the history of the United States or any other country. At its highest point during and right after the First World War, the American Federation of Labor did not have half that number of workers in its ranks. **Thirteen million is a figure barely surpassed by the totals of the organized labor movement of England, France, Belgium, Germany and Italy taken together at any one time.**

The mere figures do not convey the full significance of the labor movement in this country. A clearer idea may be obtained by comparing it with the labor movement as it was during World War I. At that time, organized labor was constituted primarily and mainly by the "aristocracy of labor" and except for isolated cases like the mining and railroad transportation industries it did not cover the basic, mass production, key industries of the country.

Now, with the rise of the CIO and with the fact that even the AFL has been jolted out of its old preoccupation with skilled workers only, the organized labor movement embraces the bulk of the workers in the large, basic industries—iron and steel, mining, railroad and maritime transportation, auto and aircraft, textile and clothing, rubber, packinghouse, shipbuilding, etc., etc. **Even though there is a long way to go before complete unionization is achieved, the heart of the working class is already in the labor movement.**

This labor movement is the most powerful social force in the land, the most democratic, the most representative. It has the might to organize and lead the nation in the great crisis in which it finds itself and in the even greater

crisis that lies ahead. It has within it all the necessary ability for performing this task, once it becomes aware of the part it must play in society today, and organizes itself accordingly.

What is this crisis? What is the greater crisis to come? In essence, put in the simplest terms, it expresses the inability of the capitalist class, or of any government that serves it, to organize society so as to guarantee the security and welfare of the masses of the people.

NATURE OF CAPITALIST FAILURE

Strip the history of recent times of all its secondary, accidental, superficial and temporary features, and the fundamental nature of the crisis stands out in such stark clarity that no amount of argument can obscure it:

In the period of crisis and depression following 1929, the best efforts of capitalism failed to put the tremendous productive capacity of the United States into full operation in order to maintain and enrich the life of its 130,000,000 people. Capitalism could not be made to work for building up society and sustaining life. Then came the war. Capitalism came to life again. The productive powers of the United States astonished the entire world. Now capitalism proved that it could be made "to work"—but only for destroying society and destroying life.

No more crushing indictment could be made of a social system. When the cry went up, "**People must be kept alive!**" the system did not and could not respond. Then, when the cry was changed to "**People must be killed, and killed by the millions, and their homes and lands demolished,**" the system promptly responded with a loud "**Present!**"

The greater crisis to come consists in this: **The post-war period, the "peace" period, offers no assurance that there will be any more security of work and life, any higher standard of living, than prevailed before the war. All sorts of vague promises are made. All sorts of plans are worked out. Some of them are even impressive. But none of them answers the decisive questions: HOW will it be carried out? WHO will carry it out?**

THE CRISIS WILL DEEPEN

Why will the post-war period bring an even greater crisis?

A number of factors will contribute to bringing it.

(Continued on page 4)

LABOR ACTION

APRIL 17, 1944

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR



ONE CENT

FDR DEAF TO WAGE CLAIM OF CIO-AFL!

By WALTER WEISS

The Little Steel formula was demolished, absolutely demolished, by Philip Murray and his aides before a War Labor Board panel assigned to hear the demands of the United Steel Workers Union. LABOR ACTION has already published details.

Then a whole host of AFL officials began demolishing it all over again before a special panel designated to hear complaints of any and all AFL unions against the formula.

The CIO and AFL had a long and bitter quarrel in the secret chambers of the WLB, we have read, because neither wanted the other to have the sole prestige of breaking this formula, which all workers have come to hate so much. The WLB was generous and gave each of them a nice little panel.

Both CIO and AFL produced statistics, charts, graphs and arguments of the highest eloquence. Both proved beyond the possibility of question the utter injustice of the so-called stabilization program.

So "impressed" was President Roosevelt by these displays of scholarship that on April 7, after having previously refused flatly to discuss the subject with union leaders, he gleefully told a press conference that his hold-the-line order was—on its first birthday, a tremendous—practically a perfect—success.

He made public with a flourish a report by the four top administrators of the program—Stabilization Director Vinson, WLB Chairman Davis, War Food Administrator Jones and Price Administrator Bowles—to the effect that all groups had benefitted by price control and wage freezing. The capitalists have the highest profits in history, the farmers the highest net incomes, and the workers the highest average weekly earnings.

These gentlemen admit in their report that there have been occasional "voices" raised against the hold-the-line program but find that "those voices have become fewer and have been heard less frequently." The policy is now "approved by the overwhelming mass of the American people."

Imagine that! It comes immediately after both the CIO and AFL have fired all their big guns against the wage stabilization policy. These labor organizations represent no less than thirteen million American workers and their families. Yet Roosevelt's top administrators can hardly even hear their united protest!

Lewis and his mine workers made themselves heard. The railroad workers made themselves heard. How come? It has been clear, all too clear, these many months. The mine workers didn't stop at words. The rail workers used words which indicated that they would soon stop using just words!

Murray and Green, on the other hand, keep renewing the no-strike pledge on every possible occasion, undoubtedly even in their sleep. So Vinson, Davis, Bowles and Jones aren't haunted by "voices" any more.

Roosevelt doesn't hear voices either. He told reporters that "the subject covered by the report had been soft-pedaled and very quiet for the last few months." Quiet? Didn't Murray raise his voice and point his finger dramatically many times during the panel hearings? Didn't Murray demand that the hearings be held in Washington instead of Pittsburgh, so that the President and everybody else could hear the famous Murray voice against a better "sounding-board"?

All the same, when Roosevelt said quiet, he meant QUIET. In other words, there are no big strikes, and plenty of sacred promises that there would be none. Nor are these just promises, for the top labor leaders have taken the harshest kind of disciplinary action—including some raw frame-ups—against rank-and-file fighters and minor leaders who have tried to defend their unions against company attacks by means of local "unauthorized stoppages."

Reporters, accustomed like Murray and Green to dealing in words, were a little surprised to hear that the situation was so quiet, and asked Roosevelt whether he wasn't giving an answer to the demands of organized labor. No, he said, the report of his administrators was "merely a statement of fact." A radio newscaster quoted the President as saying further that figures like these didn't lie—MEANING THAT ALL THE UNION STATISTICS DO LIE, SO FAR AS ROOSEVELT IS CONCERNED.

What plans has the Administration for the future? The Roosevelt mouthpieces say in their report: "We must not jeopardize these gains by any change in policy or relaxation of effort in the critical months ahead. . . . Obviously, too, we should cling to the policies and machinery which have served us so effectively thus far."

Workers can't say the same. WE have to get rid of the policies that have served THEM so effectively. Off the War Labor Board! Away with the no-strike pledge! Then what we say about the Little Steel formula will be heard—even by Vinson, Davis, Bowles and Jones—even by Roosevelt himself. Such action will provide a cure for deafness that will make history.

Shoes and Capitalist Profits

On April 3 the War Production Board announced the unwelcome news that there will be even less leather for civilian use in 1944 than up to now. The estimated cut in manufacture of civilian shoes is 46,000,000 pairs, amounting to nearly a thirteen per cent decrease.

The WPB "helplessly" advises civilians of the importance of having "all durable, wearable shoes" repaired. As if we are not doing just that now!

But from the same source and at loggerheads with this advice comes the additional bit of news that the supply of half soles for civilian repairs is also to be cut by 15,000,000, or ten per cent. The WPB engages in practical jokes!

Furthermore, neither from the WPB nor the OPA nor any other sources has come a whisper about reducing the prices for repairing shoes. The fact is that the cost for fixing shoes these days is almost as much as the cost of new shoes used to be. Compared to \$1.25 and \$1.50 formerly charged for soles and heels, today such repairs amount to \$2.50 up.

An insufficient supply of hides, due to military requirements, can account for the shortage of leather, but not for the unreasonable prices of both repairs and new shoes.

The above is only the introduction to our main story—the announcement by the WPB of an additional cut in leather for civilian use is a peg on which we are going to hang another profit-grubbing scandal. It's as smelly as all the other scandalous examples of dollar-a-year men running government bureaus in the interest of their companies.

Who do you suppose is at the head of the leather and shoe department of the WPB which just made this announcement about the cut in civilian leather? Yes, sir! A typical dollar-a-year pay-trioler! His name is Lawrence B. Sheppard. HE IS PRESIDENT OF THE HANOVER SHOE CO., A WELL KNOWN OUTFIT.

It is, therefore, no accident that Mr. Sheppard, president of the Hanover Shoe Co., is blocking the way to adopting a very simple process WHICH WOULD MAKE SHOE SOLES LAST TWENTY-FIVE TO FIFTY PER CENT LONGER.

