### Labor Action Announces . . .

# May Day 8-Pager!

LABOR ACTION subscribers will receive next week another preview of the eight-page paper which is scheduled to appear regularly in June. The May Day issue will contain the Magazine Section which ran in the Workers Party anniversary issue. In addition to its regular handling of news of the day from a labor-socialist viewpoint, LABOR ACTION will feature the following special articles:

- . STALINISM IN THE UNIONS
  - By Jack Wilson
- . THE ORIGIN OF MAY DAY By Chris Warren
- POPULAR ESSAY ON SOCIALISM By Hal Draper
- . VETERANS AND HOUSING By Workers Party Veterans Comm.
- . MAY DAY MANIFESTO OF THE WORKERS PARTY
- . MEANING OF "OPEN THE BOOKS"
- By Ernest Erber . THE LABOR MOVEMENT TODAY By David Coolidge
- ONE YEAR OF TRUMAN
  - By Eleanor Mason
- . THE SOCIALIST PERSPECTIVE By Irving Howe
- . REPORT ON GREEK TROTSKYISTS FROM THE GREEK SECTION

### **Group Protests SWP Inaction** On Unity, Joins Workers Party

New York, April 15-Six members of the Socialist Workers Party, among them Oscar Shoenfeld, National Committee alternate and one of the defendants in the famous Minneapolis Case, today announced that they were resigning from the SWP and joining the Workers Party. Protesting the refusal of the SWP to accept the proposal for unity with the Workers Party, the statement describes the rejection of the unity as confirmation of the charge that the SWP leadership rejects the democratic concept of the party and is

AN EDITORIAL

### Significant Gain for WP

LABOR ACTION joins with the Workers Party in welcoming into its ranks the six comrades who have left the SWP.

The acquisition of these comrades, with their record of many years of devoted service and activity in the Trotskyist movement, is a significant vindication of the role pursued by the WP during the last six years.

From its inception the Workers Party set out to restore that democratic - centralist conception of revolutionary organization which was characteristic of the movement in its great days of leadership by Lenin and Trotsky. The type of party it proposed to build was set forth in the Declaration of Principles. Readers of LABOR ACTION who wish to refer to this highly important document will find it reprinted in the current issue of The New International.

The principles of organization adopted by the founding convention of our party have proved their merit over and over again. In the framework of its democratic, revolutionary socialist organizational principles, the Workers Party has, through free exchange of views and discussion inside the Party, been able to make significant contributions to the thought and policies of the Trotskyist movement-notably on the Russian question and on the question of national liberation in Europe-while other organizations proved to be intellectually sterile and politically wrong.

The adherence of the six comrades to the WP is of tremendous symptomatic importance. It will be followed, we are sure, by many others. Having formed their group originally to promote the unity of the two organizations, they have decided that the fight for unity can now best be conducted by them as militants inside the WP. We think their decision was right and that events will prove it to be the most powerful demonstration for the unification of the Trotskyist movement.

In greeting these comrades, we are confident they will contribute greatly to the development of our movement and will increase its forces by many times six.

is no place in the SWP for these elements who are critical of the lead-

The decision to join the Workers

Party was made at a recent meeting of the minority caucus in the SWP. Readers of LABOR ACTION are familiar with the fact that a minority, led by National Committee members Felix Morrow, Albert Goldman, Oscar Shoenfeld and Al Russell, was formed in the SWP some time ago to fight the bureaucratic conception of the party held by the Cannon leadership, and to promote the realization of unity between the SWP and WP, both of which stand on fundamental Marxist and Trotskyist principles despite their many disagreements.

The Workers Party immediately responded with a categoric declaraparty for divergent revolutionary tendencies. To this day the SWP has refused to commit itself one way or By SUSAN GREEN the other on unity, and has instead given every indication that it proposes to do what it can to avoid unity.

At the minority caucus meeting whose statement appears below arconception of the party, and that the never, become a break-through. fight for unity and socialist princiing with the revolutionary socialists inside the Workers Party. Other comrades of the minority caucus decided to continue their struggle within the SWP, while pursuing their policy of

"an affirmation of the idea that there fraternization and collaboration with the Workers Party. LABOR ACTION and The New International, which have already published a good deal of the material of the minority, will continue to do so. The statement fol-

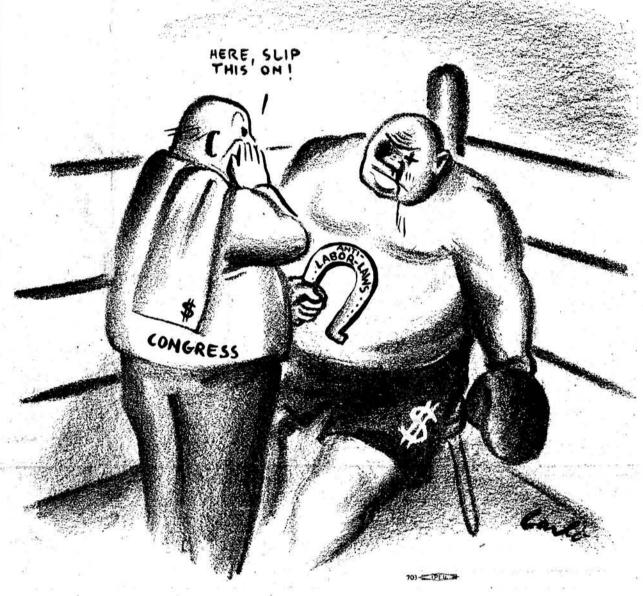
> "Political Committee Socialist Workers Party Dear Comrades:

"The failure of the party, under the leadership of the majority of the National Committee, to accept the proposal of the minority for unity of the two Trotskyist parties in this country, is proof to us that all the tendencies to monolithism which we noted at the last party convention have been greatly intensified.

(Continued on page 3)

# CIO Job: Turn PAC Into a Labor Party

Capitalism's Second



## responded with a categoric declaration for unity, holding that there was room in one revolutionary socialist party for divergent revolutionary. Price "Bulge" Is a Break-Through

Here's a conundrum for you, reader, to solve: When does a bulge become a break-through? What bulge? What break-through? Why, that price bulge referred to above the six comrades President Truman solemnly declared -in the middle of February when gued that the time had come to make the Big Steel companies got their \$5a clean break with the SWP and its a-ton price increase-would not, no

Since then there have been price ples had now to be waged by join- advances in steel, oil, textiles, clothing, meat, sugar, wheat and grains, lumber, glass, builders' materials, automobiles, and on industrial machinery all ceilings have been removed. Well, come now, has the bulge be-

answer, reader? Or shall we wire the President for an answer?