With the shortage of leather so distressing, Mr. Sheppard, as head of the leather and shoe department of the WPB, should sing hosannas of thanks for a process to make leather last longer. But—

Mr. Sheppard, president of the Hanover Shoe Co., doesn't like the idea of making shoes last longer—BE-

CAUSE HE AND HIS COMPANY ARE IN BUSINESS TO SELL MORE SHOES, NOT LESS.

Why did Mr. Sheppard and his dollar-a-year brother business men get into the WPB and the other government bureaus if not to be right on hand in case someone forgot the spirit of "private—and free—enterprise" and wanted to do something for the public good?

Testimony on the simple process by which leather can be made more durable was given before the Kilgore Senate Committee. Experts from the OPA and the Bureau of Standards declared that treating the soles of shoes with oil or wax would undoubtedly extend their life by twenty-five to fifty per cent.

The process is so simple that it would cost FROM TWO TO THREE CENTS FOR A PAIR OF SHOES. It consists merely in dipping the soles in an oil or wax bath for fifteen to twenty minutes, and then allowing them to dry. The equipment necessary for this treatment is of the most inexpensive type.

But the shoe industry refuses to adopt this process. IT DOESN'T WANT SHOES TO LAST LONGER!

Mr. Sheppard, in his strategic position as head of the leather and shoe department of the WPB, protects the profits of the shoe industry and of his own Hanover Shoe Co. and blocks all efforts within the WPB to order the shoe industry to use this simple process.

At the hearing before the Kilgore Committee he lamely offered alibis about there being "no clearly discernible" consumer demand for shoes submitted to this process. According to Mr. Sheppard, consumers prefer shoes that don't last!

Specialists declare that shoe soles on the market are "well-nigh worthless," because of the very inferior leather now being used for civilian wear. It would certainly be a good thing at least to give a little more durability to this stuff. Combining the deterioration in leather with the skyrocketing of prices, we get an increase of forty-two per cent in the cost of shoes.

But Mr. Sheppard sits tight in his dollar-a-year job, preventing the use of the oil and wax treatment to extend the wear of shoes.

When will the patience of the working people be exhausted? When will they start using their economic and political might to oust these capitalist vultures and to replace the capitalist government run for and by them, by a workers' government!

Lord Londonderry of THE Londonderrys

Typical British Mine Owner

By MIKE STEVENS

The leaders of the British Trotskyists, who were attacked by the Churchill government for allegedly being responsible for the recent miners' strikes, have replied that the attacks are intended to cover up the real causes of the strikes and to halt the demand for nationalization of the mines.

The attacks on the Trotskyists and the miners by the Churchill government and the insinuations by the authorities that they are "aiding" Hitler are especially impudent, in view of the infamous industrial and political record of the land and mine owners, who constitute the stoutest pillars of the Churchill government. The record of a typical one of these speaks for itself.

The Londonderry Family

Lord Londonderry is chairman of the Londonderry collieries. His coal mines are located on estates GIVEN to his ancestors by various kings of England from James I onward. Throughout the years, the Londonderry family, along with the rest of its class, has used every means possible to keep the working class in poverty and subjection. In the famous coal strike of 1844 the Lord Londonderry of that day evicted the miners from their homes and brought in workers from his estates in Ireland to scab. He tried to starve the workers into returning to work by forcing the store-keepers to stop giving the miners any credit.

Another early Lord Londonderry was mobbed and dragged off his horse by the aroused workers, and at his funeral crowds gathered outside of Westminster Abbey to cheer.

Lord Londonderry of Today

The present Lord Londonderry at a coal commission hearing testified that he owned 5,808 acres of mineral bearing property in Durham County. He owned all the shares (except four, valued at \$1,600) in the Londonderry collieries. The land that the coal mines are located on was rented by Lord Londonderry to his company at a rental of four and a half pence per ton. The Londonderry family milked the treasury of the company by being the high-salaried top executives in it and by charging rent on each

ton of coal. They then also collect dividends as owners of the company.

In addition, during the past twenty-five years, the collieries have been getting from the government, subsidies, re-examinations and tax rebates amounting to millions of dollars.

The same Lord Londonderry in 1938 wrote a book called "Ourselves and Germany," devoted to enthusiastic praise of fascism. Hitler thought so well of the book he had an authorized translation printed and distributed throughout Germany. On the inside cover of the book it is explained that "This book . . . is the clearest exposition so far of the rapprochement with Nazi Germany and a plea for a more sympathetic understanding of Herr Hitler's point of view. Few men have played such an important part in our diplomatic relations with Germany as Lord Londonderry. During his frequent visits abroad he has spent considerable time with Hitler, Goering, von Neurath and Ribbentrop."

At that time, Lord Londonderry was a member of the fascist-inspired Anglo-German Fellowship and wrote articles defending and praising Hitler. His wife and son were both active in organizations that openly supported and aided Franco during the Spanish civil war.

That is the record of Lord Londonderry, a holder of many important governmental posts and in 1937 chairman of the Conservative Party, Churchill's organization.

It is in the name and interest of a scoundrel like this that the Tory government has the gall to speak of the coal miners, who recoil at the very mention of Hitler, as "helping" that fascist murderer.

Nationalization an Old Demand

In calling for the nationalization of the mines, the Trotskyists have only picked up the old demand of the miners themselves. With a government backed up by the Lord Londonderrys, it is no wonder that Churchill & Co. shudder at the mere

thought of nationalization of the mines belonging to the industrial masters and, instead, turn their attacks on workers who are desperately fighting for a half-decent standard of living.

Revolutionary socialists and staunch anti-fascists like our comrades in England are raided and imprisoned by Churchill's cops, while dirty fascists like Lord Londonderry remain free to soak up profits.



NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Labor Fights Union-Busting Laws

By SUSAN GREEN

While the eyes of all of us are focused on national and international affairs centered in Washington, our information as to what transpires in the capitals of the states of these United States is none too plentiful.

Our attention was sharply called to the fact that state legislatures exist and function—for good or bad—by the recent adoption by the House of Representatives of the State of South Carolina, of a Hitler-model race-supremacy resolution—though it would be more accurate to say that the South Carolina brand of race-supremacy existed before Hitler's model.

In this resolution that reads like a product of the Dark Ages, these poll-tax "representatives of the people of the state" reaffirmed "our belief in and our allegiance to established white supremacy as now prevailing in the South, and we solemnly pledge our lives and our sacred honor to maintaining it, whatever the cost, in war and in peace."

We know what this language means in actual practice—intimidation, brow-beating, KKK violence, lynching. And the resolution warns "the damned agitators of the North" to leave "the South alone" in the enforcement of "race supremacy."

What else is going on in the sovereign states of the Union while "democracy" is being made safe on the battlefields of the globe?

Laws to Break Unions.
In the state of Arkansas the Christian American Association—a fascistic, KKK type of organization subsidized by anti-union employers—is engaged in a vicious campaign to break the unions in that state. They maintain a powerful legislative lobby. Combining with that a petition campaign, they hope to have passed a so-called "freedom to work" amendment to the Constitution. The

amendment aims to abolish the closed shop.

The lying propaganda carried on by the CAA is to fool people into believing that the amendment will "guarantee these fighting sons and daughters of yours and ours an equal opportunity to earn when they return—the right to work, regardless of membership in some labor union...."

The unions of Arkansas have organized to resist the passage of this boss-supported amendment. Its passage would mean that both workers and returning soldiers would be without the indispensable protection of the unions and at the complete mercy of the capitalists. The Arkansas Voters League has been organized to defeat the proposition.

In Alabama, the Bradford law was recently passed, requiring all of the local unions to file with the state, union by-laws, names and salaries of officers, union receipts and expenditures. This is equivalent to giving the employers detailed information on all union affairs. The fact that the law was passed during a series of coal strikes indicates its strike-breaking purpose.

Four hundred of the five hundred AFL locals in Alabama have served notice of non-compliance with the law, which they designate as "a labor baiting law designed to destroy labor unions in Alabama." The law provides the penalty of jailing leaders and stopping the collection of dues if the unions fail to file reports. The latter could easily be accomplished by ordering accommodating employers to halt the check-off.

The same Christian American Association—which is neither Christian nor American but just pro-capitalist—was the force behind this Alabama law. W. O. Hare, executive secretary of the State Federation of Labor, defiantly says: "It would be

worth a couple of years in jail to win out in this fight."

More of the Same.
In the state of Mississippi the Legislature is considering a law to outlaw the union shop and to prohibit referral of men to jobs through unions, thus giving the employers unrestricted rights of exploitation of labor in that state.

In the state of Washington a labor-baiting organization with the innocuous name "Citizens Committee for Industrial Peace," is—like the Christian American Association—carrying on a petition campaign. The petition is for a referendum on a law prohibiting "closed shop" agreements, curbing picketing and giving the employers the right to dictate union internal affairs through their politicians.

Powers Behind Politics.
It is important to note that the "Citizens Committee for Industrial Peace" is a front organization for the notorious "Associated Farmers"—the organization of big business farmers that has won itself a reputation for unequalled ruthlessness in fighting labor in the West. Also noteworthy is the fact that Vance Muse, leader of the Christian American Association, was formerly secretary-treasurer of "American Taxpayers Association," financed by du Ponts, Mellons, Insull and others, for carrying on lobbies to reduce income taxes on the rich. John Henry Kirby, an oiler backer of the CAA, is a millionaire lumberman, in whose edifice, the Kirby Building, the CAA is housed.

These are the forces labor is pitted against. Labor is putting up a legal fight at present in at least half a dozen states, contesting the constitutionality of anti-labor laws already on the books. Among the states are Colorado, Texas and Florida. In most cases the enforcement of the law is

held in abeyance until the decision of the case. However, in sunny Florida, the attorney general is in a hurry and is trying to compel union organizers to register with the state and unions to open their books for inspection—even though a suit is pending on the question of constitutionality.

The Virginia bourbons, not content with poll-tax control of politics are backing legislation requiring any person coming into the state after January 1, 1945, "who desires to gain residence as to right of suffrage," to file a declaration of intention to vote **ONE FULL YEAR BEFORE HE WILL BE ALLOWED TO EXERCISE THIS RIGHT.** This, plainly, is another method of disfranchising the common people.

Here's the Point.
It is no accident that the anti-labor and reactionary legislation reported above is in poll-tax states, i.e., Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, South Carolina, Texas and Virginia—though the battle against labor and progress is not confined to these states, as witness the state of Washington.

Free franchise must, of course, be given to all the black and white population of the nation, in every state of the Union, to break the power of the poll-taxers. Labor is vigorously supporting the anti-poll-tax bill which is due soon in Congress. What will happen, however, if the Southern bloc stages another filibuster?

The cardinal point brought out by the die-hard fight against labor and progress both in Washington and in the state capitals, is as clear as crystal. The political machinery of the country is rotten to the core. It is becoming infected with the poison of capitalist-KKK-fascist combines. The gangrene is impartial to both the Democratic and Republican parties.

What is plainer than that labor needs above all else its own class political party? What is more necessary than to have as candidates of such a party well known and reliable union men and women to sit in the places of government, instead of the elements now in control?

To Win Union Democracy Anti-Dalrymple Forces Need Organization and Progressive Program

By BILL FORD

AKRON, Apr. 9.—Details of the expulsion of Dictator Sherman H. Dalrymple, international president of the United Rubber Workers of America, from his own local union, Goodrich Local No. 5, have now been made public.

In reply, Dalrymple has again taken to his high horse and demanded of his stooges on the international URWA executive board that they "review and set aside the illegal action taken" by his former fellow workers of Local 5. This demand by Dalrymple is fully in line with all his previous actions since he bureaucratically expelled sixty-nine members of URWA Local 9 in January—that is, Dalrymple continues to flout the constitution which he has sworn to uphold.

He states that he has no intention of filing an appeal against his own local's action, in accordance with the URWA constitution, because it has no control whatsoever over him, since he is an international officer. Goodrich Local's stand is that Dalrymple has always enjoyed until now all the rights and privileges of a member of that local, and that he was tried on that basis. In addition, the local refused to accept further dues from him when he attempted to pay them last week.

Basis for Expulsion.
Goodrich Local's membership voted overwhelmingly to expel Dalrymple at its last regular meeting, following a report of its trial board which was set up after charges against the dictator were filed on February 7. Expulsion from the local is based on Article IX of the union constitution for the following offense: "Advocating or attempting to bring about a withdrawal from the United Rubber Workers of America of any local union or of any member or group of members. Penalty for conviction under this sub-section shall be expulsion."

Dalrymple was held guilty, on nine separate counts, of violating the constitution when he expelled the sixty-nine General Tire Local 9 members.

Fines of \$25 were placed against him on some counts; on others suspension, in addition to the penalty of expulsion.

News of Goodrich Local's action in turning the tables on the dictator has stirred the whole Akron labor movement, which has been clamoring for action against Dalrymple ever since it became clear that he had entered into a conspiracy with General Tire & Rubber Co. to expel illegally the militant band builders at General, and get them fired.

Dalrymple's branding of HIS OWN expulsion from Local 5 as "wholly irregular, illegal, unconstitutional and void" is such a mockery that it is a subject of wide and bitter ridicule by the rank and file in the rubber shops. Most of the comment of the rubber unionists runs something like this: "He's just BEGINNING to get a taste of his own medicine."

There is little doubt but that the international executive board of the URWA, which has been a partner in all of Dalrymple's union-wrecking crimes, will reinstate him in Goodrich Local. The Buckmaster-Burns-Kremlin clique at the top of the URWA doesn't have any intention of letting its "leader" down in the face of the rank and file's wrath. And it won't be bothered by any other "small constitutional violation" it may engage in either, namely, that Dalrymple himself has not complied with the constitutional provision that he must make an appeal within five days.

Ranks Must Go Further.
Now that the progressive forces in the URWA have found that they can act effectively against their "Westbrook Pegler type" of leadership, there's not the slightest reason why they cannot continue further and drive it completely out of power in the international. This is what the Dalrymple and Joe Stalin forces in the union fear thoroughly. These re-

actionary forces have already shown that few measures are too low and mean for them to adopt against the desire of the ranks for a real fighting, democratic organization.

A first big test of the present strength on both sides will come up in all probability at the District 1 convention in Erie, Pa., in the coming week. There the top officialdom will doubtless attempt to put over resolutions "congratulating" Dalrymple for his strike-breaking, union-busting policy of expelling the best militant elements. If so, these bureaucrats will run up against opposition the likes of which they have not previously faced in their careers, judging from the mood of the Akron workers. District 1 is the largest and most militant of the URWA regional units, comprising the Ohio-Michigan-New York area.

Organization of the progressive elements on a national scale, on a definite program, is the crying need of the anti-Dalrymple forces if they expect victory in their present struggles. Dalrymple has made it clear throughout all his moves that he bases his dictatorial power on what he believes to be the rubber workers' sentiment in favor of the no-strike pledge. At the last convention of the international in Toronto last fall, the anti-Dalrymple workers blundered fatally when they allowed themselves to be cowed into silence on this question on the floor.

Consequently, Dalrymple actually thinks that the majority of the URWA membership favors this sell-out pledge. Such is obviously not the true situation, however, when one considers the mounting series of sit-downs engaged in by the men in the shops. Unless the progressives clearly take their stand against the no-strike pledge and expose how Dalrymple intends to use it to throw out all militant workers fighting the companies, they cannot hope to receive full support from the ranks.

"A Friend of Labor"

By BEN HALL

DETROIT—Whose friends are the "friends of labor" congressmen?

Labor folks to the polls on election day to vote for these gentlemen, and after the voting is over pray that these same "friends" will refrain from passing anti-labor legislation.

But labor's prayers are seldom answered. And sometimes these "friends of labor" end up as corporation executives.

Such a "friend of labor" was former U. S. Senator from the State of Michigan, Prentiss M. Brown, Democrat.

Brown ran for re-election in 1942 as a "friend of labor" with the support of the same CIO leaders who today boss the Political Action Committee of the CIO. But thousands of working class voters couldn't get very enthusiastic about Prentiss. They remained away from the polls in such numbers that Brown went down to defeat.

But a "friend of labor" need not remain idle for long. He has too many valuable services to perform for the "peepul." Another "friend of labor," Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed Brown to watch over the interests of the common man as director of the OPA.

When Brown lost his job as OPA head he was again for hire. Working men who supported Brown in the last election will be happy to learn that he is no longer unem-

ployed, and will be able to continue to earn an independent living for his family.

But will they be equally happy to learn that Brown has left his trade of "friend of labor"? He has just taken over the post of chairman of the board of the Detroit Edison Co. This time Brown was not the candidate of the CIO. HE WAS THE CHOICE OF THE AMERICAN LIGHT & TRACTION CO!

The A. L. & T. Co. is a holding company which owns 20.2 per cent of the stock of the Detroit Edison Co. It was ordered by the Securities and Exchange Commission to sell its 1,298,505 shares within the next two years. Before this deadline it wants to fulfill two aims:

- 1) To raise the market value of its stock.
- 2) To retain a degree of control over Detroit Edison.

His candidate for this job? Labor's "friend," Prentiss M. Brown!