But wait a minute. Perhaps Mr. Chester Bowles, Stabilization Director, can solve the riddle. When the high-price balloon was set off with the unwarranted increase in steel prices, Mr. Bowles also had a great deal to say about bulges and breakthroughs. He crossed his heart and swore that only the prices of durable goods would show some small price advance, but the prices of food, clothing and rent-which account for seventy per cent of consumer expenditures - would not be affected.

more complicated. For now we have wheat and grains foods? And textiles and clothing-are these clothing? And do the prices of lumber, glass and builders' supplies in general affect the rent situation? Either Mr. Bowles was lying or food is not food, clothing is not clothing, and building materials do not affect rents-because these are the very items that have

gone up in price, with more to come! As a matter of fact here is another list of items whose prices the OPA has lifted: dinnerware, lamps, alarm clocks, flatware, garden trowels, lawn

come a break-through? What is your But, alas, Mr. Bowles only makes life mowers and a number of other hard goods items. These are, to be sure, more questions: are meat, sugar, not as weighty items in our budgets as food, clothing and rent, but they help pull up the over-all cost of liv-

HOW FAR WILL PRICES RISE?

How much of a boost in the cost of living can be expected? Here's what the Kiplinger Washington Agency advised its businessmen clients, on March 16, as to OPA policy:

"OPA is talking out of both sides of its mouth simultaneously. Out of one side OPA is saying that the price (Continued on page 3)

The time has clearly come for progressives and militants in the union movement to speak out against the policies of the CIO's Political Action Committee (PAC), to insist that the PAC be turned into a Labor

This week Frank Kingdon, chairman of the PAC's Policy Committee, announced that it will act to "keep a good man in or put a bad man out." Specifically, Kingdon announced that PAC would support 99 capitalist candidates for the House of Representatives as well as other capitalist candidates for various public offices. The names are not important. James M. Mead, Henry Morgenthau, William Lanierthey are all the same. What is important is that these candidates are NOT labor candidates, and that PAC, supporting them, is acting AGAINST the interests of labor.

It should be the duty of PAC to explode the farce of "good man" politics. Instead it perpetuates it. "Good man" politics is a fraud designed to snare popular support for parties that do not represent the interest of the great mass of people. These parties are the tweedledee Democratic and tweedledum Republican Parties. They are parties dedicated to preserving the injustice of capitalist economic rule. They represent and take their orders from the monopolists, the rulers of industry who are the rulers of capitalist government.

From labor's point of view there are no "good men" in the Democratic Party which, by and large, is the party PAC is backing, nor in the Republican Party. From labor's point of view the only "good men" are those who are aligned with labor AS A CLASS, represent it as a class and thus speak for the benefit of all those whose cause is best served by labor.

We do not accept bosses into our unions for obvious reasons. How can we possibly operate through the political organizations of these same bosses? It doesn't make sense!

No one can seriously dispute the necessity of labor's resorting to independent political action. The strike wave, which revealed the fighting temper and ability of the American working class in economic action, also revealed the urgency of reflecting that economic militancy in political CLASS militancy. LABOR'S GAINS ON THE PICKET LINE WERE STÓLEN FROM LABOR IN WASHINGTON! Let us not forget that fact. For it points to an ines-

(Continued on page 4)

# Contest Will Close Labor Action Sub Drive

By REVA CRAINE, Press Manager

Only NINETY-FIVE subs to reach that 5,000 goal! We're really not bragging about this because we have alreay set ourselves the aim of going over the top in this drive. The 5,000 figure is now our start-

NAME YOUR FIGURE AND WIN THE CONTEST!

The final LABOR ACTION SUNDAY will bring us way over the top. Of that we are so certain that we know it is unfair to ask anyone to wager on it. What we are not so sure of is the total number of subs we will have by May 1, the official closing date of the drive.

WE ARE RUNNING A CONTEST!

Every reader and subscriber to LABOR ACTION is eligible to enter the

The rules and requirements are very simple. All you have to do is the fol-Name the TOTAL number of subs we will have by May 1. Enclose this together with four subscriptions to LABOR ACTION (use the

convenient blank below). The contestant who comes closest to the actual number of subs we have at the end of the drive will win

A handsomely bound volume of the 1945 LABOR ACTION A copy of the new book by Max Shachtman-THE FIGHT FOR SOCIAL-

In case of a tie, two or more prizes will be given.

READER APPRECIATES THE EIGHT PAGER:

The next issue of LABOR ACTION will be the Eight-Page May Day issue in which a large number of feature articles will appear. You can still get

your greetings in for this issue by sending us more and more subs. We take very seriously what one reader from Oberlin, Ohio, has to say about the Eight-Page LABOR ACTION and we are doing all we can to speed

the day when the Eight-Pager will appear weekly. C. B. writes: "Enclosed you will find 35 cents for a renewal of my six- Totals

month subscription. Please do not allow it to stop. I enjoyed reading the eightpage sample edition. Let us have more analyses of world events from the

G. S. of Detroit sends un his renewal together with four new subscriptions and this note: "Hoping these new subs put you over the top. It's a great paper!

Find check enclosed."		Week Ending			
Branch	Quota	April 15	Total	,	Per Cent
Akron	200	3	204		102
Baltimore	10		5	95	50
Boston	10	11	55		550
Buffalo	200	16	65		32.5
Chicago	350	5	378	1.	108
Cleveland	100	The second of the second	20	A S	20
Columbus	25	7	11		44
Denver	25	early and form	25	115	100
Detroit	1000	99	672		67.2
Hibbing	100	10	160	-7"	160
Los Angeles		15	200	20	80
Louisville	50	7	50		100
Muskegon	25		28		112
Newark	150	12	187		124.6
New York	2000	137	1785		89.8
Oregon	10	4	9		90
Philadelphia	500	22	262		52.4
Reading	75		91		121.3
San Francisco	200		240		120
San Pedro	250	76	187		74.8
Streator	25	4	32		128
Seattle	200	4	111		55.5
St. Louis	25		32		128
Socialist Youth League	75	****	20		26.6
Youngstown	25	40	40		160
Miscellaneous		dia an <u>al</u> esa	36	- 1	****
					CONTRACTOR



Name ...

#### LABOR ACTION 114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y. SUBSCRIPTION-CONTEST BLANK

Enclosed find \$1.00 for four subscriptions to LABOR ACTION and enter me in the contest.

Address			
City			
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I say that LABOR ACTION will have May 1.	gotten	new s	ubs' by
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### NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

## Militant Reading Steel Local Under Attack

READING - Local 2715, USA - CIO, ready to accept almost any supple- workers the false policy of the Inat a mass meeting held on Saturday, April 13, voted to return to work after a 12-week strike. In an atmosphere of confusion and hysteria that was created by some of the backward elements of the local at the instigation of Robert Troilo, local Charley McCarthy of the International, it was difficult to consider the full implication of the supplementary contract that the company insisted upon as a condition for granting the 181/2 cents per hour raise demanded by the steel workers.

It is entirely understandable, that after enduring a strike of 12 weeks, most of the workers were in a difficult financial condition and were

mentary terms, so long as they were 'granted the 181/2 cents. What must be exposed and condemned are the methods used and encouraged by the International agents and their local henchmen to end a situation that existed because of the cowardly and spineless policy of Murray and the International Union. Murray should have fought against price increases, thus maintaining a solid front until the issue was settled. Thus, the fabricating plants would not have a double excuse to hold out on a settlement for six or seven weeks

Every day that the strike was prolonged drove home to more and more

ternational. To get the pressure off temporarily, Andrew Kondrath, district representative, and George Medrick, district director, had to resort to the most contemptible methods. They had to encourage, or at least shut their eyes to, the underhand tactics of their main tool, Robert Troilo.