Who was fooled? Were CIO and AFL members tricked into voting for a corporation stooge, or was the American Light & Traction Co. tricked into voting for a "friend of labor"? In matters involving hard cash, corporation executives usually display amazing wisdom.

Enough of these "friends of labor"! All out for independent labor candidates with no ties to the Democratic and Republican Parties of big business!

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

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

- LABOR MUST DEFEND ITSELF NOW!**
1. For the defense of all democratic rights! Against wartime dictatorship measures! Abolish wage-freezing and job-freezing!
 2. Restore full and unrestricted collective bargaining rights of the unions! Rescind the no-strike pledge! Repeal the Smith-Connally anti-strike law!
 3. A higher, not a lower, standard of living! For a \$1.00-an-hour minimum wage law, with time and a half for overtime, double time for Sunday and holiday work, and equal pay for equal work for all industrial and agricultural workers! An "escalator clause" in all wage contracts, hitching wages to the rising cost of living, plus a margin for comforts—a "cost-plus" wage!
 4. No tax on wages and no sales tax on consumers' goods! Abolish all taxes on annual incomes of \$5,000 or less!
 5. Down with control of rationing and price-fixing by the monopolists and the government bureaucrats! For democratic control of rationing and price-fixing by joint committees of working class organizations, farmers' organizations, cooperatives and consumers' organizations and housewives' leagues.
 6. No government contract to plants without a union contract.
 7. Maintain and increase all government social services and establish adequate federal medical service, health and accident insurance, old-age pensions, child care, protection for the unemployed!
- SOAK THE RICH—LET THEM PAY FOR THEIR WAR!**
8. Expropriate the "Sixty Families"—the plutocratic three per cent of the population who own ninety-six per cent of the national wealth!
 9. A one hundred per cent tax on all war profits above a five per cent maximum on invested capital! Immediate renegotiation of all war contracts to cut the fabulous profits to this level!
 10. A \$25,000 ceiling on total individual incomes!
 11. A graduated capital levy on all accumulated wealth over \$50,000 to cover war costs and provide post-war security for labor!
- PREPARE NOW TO WIN POST-WAR JOB SECURITY AND PLENTY**
12. Government planning to guarantee the highest national production and income, a year-around job and a minimum annual wage to all, and a rising standard of living!
 13. Conscript all war industries! Nationalize the banks, big industrial monopolies and transportation systems. No handing over of government-built and owned plants and facilities to private ownership!
 14. For a two hundred and fifty billion dollar five year program to provide decent housing for all, extensive public works, rural electrification and modernization!
 15. For a guaranteed \$5,000 annual income to all workers' families, made possible by a planned rise in the total national income and a thirty-hour maximum work-week.
- DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS TO THE DRAFTEES**
16. The right of free speech, free press and free assembly for the men and women in the armed forces! The unrestricted right of the armed forces to vote in all elections and participate in all political campaigns!
 17. For doubling present dependency allowances paid by the government with no deductions from the serviceman's pay!

18. For a two years' base pay grant to all demobilized veterans, with option of trade school and higher education facilities at government expense, and guarantee of decent jobs!
- DOWN WITH JIM CROW AND ANTI-SEMITISM**
19. All discrimination against Negroes, Jews or other minorities in the armed forces or by employers in industry must be made a criminal offense!
 20. For complete political, social and economic equality for Negroes!
 21. For lifting all immigration barriers against Jewish and other victims of fascist terror! For government aid in rescuing and transporting these victims to safety!
- PROTECT THE FARMER**
22. Adequate government provision of land, technical aid, machinery and supplies to all small farmers! Cancellation of all small farmers' debts to government and banks!
 23. Nationalize all absentee-owned farm lands. Abolish tenancy and sharecropping by turning over the land to those who till it.
- PROTECT THE YOUTH**
24. Adequate government provision for free education of all youth, including trade schools and universities! The right of all youth, male and female, to vote at the age of eighteen! Government-maintained nurseries for the children of working mothers.
- AGAINST REACTION—FOR A LABOR PARTY AND A WORKERS' GOVERNMENT**
25. For Union Defense Guards, trained and controlled by the unions, to defend labor, the Negroes, Jews and all racial minorities from native fascists, Jim Crow rioters, anti-Semites, Klansmen, Silver Shirts and other capitalist tools!
 26. For a break with bankrupt and reactionary capitalist politics and politicians and complete independence of labor from them! No political support to the Roosevelt government! For a party that is labor's own, an Independent Labor Party, based on the unions and controlled by them!
 27. For a workers' government to organize the country for freedom, security, peace and plenty for the masses of the people!
 28. Operate all big industry for the welfare of the plain people, with workers' control of production through the unions and plant committees!
 29. Democratic control of the distribution and price-fixing of consumers' goods by the labor unions, farmers, consumers' and cooperative organizations.
- FOR A DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S PEACE AND A WORKERS' WORLD**
30. For an end to the war and fascism by a democratic people's peace, without annexations, indemnities, tribute, or the dismemberment and oppression of sovereign nations and peoples!
 31. For complete, immediate national independence to all colonial or semi-colonial peoples! Against all old or new annexations, or depriving nations of their sovereignty and independence, by American, British, Russian, German or Japanese imperialism!
 32. For a Socialist United States of Europe and a World Socialist Federation! A socialist world will destroy capitalist imperialism, recurrent wars, fascist barbarism, oppression and exploitation, and establish a new order of freedom, plenty, peace and security, and world brotherhood!

WORLD EVENTS

- By Europacus
- Belgian Miners Do Not Fear Fascist Threats**
- Recently we reported on the strike wave in France and the resistances of French workers during the last year. But the new militancy of the working class is in no way limited to France. Here is an excerpt from a Belgian underground paper explaining the reasons for the strikes which recently occurred in the mine districts:
- "The miners know that terrorism is one of Hitler's weapons, and feeling their claims as equal to those of officials in public services and workers in various industries, the miners began a strike for a bonus of 2,000 francs.... The miners are demanding a sum of 2,000 francs, not second-hand clothes like those which certain colliery owners were not ashamed to offer for sale to their workers, after the decision by the management of this mine to pay a bonus of 750 francs in three install-
- ments. The miners do not want charity, nor will they be satisfied with rags. They will not hesitate to go on strike if other methods fail."
- Workers in Nazi-occupied Europe are doubly oppressed. In addition to their own bosses, they have to fight the Nazi overlords. But this novel situation in no way generates—as some prophets of the new nationalism want to make us believe—a happy union of all classes from bosses to workers against the Nazis. The class struggle goes on and if the workers want concessions from the native bosses they have to threaten to strike or actually strike in order to win their demands. It is only through direct action that the workers of Nazi-dominated Europe can win their demands. In this respect there is no essential difference between their methods of fighting and those in England or in this country.
- Germany: A Small Revealing Incident**
- Many foreign workers returning from Germany have reported that their reception by German fellow workers was at first extremely cold. The German workers believed that the foreigner had come to Germany voluntarily and that he thus only helped to prolong the war. Only after long contact did German workers and foreigners realize their common interests, and a fraternity developed.
- A recent example is the report of a Belgian worker that all the photographers in the little German city where he was employed refused to take his picture. He related this fact to his landlady, who went with him to the photographers in order to explain that the Belgian was really in Germany against his will. Then the photographers finally consented to take his picture.
- Stalinists Angle for Power**
- According to a UP dispatch of March 30, the Stalinist party leader, Ercoli (Tagliatti), freshly arrived in Naples from Moscow, is now conducting negotiations about the entering of one or two Stalinists into the Badoglio government. It is suggested that Ercoli will be offered the post of Labor Minister. In the meantime, the Italian CP has already announced that it has temporarily abandoned its opposition to the "moronic little King" and Badoglio.
- It was officially reported from Algiers that negotiations between de Gaulle and the French Stalinist party about the entering of the latter into the de Gaulle Committee were consummated and that the Stalinists joined the Algiers government....
- There were days when news like this would have aroused our hot indignation—now we have become used to these treacheries on the part of Moscow's lackeys. After all, there is no essential difference between Earl Browder offering his services to the National Association of Manufacturers and Ercoli offering his to the butcher of Abyssinia.
- Freda Kirchwey, liberal bigwig,

17c Versus \$17,000

Emil Schram, president of the New York Stock Exchange, with a salary of \$48,000, is due for a raise. The government has already approved it as in no way interfering with the stabilization program and not at all likely to bring inflation. The raise to go into effect is \$17,000, bringing the "just reward" of Mr. Schram up to \$65,000 per annum in salary alone.

The steel workers, be it remembered, are asking for a wage increase of seventeen cents an hour—and are still asking.

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Portrait of a Government Official - - Showing Powers That Pull the Puppet Strings

Until recently, Leo T. Crowley had three government jobs, namely: chairman of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, Alien Property Custodian, and Foreign Economic Administrator. The two last are the more important jobs, though they seem to be of the dollar-a-year variety. The first job pays him \$10,000.

A scandal broke over Crowley's head not long ago relating to I. G. Farben's American subsidiary, General Aniline & Film. Although General Aniline & Film was declared enemy-owned property more than two years ago, Alien Property Custodian Crowley—under whose jurisdiction it was—did nothing to insure that it won't go back to the I. G. Farben German interests.

So the President relieved Crowley of his duties as Alien Property Custodian—ostensibly so that he can devote his time to the job of Foreign Economic Administrator. This is indeed a very important one, for the Foreign Economic Administration is the office where every agency of the government dealing with foreign matters, ties in. That includes the Board of Economic Warfare, lend-lease and the Office of Foreign Economic Operations of the State Department.

Who is Leo T. Crowley, in whose hands is the control of such important government business?

I. F. Stone, who wrote up Crowley for PM, said of him: "... in Washington today you can find few people who think Crowley a good administrator. The FEA

is a badly disorganized and demoralized agency; many of its key officials have resigned in dissatisfaction since Crowley took over."

So Crowley isn't anything to write home about as an administrator; yet he held three administrative jobs, and now holds two.

What, then, has Crowley to recommend him?

Formerly a small-town banker and business man, in December, 1939, he was appointed chairman and president of Standard Gas & Electric Co., one of the most powerful public utility holding companies in the country. He is today—besides being administrator of two government agencies—the head of this large company at a salary of \$75,000 per annum. This salary represents a fifty per cent raise since he took the job in December, 1939, even though he is devoting his time as a government official. Apparently he well serves his private employers—in his government job.

Well, then, who are his employers?

The first name to be here listed is Victor Emanuel. Mr. Emanuel is president of Standard Light & Power, which dominates the whole chain of Standard Power-Standard Gas companies. As president of the controlling company, Mr. Emanuel is Mr. Crowley's real boss.

The plot thickens as we proceed to investigate the banking powers behind Mr. Emanuel and his industrial interests, of which we shall learn more a little later.

The Schroder banking firms of London and New York give Mr. Emanuel and his companies financial support. Before Pearl Harbor, these banking firms were very helpful to German financial interests. Also, they were themselves involved in two German cartels, according to Mr. Stone, writing in PM. Finally, Henry Schroder & Co. of London was linked by ties of blood and business with powerful Nazi bankers in Hamburg and Cologne.

It is hardly a coincidence that Leo T. Crowley, who is obviously the puppet of the American financial and business interests closely connected with German industry and finance, should have been made Alien Property Custodian. The design is too clear. Nor is it surprising in view of his connections—that he did not press any action against General Aniline & Film, the subsidiary of I. G. Farben of Germany.

What Crowley proceeded to do when General Aniline & Film was placed in his hands as alien property, was to appoint a new board of directors. Among the new directors was his boss, Mr. Emanuel.

Big-Shot Emanuel is not only head of the Standard Light-Standard Gas combine. Throughout the capitalist system, big companies interlock through their financial backing and through their directorates. Thus Mr. Emanuel has for many years been a director of Republic Steel. Furthermore, with the financial backing of the Schroder concern, Eman-

uel has dominant interest in Aviation Corporation, which in turn owns American Propeller; majority control of New York Shipbuilding and American Central Manufacturing; and large interests in Consolidated-Vultee, American Airlines and Pan-American Airways. In fact, Aviation Corporation, of which Mr. Emanuel—Mr. Crowley's real boss—is president, is considered perhaps the largest holding company of war production interests in the country.

Here, then, is the portrait of an official of the capitalist government! He is the paid puppet of big business and big banking—whose tentacles of power reach into the same fleshpots as supply German business and finance.

Apparently, this was too raw a picture for the President to allow Crowley to remain as Alien Property Custodian. He was relieved of his duties.

But, be it remembered, his other job of Foreign Economic Administrator also places him in a key position regarding all foreign economic matters. From this point of vantage he can undoubtedly earn—for services rendered, but not to the public—the \$75,000 a year paid him by his boss, Mr. Emanuel, head of a great public utility chain and connected with a long list of big business concerns.

Thus is made portrait-clear what is the relation between the capitalist class and the capitalist government.

If it is the workers who are to be served, it will have to be by a workers' government.

The Antics of the Communist Party - - Browder Glad NAM Talks Like Him

By ALBERT GATES

When a PM interviewer told Earl Browder, high potentate of the American Communist Party, that he would get along well with the National Association of Manufacturers and added, "In large sections they sound almost word for word like you," he got the following reply from Stalin's representative:

"That's fine. I'm awfully glad to hear that. I'm not sorry when you say that leading members of the NAM talk like me. My report to the Plenum (of the Communist Party) was distributed to every delegate at the economic conference of the NAM, and I am told most of them read it through. I am very happy when I get news like that."

We are glad, too, to hear this from Browder, because he now says openly what he stands for. As a matter of fact, the practice of the Communist Party in this country has been, for a long time, in conformity with Browder's expression.

When the head of the NAM, Walter D. Fuller, notorious anti-labor big business leader, has praise for the Stalinists, expresses willingness to work with them, and appreciates their services, the real role of the Communist Party is thoroughly revealed. They have become the new stalking-horses of American big business and the most reactionary section of the capitalists to boot.

What is the origin of this latest quick-change act on the part of the Communist Party in this country? It is the change in Russian foreign policy of collaboration, this time with Anglo-American capitalism.

The American Communist Party, like its sister parties in other parts of the world, is not an independent organization, but a Russian agency whose policies always reflect the policies of the Russian Foreign Office. Its policies have never been stable since the Communist International ceased to be a revolutionary socialist organization. That was many years ago. Since Stalin's triumph in Russia, and whenever the foreign policy of that country required it, the Communist Party has made quick switches from one policy to another, without ever bothering to explain these changes to a bewildered and stupefied following until long afterward.

A LITTLE HISTORY

Starting in 1932, for example, when the economic crisis had reached its severest point, the American Stalinists campaigned against Roosevelt on the ground that he was a fascist. When they finally accepted the New Deal, Roosevelt overnight became the champion of democracy, freedom, security, prosperity and everything that was decent. Anyone who knows anything about the political history of this country during the past fifteen years, also knows that Roosevelt didn't change a bit. It was Browder's party which changed. Why?

Stalin's foreign policy had changed. The victory of Hitler, which he had helped to bring about, scared him and he turned away from the working class movement of the world to the "democratic" capitalist countries. This became known as the "Popular Front" period, in which the Communist Parties in all countries tried to form an alliance between labor and a section of the capitalists, not to advance the cause of labor, but to defend Stalin's regime in Rus-

sia and the profit system in the "democratic" capitalist countries. So, in this country, Roosevelt became the arch-democrat and the American Communists suddenly became his most outspoken supporters. It did not last very long, however.

Russia tried to form a "collective security" bloc against Hitler, Tojo and Mussolini. She was not overly successful because of the lingering suspicions which existed between her and the other powers, and the fact that the capitalist powers themselves were not too sure of their direction.

While the League of Nations proceeded to stab Ethiopia in the back during the Italian invasion, Russia protested the League's failure to apply sanctions against Mussolini. But at the same time Stalin supplied oil and other materials to the Italian armies, which permitted them to wage war against the almost defenseless Ethiopians. The American Communist Party supported Russia in these acts.

THE HITLER-STALIN HONEYMOON

At the same time that Russia was attempting to form a bloc of the "democratic" capitalist nations against the Axis, she was carrying on negotiations with the Nazis for the purpose of arriving at an agreement with them.

A few months before the war broke out, at a time when the English and French were negotiating with the representatives of the Russian army, Hitler and Stalin announced the signing of a pact. This pact paved the way for the opening of the present war.

The invasion of Poland by the German armies was followed by an invasion of the Russian armies. Hitler and Stalin then proceeded to divide the country according to pre-arranged plans. Russia also was given the Baltic states. Shortly thereafter she attacked Finland. This was to be her sphere of influence, while Western Europe was to be under Hitler.

In all these quick changes, the American Communist Party announced its full agreement with Stalin in all his actions. This was not without its humor, because at each successive turn by Stalin the American Stalinists were taken by complete surprise.

They denied that it was possible for Stalin to reach an agreement with Hitler. But no sooner was that said than the signing of the pact was announced.

They denied the invasion of Poland by Russia, but the very next day the invasion took place.

From that moment on, in the midst of the war between the Axis and England (France was knocked out of the war quickly), the propaganda of Russia, which became the propaganda of the American Communist Party, went as follows:

This is an imperialist war. Germany did not start the war—as a matter of fact, Hitler is completely blameless. The war was started by England. England is a bloody imperialist and no one should support her.