At a meeting held on Saturday, April 6, the membership voted to send the negotiating committee back to renegotiate the supplementary agreement. Even at this meeting, several objectionable clauses were accepted because most of the workers were at a point where they were ready to accept almost anything be-

cause their funds were exhausted. many were living on relief and many had gone in debt.

#### BUREAUCRATS ATTACK LOCAL

At this meeting Kondrath opened up a double-barrelled attack whichbroke the unity of the local before the company by issuing a statement in the Reading Times that he was going to appeal to Murray to step in. At the same time a rumor began that the officers of the local were responsible for the prolonged walk-out and Robert Troilo, quick to respond to his master's voice, began urging individual workers in the corridors to accept the terms and return to work. In this fashion, they sought to take the pressure and criticism away from the International, WHERE IT RIGHTLY BELONGS, and place it on the local officers, who refused to tell the workers to accept the terms and order them back to work, as Medrick later broadly suggested they should have done.

The officers of Local 2715 then requested a meeting with George Medrick, district director. This meeting was finally arranged for Wednesday, April 3. As was to be expected, the chief bureaucrat in the district, Medrick, came to the most rabid defense of Kondrath and launched into an unreasoned attack against Local 2715 and its officers. He inveighed against the local for permitting too much politics to enter its discussion and consideration. By this he meant that the local's advocacy of an Independent Labor Party was frowned upon by the International. What he meant was that the only politics acceptable to him was Democratic pol-

He attacked the leadership of the local for not insisting that the local accept the companies' proposals and return to work. "We have to accept the strings attached as long as they give the 181/2 cents," was Medrick's position. Because the officers would not do this he accused them of being incompetent and proposed that President Rubenstein should resign. He criticized the local for using too much parliamentary procedure. Instead, Medrick and Kondrath would much prefer that the rank and file accept their dictates and orders without question. Less democracy, is what Medrick actually meant. No independent thinking. Murray cannot be criticized. Neither can the district representative. Kondrath. Murray is God and Kondrath is his greatest worshipper. Complete and unreserved acceptance of International policy, right or wrong - but according to Medrick, International policy is like a Papal Bull, it is always correct.

ranged between the officers of the local union and Medrick. But the tactics that were being used became clear when a group of 25 members of the local crashed the meeting. This was pretty much a hand - picked group who were the main instigators of the move to accept the companies' proposals and return to work. When President Rubenstein protested and stated that had he known such a thing would occur he would have insisted upon a complete membership meeting, about five or six of these workers left as a demonstration that they would be no part of any underhanded pressure. The rest of the group were permitted to remain. The following morning the company officials and most of the foremen knew about the previous night's meeting at which the International attacked the local. This proved that at least one-company stooge and informer attended that meeting.

that had the International really backed us up the company would have capitulated. But for good reasons, which were explained in this article, the International urgently wanted to terminate the strike. Thus Medrick could say lamely at the meeting on Saturday, April 13, "I feel sure that the company won't budge, so let's accept the terms." Surely, after the stab in the back given to the local, there was little reason to expect the company to budge. And Medrick had to have recourse to that musty old argument used by every anti-union corporation, "the company is not making money (according to the company) and might move." Medrick, after speaking on this subject for several minutes, realized what a low kind of appeal he was making, and tried to retrace his steps and brush the argument aside. But the harm had already been done and his intention in using such an argument was very clear. There will be many things coming home to roost in the coming period which will be traced to this settle-

The settlement at the America Chain & Cable, in Reading, is a result of the hasty efforts of the district bureaucrats to escape the evil results of the initial, false policy followed in U. S. Steel. In the coming period, this settlement will only aggravate the situation. We can expect the Medricks and the Kondraths to settle these future situations in a more and more bureaucratic way. This is the only way they can defend a policy that is not to the best interests of the workers.

This meeting was originally ar-DISCUSSION ARTICLES published as part of the pre-convention discussion in the Workers Party. Because our space is limited, it will be impossible to devote more than two columns per issue to this material. Contributions will therefore have to be brief, not exceeding 750 words. Pre-convention discussion articles are also appearing in The New International and in the Workers Party Bulletin. Copies of the latter may be gotten by sending fifteen cents to the Workers Party, 114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y. Readers will understand that these articles represent neither the views of the party nor of LABOR ACTION, but are written with a view toward establishing policy at the coming convention of the 'Factory Committees'

And Labor Today There is every reason to believe The minority resolution of Comrade J. R. Johnson for our Workers Party convention has provoked a lot

of discussion in our ranks about "factory committees." Unfortunately, the resolution makes such a capital point of "factory committees" without any elaboration as to just what they are or how we should go about the task of getting them established. As a result, a considerable confusion has resulted, with little advance in the education of our membership. The small space which LABOR ACTION can afford to allot to this discussion is terribly inadequate for the purpose of clarifying some of the misconceptions on this question. However, a few points can be indicated.

The term "factory committees" arose in Europe during the war and the post-war revolutionary period. It was used to designate the on-the-job organizations which the workers formed by short-circuiting the trade union officialdom and proceeding directly to militant actions. They arose from various causes and played somewhat different roles in various coun-

Sometimes they were organized because of the ABSENCE of a trade finion tradition and the weakness of trade union organization, as in Russia. Sometimes they were organized because the trade union officialdom had deserted the struggle on behalf of the workers in the interests of the war effort, as in Germany and England during 1914-18. Sometimes they arose from the revolutionary (usually anarcho - syndicalist) background of the trade unions themselves, as in Italy. They arose, therefore, as a result of one or a combination of the following reasons: (1) because the trade unions proved inadequate to the most ELEMENTARY economic tasks of struggle to defend the workers' wages, (2) because the country was in a REVOLUTIONARY CRISIS and the unions proved too hidebound and bureaucratized to keep up with the revolutionary development of the working class. (3) because "factory committees" were part of the revolutionary philosophy of the trade unions themselves. However, they were usually INDEPENDENT of, if not directly hostile and dual to, the official trade union organization.

The role of the "factory committees" varied with the causes that produced them and the situation prevailing in the country. In the revolutionary situation in RUSSIA between February and October, 1917, the "factory committees" were intertwined with the life of the workers'

The articles that appear below are councils (soviets) and played a highly revolutionary role. Due to the breakdown of Russian economy, they established workers' control of production long before the Bolshevik Revolution.

WORKERS PARTY\_\_\_\_

**Pre-Convention** 

Discussion . . .

In ENGLAND, the "factory committees" took the form of what was known as the shop steward movement. This movement grew out of the failure of the trade unions to struggle on behalf of the workers during the war. The shop steward movement, in the absence of a revolutionary situation, never rose above a militant trade union movement. When the official trade unions led large-scale strike actions in 1919, the shop steward movement was absorbed in the general trade union movement.

In GERMANY, the shop steward movement began as a frankly revolutionary movement and then oscillated between a "Russian role" and an "English role," depending upon the situation that prevailed. At various times they were either the whitehot storm centers of the revolutionary movement (1918-19 and 1923) or merely adjuncts of the collective bargaining process. Sometimes they stood in violent opposition to the official trade unions and sometimes they were absorbed in its structure.

In ITALY, the role of the "factory committees" was so closely related to the anarcho-syndicalist influence in the trade union movement that an adequate discussion of this aspect of "factory committees" would require a considerable digression.

Do any of the conditions which produced "factory committees" in the above classical examples prevail in the American labor movement today? Or will they emerge in the next year or two? The trade unions are not abdicating their functions (they did during the war by adopting the no-strike pledge) but, on the contrary, are leading tremendous struggles. There is nothing, however, in the struggles that even approximates a revolutionary situation. (Far from anarcho-syndicalist influence, represented in this country by the IWW, the workers have yet to free themselves from the Democratic and Republican parties.)

Perhaps Comrade Johnson does not at all mean that members of ourparty should conduct an agitation for "factory committees" in the trade unions nor that LABOR ACTION should call upon labor militants to organize them today. What Comrade Johnson may have in mind is that we should EDUCATE the more politically advanced workers to an understanding of the role which "factory committees" can play in a revolutionary period. With this no one can disagree. Our enlarged LABOR ACTION must devote space to such fundamental revolutionary socialist education. But this cannot be the "center of the party's propaganda and agitation," as Johnson proposes, unhe wants also to remove us from playing a role in the daily struggles. of the labor movement TODAY. This is quite all right for an educational society or a propaganda circle but not for a political organization that seeks to carry its program into the labor movement and find points of contact with what the progressive unionists are thinking and doing NOW. For this latter purpose, the slogan of "factory committees" is more than meaningless, it is dangerous and misleading, as any member of our party who is active in a trade union should know.

ERNEST ERBER.

### **WORKERS PARTY**

## may day meetings

Workers Party Branches and Socialist Youth League units will celebrate May Day at a series of meetings throughout the country. Except for the meeting in Los Angeles which is avertised on page 3 of this issue, all meetings will take place on Wednesday, May 1, at 8 p.m. Attend the May Day Meeting in your city!

#### NEW YORK:

Speakers: ERNEST ERBER National Educational Director, Workers Party NATHAN GOULD National Organizer, Workers Party JACKIE ROBINS

Socialist Youth League Place: Hotel Diplomat, 108 West 43rd St. Admission: 40 Cents

#### CHICAGO:

Speaker: MAX SHACHTMAN National Secretary, Workers Party Chairman: Robert Ferguson Chicago Organizer, Workers Party Place: Midland Hotel, 172 W. Adams St.

#### **NEWARK:**

Speaker: IRVING HOWE Editorial Board, Labor Action Place: To Be Announced

#### AKRON:

Speaker: ALBERT GATES Editor, Labor Action Place: Milk Drivers Hall, 324 Perkins

#### PHILADELPHIA:

Speaker: **EMANUEL GARRETT** Editor, Labor Action Place: Grand Fraternity Building 1626 Arch St. (Room 20)

#### **READING:**

Speaker: JAMES F. FENWICK Philadelphia Organizef, Workers Party Place: Labor Lyceum, Reed and Walnut Sts.

### LOUISVILLE:

THREE SPEAKERS Place: LABOR TEMPLE

Broadway, bet. Hancock and Jackson

# Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor

#### **Questions** Our Anti-Fascist Methods

In my opinion, the present antiare dangerous for the following rea-

First, the American people are not psychologically ready to take away the democratic rights of fascists. Conditions on the American scene have not yet reached that stage. Second, such extreme action as you have taken will undoubtedly result in counteraction by the conservative forces-perhaps the liberals as well -which may ultimately drive you underground. Third, these irresponsible tactics will cause a loss of prestige among labor unions and other liberal elements. And finally, the party is focusing too much attention on a developing form of fascism which is probably not being regarded too seriously by those who will attempt to salvage capitalist economy. Now hackneved as these reasons may appear, let's briefly consider the

basis for them. It is generally agreed that in the coming period of American capitalism some attempted form of fascism to hold the system together is inevitable. And it is therefore the duty of any revolutionary socialist group to expose the fascists, prepare the workers for the onslaught (teach them to defend themselves, workers' squads, etc.), and combat fascism in every way possible within the methods that the fascists themselves are presently using! (Note, not within the limits of bourgeois democracy, but of the present fascist methods. And this of course, implies expanding as the fascists expand.) Certainly this policy does not exclude picketing their meetings and a frank expression of popular sentiment against their doctrines. But it does exclude an underhanded form of terrorism (brings, stink bombs, heckling, solid picket lines, etc.) which deprives the fascists of their civil rights at a time when they have not yet attempted to deprive us of ours! For were fascism a critical issue in American capitalism today we can be assured that such demonstrations would be swept

aside by thousands of police who would very convincingly be "protecting the Constitution." And in the face of such opposition, the majority of "good American" workers and liberals who take part in these demonfascist tactics of the Workers Party strations would quietly retreat to their homes thoroughly convinced that the authorities were right and wondering how they allowed these hot-headed radicals to incite them to such undemocratic actions. What is more, your role in these demonstrations would be exposed and holding meetings of your own might become increasingly more difficult. The fact is that the time is not yet

> ripe for a pitched battle with fascism in this country. An American worker will fight with his life when his picket line is being threatened by fascist gangs but he feels inside that even a fascist has the right to talk, especially in public halls and on a political level. The apparent success of your efforts up to now has in my opinion been a fluke, a flash in the pan, and will on the first real opposition, fall apart. I for one do not believe that the American people are politically conscious to the degree that such tactics require. Furthermore, if the capitalists — a majority of the big ones-do not seize the opportunity -through strong action-to strengthen the fascists and smash you, two currents are indicated. One, conditions are not yet bad enough for fascism, and two, they are not depending on men like Smith, Bilbo, Coughlin, and Reynolds to serve as their "front men." Fascism in this country needs a demagogic overhauling, a new design which will not remind people too strongly of Hitler and Mussolini. The vulgar doctrines of Smith, etc., are too coarse and brazen after the years of repeated propaganda against European fascism. We need a fascism with a different coat, something a little more subtle that won't go against the grain of our own propaganda. Of course the basic economic structure will be the same but the surface for the sake of the people has to be different. And my guess is that our greatest danger lies in the direction of the military, men like MacArthur, Spaatz, Hershey,

Marshall, etc.

So let's go a little easier with our demonstrations. Just because in similar situations of the past certain vacillating elements have made the task of fascists easier by hesitating to fight back, there's no excuse for us to go to the other extreme. Picket their meetings, expose them, but don't oppose them with force until they change their mode of attack. And when they do, let no bourgeois laws hinder you because the state is a bourgeois state and will serve in the interest of the fascists.

-H. PARKER. Philadelphia, Pa.