In America, the Communist Party opposed every war measure proposed by Roosevelt. It now turned on him in the same way it did in 1932, '33, '34. He was a war-monger, a reactionary, an enemy of the people. Fascism now became a matter of personal taste. The Stalinists fought conscription, lend-lease, war production and

the Roosevelt anti-German foreign policy, with vigor, but not in the interest of socialism and a socialist peace, but in the interest of the Hitler-Stalin pact!

THEN THE SWITCH CAME

When Hitler attacked Russia, the Communist Party made another quick change. The war was now a holy war; Great Britain was wonderful; Roosevelt was a genius and, next to Stalin, the greatest benefactor the people had ever known.

Now lend-lease was not enough, conscription was not enough, war production was not enough, the destroyer-bases exchange was not enough! Prepared or not, the United States must immediately declare war on Germany. Thus their only difference with Roosevelt was that he did not move fast enough—he still hesitated.

When Pearl Harbor took place, everything was just fine. America was now involved in the war. And this time, the American Stalinists really went to town.

They belabored the workers for not sacrificing enough. No hours were long enough to work. Wages must be forgotten about during the war. Suppose the capitalists were making the biggest profits in history out of the war and off the backs of the workers. That was all right, too. As a matter of fact, American labor should renege on the speed-up, incentive pay, rotten working conditions, and permit big business to destroy all the gains of the union movement after years of fierce and bloody struggle.

From the time that Russia got into the war until the present the Communist Party has become progressively more reactionary and more dangerous to the masses in this country. Its newly-acquired friendship for Roosevelt and American big business may become embarrassing to the representatives of American big capitalism, but it is downright dangerous to American labor. BECAUSE THE AMERICAN COMMUNISTS ARE INSIDE OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT, THEY ARE THE MOST DANGEROUS ENEMIES OF THE AMERICAN WORKERS, READY TO SELL THEM DOWN THE RIVER WITHOUT BLINKING AN EYE.

CP ANTI-LABOR POLICIES

They defend the infamous War Labor Board and the Little Steel formula at a time when the whole official labor movement is out for its scalp.

They are the most adamant supporters of the President's so-called seven-point stabilization program, when everyone now recognizes that it is really only a one-point program in which wages alone are stabilized.

They oppose any activity of the trade union movement which would lead to an improvement of the conditions of the workers, especially where these activities relate to wages.

They opposed the miners' fight for an improvement of their conditions.

They opposed the railroad unions' fight for a similar improvement of the conditions of railroad workers.

They fought against a progressive program in the automobile workers' union, as well as in the CIO and the AFL.

They have attempted to force the CIO to endorse a fourth term

for Roosevelt at a time when some leaders and many workers are thoroughly disgusted with him.

In a word, they have championed policies in the interest of Stalin which can bring nothing but harm to the overwhelming majority of the workers in this country.

All of these changes have taken place overnight, without explanation on the part of the Stalinist leaders, although the explanation is clear: If it suits Stalin, we must carry it through.

THE LATEST CHANGES

Only in the last few months new changes have taken place with great rapidity. To improve relations with his Allies, Stalin made the formal gesture of dissolving the Communist International. This does not mean that Stalin's international GPU will cease to function. On the contrary!

This announcement of the formal dissolution of the Comintern was followed by another declaring that "The International," the song of world labor, was no longer the official song of Russia. That decision has already been accepted by what is left of the Communist International outside of Russia.

And the most recent action was the announcement by Browder that the National Committee of his party had decided unanimously to dissolve the party into a "Communist Political Association" in the name of national unity. From now on the American Stalinists will operate in the existing political parties.

With great rapidity Browder has announced his support of capitalism, the two-party system, monopolies and cartels, a new world imperialism to be carried out jointly by the United States, Russia and England. His attacks are all leveled against the true socialists, the militants in the union movement, luke-warm, lip-service socialists, and even the poor liberals.

Browder denounces them for their criticisms of capitalism. Yet what is wrong with the liberals is not their criticisms of capitalism but their inability to understand that all the ills affecting the people are due to capitalism. Thus they hope to make a better world out of a system which cannot be reformed.

The liberals are not wrong in describing what is ugly, brutal and mischievous under capitalism. They are not wrong in describing the terrible exploitation which exists, the poverty, unemployment and war which occur with regularity under imperialism. They are wrong in not understanding that the only way to get rid of these things is by abolishing capitalism and replacing it with socialism.

When Browder says that imperialism and monopoly are natural under capitalism, he is right. But that does not mean that they have to be accepted. They are natural and good for the capitalists; they are bad for the people. A struggle against imperialism and monopoly is a fight in the interests of the masses of people. There's the difference!

We have seen an organization which was once socialist change into an organization which is now anti-socialist, anti-working class, anti-labor. Workers, beware of the Communist Party! It can only betray you! Unionists, beware of the representatives of the Communist Party and their fellow travelers! They can only ruin your splendid organizations, these new friends of the National Association of Manufacturers!

More Than Year Since Tresca Murder - - Case Still Unsolved Mystery - - Why?

Danton Walker, in his column in the New York Daily News, said on March 24: "The long-expected break on the Tresca murder case is just around the corner."

Walter Winchell, however, in his Daily Mirror column on March 20, had said this: "The murderer of Tresca is known, but the crime cannot be proved, they say, because of polite fumbling. The alleged guilty man was nabbed too soon and he won't blab."

Only two persons are known to

have been held by the police in this case at any time, both as "material witnesses." One was Carmine Galente, ex-convict, picked up as a suspect two days after the killing with the explanation that, two hours before Tresca was shot he was seen getting into a sedan found abandoned the same night a few blocks from the crime scene. After being held in the Tombs for months in high bail, Galente was returned to Sing Sing prison as a parole violator.

The other "material witness" was

Frank Nuccio, small-time racketeer and petty bootlegger, taken into custody last September and at first held in \$25,000 bail, but freed in November on a \$5,000 bond. According to the New York daily press, Nuccio was found by police to have been the lessee or owner of the garage in which the "murder car" was kept up to the night Carlo Tresca was slain. Apart from Galente and Nuccio, the New York Times of February 28, 1943, quoted Commissioner Valentine as saying that several suspects were

"under active investigation." Danton Walker made an earlier prediction in his column on April 23, 1943, when he said: "Governor Dewey will soon get an interesting report on why the Carlo Tresca case has never been broken."

But nothing has since been heard of on that score. And since the release of Nuccio on bail, little about the Tresca mystery has appeared in the New York newspapers except for reports of the memorial meetings on Jan. 11, anniversary of the murder.

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Editorials

Mr. Hull Makes More 'Points'

Having not long ago elaborated seven-teen verbose points which said exactly nothing about the war aims of the United States, Secretary of State Hull went on the air again to pronounce more of the same. However, no one in his right political senses expected anything else. Spokesmen for imperialist powers are not noted for frankness of expression, but rather for verbal camouflage.

However, when so many words are spoken, at least a few of them do have some meaning, and often not the meaning the speaker wishes to convey.

For instance, in assuring the European masses that he and Roosevelt desire only that they establish their own progressive popular governments, Mr. Hull had to add "like our own"—which already limits the choice acceptable to Mr. Hull and President Roosevelt.

For France, Mr. Hull desires the establishment of "law and order"—words that have through history acquired the specific meaning of suppression of revolutionary mass action. Furthermore, while the State Department is disposed to see the French Committee of National Liberation exercise leadership in establishing "law and order," it will have to be "under the supervision of the Allied commander-in-chief."

What such supervision results in, is now being demonstrated in Italy, where, Mr. Hull assured the world, the United States is assisting in the development of "a free and democratic Italian government." However, when recently the Italian workers wished to express their opposition to the Badoglio government by a strike demonstration, the Allied Control Commission put down its heel on this REAL development toward a free and democratic Italian government. And while Mr. Hull reiterated throughout his speech the policy of no compromise with fascism, everyone knows that the present Italian government—whose only strength is that given it by the Allies—is headed by a fascist and is honey-combed with fascists.

On the question of relations between the Allies, Mr. Hull emitted paragraph after paragraph of empty phrases—"slow, hard process"—"full discussion"—"understanding"—"unity."

As evidence of agreement between the big powers, he once more referred to the Atlantic Charter, the Moscow, Cairo and Teheran declarations, and the "development of machinery." We've heard all that before, but the actual disagreements among the Allied powers are so great that they are spoken of by astute commentators as the basis for World War III.