We are happy to take up your many arguments which unfortunate-

ly include many misconceptions. It is true, as you point out later in your letter, that the fascist elements in this country content themselves for the present primarily (though not exclusively) with ideological terror. They purvey such sentiments against various racial, religious and political minorities-Jews, Negroes, Catholics, Socialists and Communists-and the organized labor movement such as will lead to violence. They spread the sentiments which have led to violence in the past, and which do so even today in the activities of the lynch mobs which assault and kill the Negroes, the "100 per cent Americans" who drove the Nisei from their farms during the late war for "democracy,"

Right now, the fascist elements are engaged primarily in a psychological battle, a "war of nerves," in headfixing. Hence, the Workers Party, too, is extremely concerned with combatting the fascist ideas of men like Gerald L. K. Smith with the ideas of scientific socialism. But ideas are not enough. The understanding by the labor movement of the nature of fascism must be coupled with the formation of workers defense guards in order to defend the labor movement against those who would crush it.

You, however, are caught in the contradiction of being for workers' defense guards and opposing what you call an "underhanded form of terrorism (bricks, stink bombs, heck-ling, solid picket lines, etc.)." "Inad-mass picketing, abrogating the demoequate and primitive methods of defense" would be a scientific description of the methods of the Chicago picketers against Smith. If, on the other hand, the labor movement in this country were sufficiently alert to the danger of fascism and politically conscious to the extent that it had workers' militias to protect it from the violence to which it is subject, it is highly doubtful if Smith would even dare to appear.

You omit what is of the essence in discussing "terror" and "democratic rights." Let us quote from the story by LABOR ACTION's Chicago reporter on the anti-Smith demonstration:

"Im response to the appeal of the notorious Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling [author of the "Red Network" and defendant in the "sedition trial" which was never brought to a conclusion-Ed.] Mayor Kelly had over 300 cops on hand, inside and out, to 'preserve order impartially.' Not content with smashing their way through the line intermittently to escort the fascists through, these cops repeatedly singled out from the crowd of 500 spectators across the street, individuals whom they roughed up and hurried into waiting squad cars or wagons."

### DEFENDERS OF "DEMOCRACY"

No, Smith as yet has no armed thugs to protect his meetings, but he has the armed forces of Democratic Mayor Kelly's police! Similarly in every major city where Smith spoke. The upholders of "democratic rights," the police forces, were out to assure protection to fascist Smith by clubbing the anti-fascists with their "democratic" billies!

Yet you deplore the almost comitragic defense with bottles and bricks on the part of the anti-fascists.

In Philadelphia recently, as reported in LABOR ACTION, the local cops distributed impartially their passionate skill in upholding democracy when they defended Smith's friend, "Father" Terminiello, at the "Christian Veterans of America" meeting, and when they defended Westinghouse and General Electric against the strikers who were trying to break cratic rights of the workers, was itself issued by that judiciary handmaiden of "democracy," the court.

Your objection to "solid picket lines" against the fascists is logically not distant-although we are sure your intentions are-from the objection that mass picket lines around a plant hinder "democratic" rights. They do, indeed.

The "democratic" rights of scabs and strikebreakers!

Just as the worker instinctively knows that it is not an abridgement of democracy to keep scabs out of the plant, the politically conscious worker knows it is not an abridgement of democracy to defend himself against political scabs and strikebreakers.

#### THERE WAS A DEFECT If there was one defect in the

demonstrations against Smith, it was the fact of the apathy of the broad sections of the organized labor movement. Another important fact still remains - the first demonstration against Smith's post-war rampage, which took place in California, and which was composed of only a few hundred picketers, and for which the Workers Party was largely responsible, served as a lever for moving thousands of other workers in city after city and for awakening them to the danger of native fascism.

As for your characterization of Smith as too reminiscent of Hitler and Mussolini, it is of course necessary to be on the alert for all variéties of fascists. American fascism will most likely masquerade as anti-fascism, as "true Americanism." But Smith has many of the peculiar American appeals of "grass roots" fascists - populism, religiosity and even radicalism. However, the fact that people stayed away in droves from his meetings and that generally the picket lines were more numerous than his audiences, testifies to the weakness of fascism at the present

Nevertheless, we have a large job of education and politicalization of the labor movement on this score, of which the questions raised in your letter form a part.-M. B.

## -With the-Workers Party

For information, write to Bill Ford, Box 221, Akron, Ohio.

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#### A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR Published Weekly by the

Labor Action Publishing Ass'n

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April 22, 1946 Vol. 10, No. 16 EMANUEL GARRETT, Acting Editor MARY BELL, Ass't Editor ALBERT GATES, Editor

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#### WORKERS PARTY PROGRAM FOR ORGANIZED LABOR IN THE RECONVERSION AND POST-WAR PERIOD

1. Full Unemployment Insurance

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5. A Planned Rise in National Income A guaranteed \$5,000 annual income to all workers' families by means of a planned rise in the national income and a thirty-hour maximum

6. For a Democratic Peace

Editorials.

Against peacetime military conscription of American youth! For a truly democratic peace, which means no land-grabbing under any pretext; no reparations; no slave labor. Complete independence for all colonies and subject peo-

"Freedom from Want." This was one of the

noble Four Freedoms for which we were told the

Allies were fighting in the Second World War.

This was one of the reasons the little people of

Now, at the conclusion of the war, about ONE-

The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation

So widespread is the food shortage that coun-

FOURTH OF THE WORLD'S LITTLE PEOPLE

Administration, unable to fulfill the demands

made on it, since its inception in 1943, is again in

a crisis over the drop in food shipments in March

tries afflicted with it are now being classified as

the "UNRRA nations." Capitalist anarchy and im-

perialist war have brought the world to a point

where dozens of countries and whole continental

Promises are cheap. Making good on those

But there will be some feeding and some relief

ITEM: Clinton Anderson, U. S. Secretary of

Agriculture, quoted General Douglas MacArthur,

commander in the Pacific area, as demanding

"more wheat or more soldiers." (World-Telegram,

ITEM: From the office of General McNarney,

European commander, came word that the severe

economic doldrums there "might lead to unrest

which will necessitate a larger army of occupation

than is now contemplated and for a longer period

of American imperialism, "Feed 'em, or shoot 'em,

the Allies lib-er-at-ed them from possible execu-

tion in a Nazi gas chamber! How much more hon-

orable to die from the thrust of a democratic bayo-

more soldiers and ammunition, or whether a good-

sized semi-starvation diet shall be dispensed

through UNRRA lies behind present controversies.

President Truman and his appointee, Herbert Hoo-

ver (who knew how to disperse hungry bonus-

marchers), represent the former point of view.

Truman issued a statement that there would be

only a "short term" food crisis. Hoover, wining

and dining with military officials and government

heads abroad, says the situation isn't so bad. The

group around Truman, head of the richest country

in the world and the only one which hasn't sub-

scribed its full quota to UNRRA, asks England,

also in need of relief, to send its grain in Europe.

They call upon Russia to pool its wheat. Russia,

outside the international pool, all of whose satel-

lite territories are "on relief," offered to ship

grain to help out France, where Stalin's Commu-

nist Party has a great interest in the coming French

too. The Democratic Administration has to watch

This is an election year in the United States,

Whether a tiny trickle of food, accompanied by

In other words, say these top representatives

How thankful many Europeans must be that

of time." (New York Times, April 14.)

but make up your minds!"

promises would cut into the profit reserves of the

for the starving, disease-wracked population-for

face serious malnutrition, famine and death.

the world were urged to support them.

and the greater drop facing it in April.

areas are ON RELIEF!

very good capitalistic reasons.

food magnates.

Some Will Be Fed, Some Shot

FOR THE UNEMPLOYED AND VETERANS ples and the right of all people to decide democratically their own future.

> 7. Full Social, Political and Economic Equality for Negroes

Complete democratic rights. The right to vote. to run for and hold any elective or appointive office. North or South. The right to equality in employment; to hold any job, skilled or unskilled. The right to be free from insult, segregation and Jim Crowism; anywhere and in any place, North or South.

THESE AIMS TO BE ACHIEVED THROUGH 8. Slum Clearance

A \$250 billion five-year program to provide decent housing for all, extensive public works, rural electrification and modernization.

9. Nationalization of Big Business

Nationalization of the banks, big industrial monopolies and transportation systems, and no handing over of government-built and owned plants and facilities to private ownership.

10. Taxing the Profiteers

A 100 per cent tax on all war profis above a five per cent maximum on invested capital; a \$25,000 ceiling on total individual income, and a graduated capital levy on all accumulated wealth over \$50,000 to cover war costs and provide post-war security for labor.

THIS PROGRAM TO BE CARRIED OUT BY 11. Workers' Control of Production Control of production by democratically-elected

workers' committees. 12. An Independent Labor Party and a Workers'

Government-For a Socialist America with Plenty for All! Make the machines that now produce only for

national relief needs. In addition, Truman is trying

to maintain the remnants of price control, which

is blow enough at these profit-hungry business

men. Besides, the Czechs, Poles, Austrians, Chi-

nese, etc., don't vote in our elections. But the

packers and grain interests—they have powerful

Fiorella La Guardia, his successor, represent it seems, the "long view" for American imperialism.

It behooves the United States, in the interests, not

of the immediate profits, perhaps, but of profits in

the long run, to send more food and rehabilitate

the rest of the world, so as to be better able to en-

gage in peaceful, profitable commerce. Otherwise,

in the struggles and storms that lie ahead, there

will be engendered among the needy peoples a

hatred for the United States, a sympathy for Rus-

sia or, even worse, an independent sentiment di-

food. Further, it does not know how much relief

will be permitted to be sent. For towering over

UNRRA, representing the United States, Great

Britain and Canada, is the Combined Food Board.

which, by virtue of all the colonial holdings and

spheres of influence of the nations composing it,

has complete and final say on virtually all ship-

ments and allocations. This Board has never issued

Currently stymied in his pressure on the Com-

bined Food Board for the "long view" relief the-

ory, La Guardia singles out the labor movement

for attack. He issues a statement to the National

Maritime Union to "help to release" several ships

tled up in Philadelphia waiting to be loaded with

grain for Yugoslavia, and asks the NMU at the

same time to use its influence on the United Mine

Workers to release coal for Europe. La Guardia

tries to put the onus on the organized workers

who are battling these same interests who are more

concerned with profits than human lives, at home

It is only the labor movement, which has been

forced to organize against and strike against the

profiteers, which is in a position to do anything

to really ameliorate the needs of the starving

masses of the world. It must call for requisitioning

for peacetime purposes just as the government did

for wartime purposes. The government told manu-

facturers what to produce and how much. Let it do

the same for relief needs. Let it take over the food

enterprises which resist disgorging a part of their

profits, so that the hungry may be fed. Let the

workers operate those plants to assure an equitable distribution and genuine freedom from want.

Naturally, it would take labor's own party, free

from the pressure of profiteers, to carry out such

All else is playing imperialist politics with hu-

man lives: bullets or bread, whichever pays more

is required, how much is available nor how much

But UNRRA is now limited to the trickle of

rected against both imperialisms.

a public report to date.

Herbert Lehman, resigned head of UNRRA, and

war and capitalism produce for the needs of all

# One-Tenth of the Nation

CIO's Drive to Organize the South

By J. R. Johnson

This column has discussed the coming CIO drive in the South from various points of view.

First of all this column is a column on the Negro question in the United States-one-tenth of the nation. The greater part of the Negroes of the nation live in the South. If the CIO is going into the South it is going to have to tackle not only the organization of labor but the political and social enslavement of the Negro.

But that is only the beginning. Politically, the South is represented or rather mis-represented by the Southern reactionaries in Congress. They control the South as absolutely as they do because of their manipulation of the Negro question in every sphere. Organize Southern labor, particularly the Negroes, and the empire of these gentlemen will begin to rock.

The CIO can burn a fire under them. But for the CIO to do this it must face the possibility of a wideopen split in the Democratic Party.

AN IMPORTANT TASK

Thus the Negro question in the South is not confined to the South but is a matter of first-class political importance to the whole nation. The CIO can begin the second reconstruction of the South. In the nation organized as it is today, the CIO alone can do the job. Unless the CIO is prepared to live forever under the political whip and threats of the Southerners, it will have to break them in their own stronghold.

to break the poll-tax as well as to organize labor. Good. But Murray (as in the struggle over wages and prices) says one thing and does another. The organized labor movement and the Negroes must demand from Murray an uncompromising, ruthless struggle that will not stop until the back of the Southern plantocracy is broken. Maybe we cannot do that in a week or a month or a year. But' these people have persecuted poor whites and degraded Negroes for over a century.

Their arrogance, dishonesty and impudence in Congress pass all bounds. They must go. That is the task of the CIO. For if and when these Southern anachronisms are put where they belong-in the historical dust-bin-then labor, from California to New York, from Michigan to Louisiana, will have the Democratic and Republican Parties at its mercy.

There is more to be said about this perspective, much more, but for the time being that will do.

#### THE SYSTEM MUST GO

So far, however, we have left out one element in the situation. This is the people of the South, the millions of Negroes, the poor whites, the people whom the Southern reactionaries enslave and whom the CIO proposes to organize.

Murray says the CIO will do in the South in 1946 what it did in the North in 1936. Will it? We sincerely hope so. In 1936 the workers broke

Murray says that the CIO aims racial barriers, united for struggle, fought employers and police, arms in hand seized the factories. The CIO leaders, now that they are national figures and "statesmen," are apt to forget those bloody days. It is time to remember them again, to remember the bitter die-hard, fight-tothe-end resistance of the capitalist class.