Only the Surface Has Been Scratched

The Supreme Court recently upset a nine-year-old ruling that Negroes can't vote in the Democratic primaries in Texas. The case of Lonnie E. Smith, who had his poll-tax receipt but was barred from voting on the ground of race and color, brought the question before the court. Its decision that race and color are no bar to voting in the Texas primaries reflects the strengthened opposition of Negroes, liberals and labor to economic, political and social Jim Crowism.

As was to have been expected, the Bourbon South lifted its voice in lusty protest against this infringement of "white supremacy." Such phrases as the following issued from the indignant white souls of Southern Democratic congressmen: "An alarming tendency to destroy state sovereignty"—"One of our rights is to have Democratic primaries and say who shall vote on them"—"We'll certainly resist, if possible, any attempt to have Negroes vote in our primaries"—"The South will allow nothing to impair white supremacy."

That these protests sound like the squeals of dying pigs by no means indicates that the Texas decision has dealt a death-blow to political Jim Crow.

First of all, there is still the poll-tax. In Texas, the Supreme Court decision has brought talk of increasing the poll-tax. Nationally, the Southern bloc has girded its loins to defeat the anti-poll-tax bill that was passed by the House and will come before the Senate after the Easter holiday. The filibusterers are making their plans. The supporters of the bill who had hoped to outwit the filibusterers by getting a cloture vote, seem to have lost hope. The poll-

taxers are ready to present a thousand amendments to the bill—all of them requiring debate—in order to prevent its passage.

But the poll-tax is not the only bar to the exercise of political rights in the South. There are also the registration laws. A liberal-minded editor of a Georgia paper wrote that political discrimination cannot be ended "so long as the registration board ask a prospective voter to recite the Declaration of Independence if it wants to, and then throw him out for omitting the commas."

Then, also, there is the matter of enforcement of such progressive laws as may be passed, or progressive decisions as may be made. For in the interest of maintaining their "white supremacy" the Southern reactionaries have become masters at law-breaking and evasion, using tricks or intimidation.

While the struggle for free primaries, against the poll-tax, for uniform registration laws, must continue unabated, it must take on a more fundamental character. The power of the entrenched Democratic Bourbons has to be broken.

To accomplish this, shifting Negro support from the Democratic Party to the Republican Party—back and forth—is futile. Both capitalist parties are basically opposed to the freedom of the black and white worker.

The political backs of the Southern Bourbons will be broken when black and white workers unite in their own Independent Labor Party. This will effectively challenge the power of both capitalist parties—and be the means for ending Jim Crowism.

De Gaulle Turns To the 'Left'

On March 18 General de Gaulle delivered a speech before the Consultative Assembly in Algiers, which prompted the liberal writer, I. F. Stone, to say in PM that General de Gaulle "is far from being the rightist that he was before the war."

When a rightist becomes a "leftist" the reasons are invariably the same—he must talk "left" in order to carry out his political ambitions.

De Gaulle's ambition is to create out of his self-styled Provisional Consultative Assembly in Algiers the government that will be able to transfer itself to Paris, comes the day of the Nazi defeat.

The temper of the French masses being what it is, any politician bidding for their support talks "left." This accounts for such clauses in de Gaulle's speech as the following:

"But it is obvious that the government will not tolerate coalitions of interest, private monopolies or trusts, whose existence at the outset of this new period would imperil the economic and social reforms desired by the great majority of Frenchmen."

And again: "The French democracy must be a social democracy... an economic system planned with a view to developing our national resources, and which will not be to the advantage of private interests."

It would hardly be astute on de Gaulle's part to talk more rightist than this at a time when the whole of France seethes with the possibilities of social revolution.

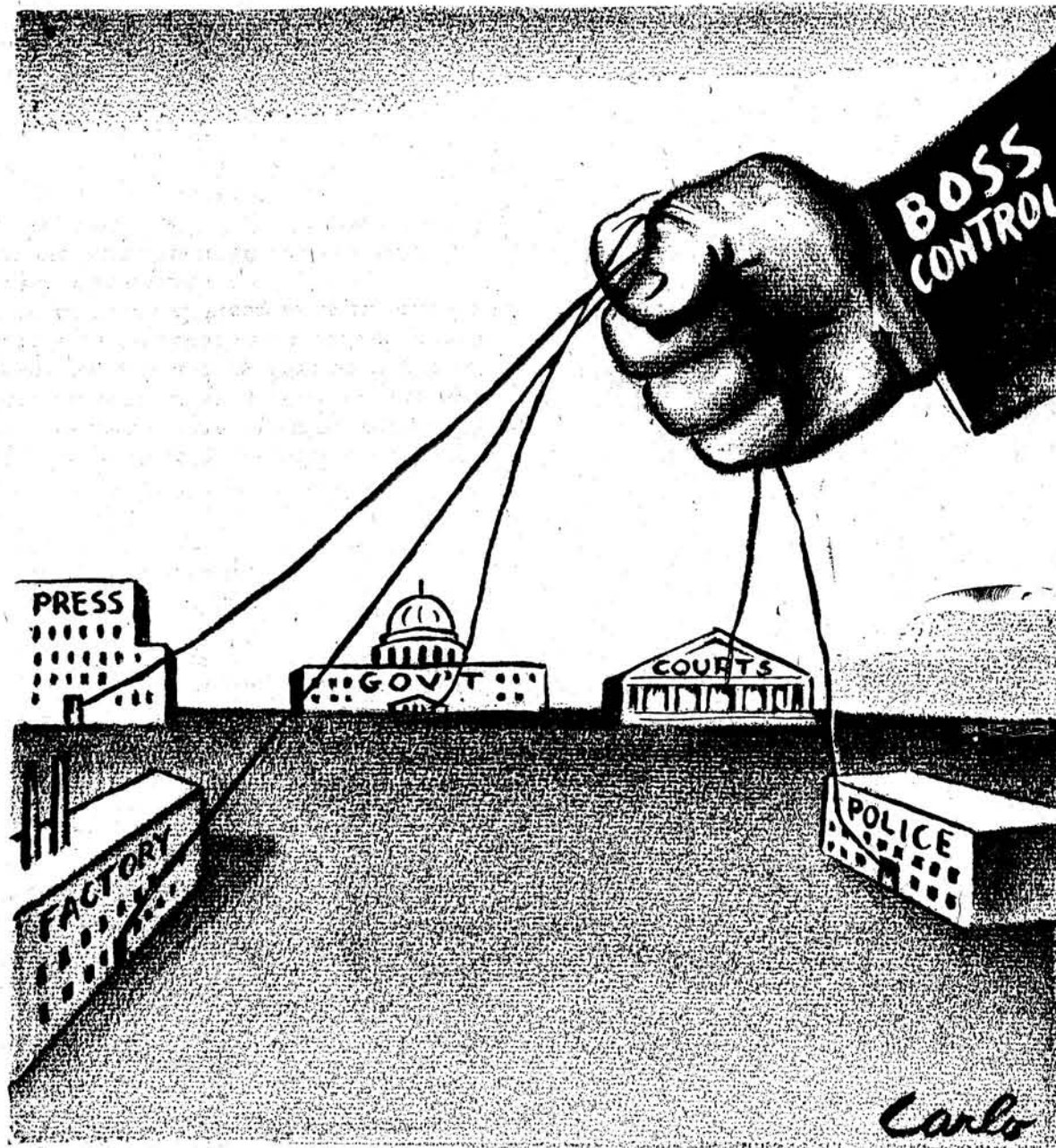
Coupled with his new-found "leftism" have been his efforts to get so-called "leftists" into his Committee of National Liberation. His efforts have been crowned with success, and two members of the Communist Party have accepted places on his committee. Fernand Grenier has become Commissioner for Air; and Francis Billoux, Commissioner Without Portfolio.

After his appointment, the Stalinist Billoux made a radio speech to explain what he stands for. The Stalinists stand for French imperialism as today represented by de Gaulle. Billoux's declaration for "complete unity of France and the Empire" leaves no doubt on this score. He threw in, of course, a few words about "a fair deal for the natives of the Empire."

How fair a deal French imperialism is ready to give the natives of its Empire was shown very conclusively in the recent suppression of the Lebanon uprising for independence. In whose interest, pray, were the Lebanese suppressed by the "Free French" in Algiers, if not for the "private interests" that de Gaulle pretends to declaim against!

Both de Gaulle and the Stalinists are "fronting" for French capitalism against the workers. But the French masses will not be stopped. They will repudiate all political apologists for French capitalism, including de Gaulle and the Stalinists.

Break It!



A Program of Action --

(Continued from page 1)

ing everything to a head, and in the most violent form. Right now, ALL the classes and social groups in the country are restrained, to one degree or another, by the war and by what is generally felt to be the "need of winning the war." Once the conditions of war are no longer present, the bitterest kind of struggle will be precipitated here at home. The multitude of problems which are now forced into the background by the "need of winning the war" will brook no further delay in their demand for speedy and thoroughgoing solution.