The Southern bourbons will repeat it. They will foment race riots. They will disregard the laws of the land. They will organize goon squads. We know these fascist-minded defenders of property and privilege. We have seen them at work all over the world these last years. We have seen these methods of intimidation and violence covered over with legality and erected into a social system under the name of fascism. We have sometimes forgotten that in the South, under the democratic label, violence and intimidation formed for years the very sinews of the social order. To carry out the assault on that

system will not be easy. But the workers, we are sure, will be ready to meet violence with violence, intimidation with intimidation. The CIO leadership will have to face this. In 1936 it was the workers ready to go to the end who insured victory. This spirit exists in the South. Murray will have to bring it out, not suppress it. All of us above the Mason and Dixon line must awaken a realization of the issues and a body of public opinion in support of their

# Break-Through on Prices - -

(Continued from page 1) line will be held. This is the theme of all loud publicity, but it's only half true. Out of the other side OPA is telling its staff to raise prices and to hurry, make it snappy, get a lot of raises out within the next 30 days. But keep the price raises quiet-play down publicity on them-play up the publicity about holding the linethe breastbeating theme. Make the public believe that the price line is being held-while the retreat to a new higher line is actually under

way." How far will the price balloon rise? Mr. Eccles, head of the Federal Reserve Board, predicts a rise in

living costs this year of ten per cent. Mr. Bowles pooh-poohed this figure and compromised at five per cent. Mr. · Snyder, War Mobilization and Reconversion Director, thinks the rise in living costs "would not be substantial." However, Kiplinger advises his business clients: "Ten per cent rise in average consumer prices by year end now seems sure." United States News, which is a businessman's magazine, wrote in its issue of March 29: "Prices are rising at a rate that will amount to about 12 per cent over all, if continued through 1946."

But, of course, it's those wicked workers who are responsible. They can't content themselves with a lower standard of living due to the cuts in take-home pay. They have to go out on strike for wage increases. So can you blame the bosses for demanding price boosts on their products?

This myth has been exploded time and again, but never has it been so completely pulverized as today. The General Motors strikers have done yeoman service to educate the public on the question of wages, prices and profits. Before the strike the union showed that the company's business in 1946 would warrant a thirty per cent wage increase and still leave enough profits to amount to fifty per cent more than in the pre-war years 1936-39 - AND PERMIT ALSO A DECREASE IN THE PRICE OF

CARS FROM THE 1942 PRICE. The GM strikers challenged the company to open its books. The company sidestepped this logical challenge-and thereby implied that the workers' figures were correct. It was furthermore attested by government fact-finding boards that manufacturers could "afford to raise wages by around twenty-five per cent without boosting the prices of their products." But a capitalist government by and large does what the capitalists want, and so Mr. Truman and Mr. Bowles came out with their wage-price policy -with the results sketched above.

But don't think for one minute that the companies are getting in price increases ONLY the equivalent of the wage increases they will be paying! Big Steel got in the \$5-a-ton price boost \$140,000,000 over and above the total wage increase. Why suppose this an exceptional case Also let it be known that many businesses that have not increased wages, have nonetheless been favored by OPA with higher ceilings.

GM PROGRAM NEEDED

What concerns the worker, and the housewife who meets these tow-

ering prices head-on, is what has already happened to the wage increases that the workers fought so militantly to attain. The fifteen, sixteen or eighteen cents an hour raises, on the basis of the forty-hour week, only partly made up the cut in take-home pay suffered at the end of the war. With OPA's two-faced policy, with the farm bloc pressing for higher parity prices that will up the cost of food still further, what is becoming of that inadequate wage increase? It is rapidly melting away. The result? The standard of living of the working people will drop. This is the kind of progress capitalist production assures the class on whose labor the greatness of this country is predi-

The situation calls for the adoption by the labor movement of the principles enunciated by the General Motors strikers. Wages must be increased to maintain and improve the people's standard of living. Wage increases must come out of bulging business profits not out of the pockets of the consumers, who are the working people. And let the companies open their books and reveal the steal the profit system perpetrates on all of us.

How about price fixing and control? The OPA has demonstrated that an agency of the capitalist government cannot serve the needs of the people. Price fixing must be linked with the demand to open the companies' books to committees of workers in the factories who are at the point of production, in a position to see and know what's what. As to price enforcement, this has been a farce under OPA. The still-flourishing black market makes OPA look pretty silly. The people themselves, through neighborhood committees of organized labor and organized housewives, can enforce price ceilings and fight the black market.

Militant action along these lines will solve the conundrums about bulges and break-throughs.

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### OFF LIMITS

By JAMES M. FENWICK

#### SUPER-SENIORITY-DIVIDE AND RULE

"Divide et impera"-divide and rule-the motto of Louis XI of France, has been an operating principle of despots from the earliest times.

Today the capialist class of the United States is attempting to apply that principle by pitting veterans against civilian workers through superseniority.

What is super-seniority? It is, as a CIO pamphlet puts it, a "scheme under which veteransregardless of the length of their employment and military service-would automatically outrank all other workers."

It was announced in 1944 by the notorious Major General Lewis B. Hershey of the Selective Service System in Local Board Memorandum 190-A. The motivating reasons, of course, were of the highest order. George Romney, managing director of the Auto Council for War Production, wept warm tears, and "came out vigorously for super-seniority, attacking the unions for their stand and declaring that returning veterans will face 'an unbelievable injustice.' "

#### THE REAL REASONS

The actual reasons, of course, lie closer to the real seat of a capitalist's emotions—his pocketbook. The capitalist class has been persistently attempting to utilize the veteran to chip away the union movement. The veteran has been encouraged to scab through being refused unemployment benefits while on strike. He was systematically propagandized against unions while in the Army. The super-seniority hue and cry is the latest manifes-

Nobody should believe that the current controversy over super-seniority results from a "misunderstanding" or conflict between various government agencies such as the War Department and Congress, for instance. It is a carefully thoughtout plan by the capitalist class and was consciously introduced.

If the plan is defeated it will not be through action of the capitalist courts, where the question of super-seniority is now being strangled by the tentacles of suit, counter-suit, appeal, delay and contradiction. It will be defeated solely by action of the unions in demonstrating that they intend to have no part of the super-seniority, union-break-

#### THE CIO PLAN

Fortunately, the organized labor movement has generally adopted a correct position in regard to super-seniority-one that veterans who realize where their real interests lie should be glad to accept. It contains two simple points:

1. That time in military service should be counted in computing the seniority of veterans returning to their old jobs.

2. That veterans who did not work prior to miliary service should acquire seniority based upon their time in the service, once they have secured employment.

This system protects the veteran from being penalized for his period of service in the armed forces, it protects the civilian worker, who is often a man with family responsibilities, it protects the seniority system, which is the backbone of any union structure. And it helps to forestall pitting the veteran against the civilian worker - from which only the bosses can profit.

That the veteran has special problems and special demands which he can make of the government is recognized by any union worth its salt. The union should be in the forefront in protecting the rights of veterans in order that the veterans will not be won over to the side of reaction.

The super-seniority problem could only arise in a capitalist society like ours, where there is a shortage of jobs. The final answer to the "veteran's problem," of which super-seniority is a manifestation, is JOBS FOR ALL.

And one of the first steps which labor must take to realize this objective is the creation of a Labor Party, independent of the two capitalist parties and fighting for a workers' government, which will put the immense productive machinery of the United States to work in peace as our capitalist government is able to do only for war.