Who is to pay for the war and carry its burdens? What is to be done with the huge industrial machine that could not be made to work during peacetime but worked so actively during wartime? What is to happen to labor, to the rights and standards it won in the past, to the rights and standards it gave up during the war under the promise that they would be restored, plus a good deal more, once the war ended? What is to be done about the millions of people in the middle classes who were ruined, wiped out, during the war—and, equally important, what are these millions themselves going to do? What about the millions of returning veterans, who will not quietly accept mass unemployment, miserable relief allotments, who are tired of being ordered around?

WHICH WAY TO A SOLUTION?

These are only a few of the burning problems that can no more be solved tomorrow than they could be yesterday—except at the expense of labor OR by labor. The one way leads down the road of reaction, barbarism, servitude. The other leads up the road of progress, freedom, security.

For example: If the big monopoly capitalists, taking one disguise or another, enlist the support of the desperate middle classes, of the returned veterans, and of some demoralized workers, the coming crisis CAN be solved the way fascism solved it—the monopolists were saved, the workers were enslaved, a new war was prepared.

If, however, the labor movement enlists the support of all the workers, of the lower sections of the agricultural population, of the middle classes, of the veterans, and mobilizes these elements in a common front against the real enemy of all the people, against the real root of the social crisis—monopoly capitalism and the monopolists—there will be no serious danger from fascism and reaction in this country. Moreover, labor can organize and lead the country to such security, such a durable peace, such abundance, such an extension of freedom as our ancestors could not even dream of.

Can the labor movement, as it is today, perform this great task? No! It cannot even begin to do so. How can it be expected that the middle classes, for example, will follow the leadership of organized labor when the latter is

not demonstrating its ability to defend adequately the interests of its own people, the workers? The same holds true, in different degrees and in different ways, of the workers who are not yet organized into the unions, and of the workers and farmers who make up the overwhelming bulk of the armed forces.

The masses of the people, who are rightly discontented with things as they were and things as they are and things as they appear likely to be, will reject the monopolists, will reject all the fascist and reactionary demagogues, and follow labor instead, on one condition:

NEEDED: A COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAM

IF labor works out and fights to put into effect a specific, clear-cut, bold, thoroughgoing, fundamental program for organizing and reorganizing the economic and political machinery of the country so that it operates for the benefit of all the common people, so that there is work for all, security for all, a high standard of living for all, peace and freedom for all—a program not only for tomorrow but also for today.

The masses of the people will not support the labor movement, and for that matter, millions of workers will themselves leave the labor movement, if it continues, as it is doing now, to walk around on its knees, to beg and whine. The people will not support the labor movement if it confines itself to some relatively minor demands for this trifling improvement or that, for this trifling right or that. The people will not support the labor movement merely because it is composed of honorable men and women who toil for a living.

They can be gotten to support labor and they will support it, if labor works out a comprehensive program that says: This is what is wrong, and this is what we propose to do to change it. This is where we stand. This is not only what we promise for tomorrow, but what we are fighting for NOW, what we are actually seeking to achieve with deeds—and not empty words.

The labor movement has no such program today. Here and there, isolatedly and disjointedly, one or another element for such a program has been put forward. Labor must work out a rounded program, put it before the masses of the people, and launch a concerted fight to put it into practice. There is no more urgent task today.

What should such a program contain? What should it cover? How far should it go? Should it deal only with the post-war problem?

We shall begin to answer these questions in our next article.

More on de Gaulle and the Communists

A three-sided row has developed in the French Committee for National Liberation. The dispute between Generals de Gaulle and Giraud over the demoting of the latter has been complicated by a switch by the Communists on the committee. While at first they

endorsed Giraud's removal from high command, they have had their minds changed for them—orders from the Kremlin. Instructions are to concentrate on "national unity" and avoid any political disagreements—even with fascists.

In This Column We Discuss the Need For A New Economic System

WEIRTON TEACHES A LESSON

By NANCY NATHAN

The reasons for junking the capitalist system and starting fresh with a new economic system under a workers' government can be measured by the bushel. The events of the day as they happen cry out to us to make that change.

Consider, for instance, the recent events in Weirton, W. Va., where Weirton Steel Co. and Ernest T. Weir, its president, are engaged in a fight against the CIO United Steel Workers. The machinery of "law and order" grinds out violence and suppression to prevent the CIO union from organizing the 10,000 company employees. Union men are beaten up, meetings are prohibited, arrests are made for distributing union literature, the justice of the peace issues a proclamation taking away the right of assemblage.

BARONY OF WEIRTON STEEL COMPANY

Thus it is demonstrated that the steel mill town of Weirton, W. Va., is the barony of the Weirton Steel Co. and Ernest T. Weir, its president. By virtue of their economic overlordship they run the town. Sheriff's deputies are in their pay. The sheriff and the justice of the peace are their servants because without the okay of Weir nobody can have a "public career" in Weirton.

The violence used against the union and the lawlessness of Weir are so raw that the state government was compelled to step in—presumably on the side of the union. However, we have yet to see how this intervention will really turn out.

But such "corrective" steps change nothing fundamentally—and definitely a fundamental change is needed. The economic power of the capitalists, which allows them to be a law unto themselves, is all wrong. Economic power must be in the masses of the working people—not in the hands of the few.

Don't think for a moment that the almost feudal control of Weir by virtue of his economic power is unique to Weirton, W. Va.

PLENTY OF PLACES LIKE WEIRTON

It is, for instance, typical of many mining towns, where the mine owners possess not only the mines, but the houses, the stores, the theaters, the newspapers and the so-called "public" servants.

Of the same pattern are cotton mill towns, especially in the South, where private ownership of the means of production extends itself into PRIVATE CONTROL OF PUBLIC FUNCTIONS. The mill owners—they are the "state," so to speak—and many a union organizer has felt the physical impact on his own body of this kind of overlordship by the economic masters.

Across the continent in the lush fruit-growing districts of California the big corporations dominate social and political life—often by the foulest methods—as they do the economic life of the communities. As the whole nation has learned from Steinbeck's realistic "Grapes of Wrath," the corporations' deputies' clubs and guns take precedence over the constitutional rights of the farm laborer, to say nothing of his simple human rights.

But all the exposures of this kind of baronial barbarity really change nothing—as indicated by the latest goings-on in Weirton.

When the open brutality of these powerful corporations arouses public protest, they have other means of accomplishing their suppressive acts. By virtue of their control over the press, the pulpit, the legislatures, they get laws passed that abrogate the elementary rights of the masses—thus "legalizing" violence. Elsewhere in this issue is a review of ultra-reactionary state laws recently passed or sponsored by the same powers.

Government by divine right of economic power is not confined to villages, towns, small localities.

STATE AND NATIONAL PATTERN THE SAME

There is, for example, the sovereign state of Montana, economically and politically as completely the possession of the Anaconda Copper Mining Co. as a province of India is the possession of its rajah. From its offices in Butte, the Anaconda Copper Co. controls both political parties. Every bill goes to the Anaconda Copper Co. before it reaches the state Legislature. The company owns all but two of the newspapers in the state, including Democratic, Republican and so-called independent.

Only a new economic system—based on nationalized industry under a workers' government and under workers' control—can end such vested power as that possessed by the Anaconda Copper Co.

Though the details of capitalist control are not quite the same when it comes to the national government, the result is the same, namely: economic power carries over into such enormous political control that "democracy" becomes an empty shell.

The dollar-a-year industrialists run government departments—ON THE THEORY THAT THE INTERESTS OF THEIR INDUSTRY IS THE "PUBLIC" INTEREST. The almost all-powerful lobbies maintained in Congress by big business, big farming, big banking powers, pressure their political puppets to do their bidding. The man who goes to England to represent "us" in world-important discussions is an Under Secretary of State—but he is Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., A MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF MORGAN.

The outward violence of Weir in his bailiwick in West Virginia is absent from this kind of political and social domination—but it is of similar nature and breeding.

So it is clear that while the recent events at Weirton have aroused the anger of workers, they are only a more flagrantly brazen example of typical social and political overlordship stemming inevitably from the economic power of the capitalist class.

We need a new economic system, fellow workers! That social rottenness that broke into a boil at Weirton must be cleaned up by a basic socialist reorganization of society.

Farrell On Radio

James T. Farrell, noted novelist and chairman of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, will speak over Radio Station WEVD (1330 K.), Saturday night, April 15, from 9:00 to 9:15 o'clock, on "Free Speech and Labor's Rights." He will give particular attention to the "Minneapolis Case" as it relates to the general problem of civil liberties in this country.