Under socialism there will be no "veteran's problem."

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#### out for the interests of all the food industriesmillers, packers, grain alcohol manufacturers, etc., Saturday, May 4, 8:30 p.m. whose profiteering toes might be trampled if their 5558 S. ELLIS AVENUE products were requisitioned or diverted to inter-ADM. \$1.00, FED. TAX 20c

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Join with the Workers Party in a gala evening of fun and frolic. Dinner à la Maria-

(Continued from page 1)

the leadership of the SWP in reality means wejection of the democratic concept of the party and an affirmation of the idea that there is no place in the SWP for those elements who are critical of the leadership.

"We must state clearly now that in the present period there is no possibility of unity. The responsibility for this must be laid solely at the door of the leadership of the SWP. Still not daring to speak out openly against unity, the SWP leadership has been talking for months about a 'discussion' between the two parties on the issues that are in dispute. Although we have pointed out that this is not relevant to unity, since all the differences that exist between the SWP and the WP are compatible within the framework of one party, nevertheless we would have welcomed sincere discussion as indication of a real interest in unity. Even this discussion has been prevented by the SWP leadership

"The efforts of the minority and the Workers Party to proceed with discussions of the unity question between committees representing the two parties have met with rebuff, delay or silence on the part of the

"We, the undersigned, who were members of the minority from the beginning, consider ourselves to be fulfilling our highest obligations to ideas of Trotskyism by continuing our struggle for the unity of the two parties. The struggle for unity, blocked for the next period by the successful sabotage of the SWP majority, now means the building of a revolutionary, DEMOCRATICALLYcentralized party which has nothing in common with monolithism.

"We therefore resign our membership in the Socialist Workers Party and take our places in the ranks of the Workers Party. We continue our struggle in the Fourth International for unity. As members of the Workers Party, a party of Trotskyism, we consider ourselves part of the Fourth International; we continue our struggle for its ideas and above all, we continue the struggle in this country for the building of the democratic party which Trotskyism has always represented."

Fraternally, Oscar Shoenfeld Henry Martin Peggy Williams Nancy Austin Selma Swanson Abe Stein

CONTENTS

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

#### X-Raying the Menace of Anti-Semitism

### Anti-Semitism Is an Anti-Labor Weapon

By JESSIE KAAREN

"Ninety-five per cent of the founders of the Russian government were apostate Jews:

"The (United States) government is dominated by Jewish bureaucrats. "Newspapers cannot be free as long as they are dependent on department store advertising and 75 per cent of the department executives are Jews."

These remarks are offered as a sample of the testimony given by Gerald L. K. Smith at a recent Congressional investigation into his America First Party. Perhaps "investigation" is too harsh a word, the interrogator being Representative progressive trade unions and there John Rankin of Mississippi, a man who uses a sharp tongue when filisbustering against Negro rights but Smiths. With the United States headwho was very gentle when he questioned Smith.

We quote these remarks because they are the typical catchwords of of the cancer as possible. fascist movements and potential fascist dictators all over the world. It

would be a very simple matter to prove that these remarks are lies and designed to appeal to the prejudices of discouraged and poverty-ridden people who are thus diverted from a true analysis of what is wrong with the system which breeds their dis-

#### A DANGEROUS PHENOMENON

But unfortunately anti-Semitism cannot be dismissed that lightly. There are too many people in the United States who cling to anti-Semitic concepts. There is anti-Semitism even among the workers in the more are too many people who are ready to fall for the Coughlins and the ing for an unemployment crisis, it is more than ever imperative to use a surgeon's knife to root out as much

Anti - Semitism exists wherever there are Jews who can be made into

scapegoats for what is wrong with the economic system. According to a Roper poll recently published in Fortune magazine, the people interviewed in the Northeastern cities and in the Middle West showed more anti-Semitism than those in the Far West and South, where there are few Jews. This poll revealed that anti-Semitism increased with the wealth of the people questioned and that those people who were most anti-Semitic were also most against un-

Because anti-Semitism is so widespread, because it is so little understood by the people who practice it and because it is so dangerous, it must be sharply x-rayed to show what causes it and where it leads.

The fascist orgies in Germany during the last decade serve to give us a preview of what will occur in the United States if capitalism is not replaced with a socialist society. If we follow the trail of Germany, we will see how the theory of "socialism or barbarism" works out in practice. It is not enough to be shocked at discovering that a human being can sink so low as to use a live child for target practice, as German SS troops did. It is more important to link such degradation to the system which produces it, to understand that we ourselves will sink to the same level unless a sane, ordered society which is based on the well-being of all mankind replaces a capitalism which is no longer able to provide a decent existence for the vast majority of people. Only then will the need for a scanegoat disappear.

There is scarcely a country in which Jews have settled that is free from anti-Semitism. The groundwork for this vicious hatred is established. by the fact that the Jews always represent an alien strain in contrast with the native element. There have been many periods in history when anti-Semitism was dormant for a long time, when the Jewish people of this or that country almost became part of the national scene, assimilating into the population, raising their children as Germans, Russians, Turks, etc., rather than as Jews and in many ways proved that there were no INHERENTLY disturbing factors in Jewish settlement in Europe, the Middle East or the Western hemisphere. Conditions might be peaceful for a few hundred years, many of the Jews lost their distinctive characteristics, they had leading positions in the country, intermarried, etc., but when the need for a pogrom arose

their assimilation was no protection. The Spanish Inquisition is a classic example. The Jews were very well integrated into Spanish life. But the Catholic Church was undergoing a crisis. It was tremendously rich. powerful and degenerate. A strong reform movement was brewing. King Philip headed it off by whipping up mass fury against the Jews. Killing Jews became a sacred mission. Heresy hunting was profitable. The masses of peasantry in Spain were desperately poor, most of the land being in the possession of the church and the nobility. Hatred is engendered by poverty and insecurity. By torturing, killing and confiscating the property of Jews, the monarchy and the church diverted the people. Anti-racial slogans served more purposes than religious slogans had served be-

The history of Czarist Russia is a long checkerboard of pogroms which were inspired by the Czarist secret police and soared to most violent heights when the peasants were in an angry mood against the régime. The famous "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" were concocted by the Czar's secret police to prove that "the world is ruled by an occult King of Jews." Though it was exposed as a forgery a dozen times over, the Nazis used them again, introducing them into Germany at a mass meeting in Munich in 1919. It was said to be Hitler's favorite reading matter.

### THE FASCIST EVIL

The twin evils of fascism and anti-Semitism in Germany received a mass birth in the defeat of that country suffered in the First World War. As the shaky capitalist economy of Germany responded less and less to the hypodermics shot into it by the Allied powers, and the workers' val Affairs. He wrote an order of the

movements became a real threat to capitalism, the master puppeters of Germany started pulling the strings of anti-Semitism.

It made no difference to the inflamed mobs that their own scientists, among them the best in the world. proved that the concept of racial purity was a sham. Anti-Semitism ran its course until the rivers of Europe were red. On Hitler's assumption to power, comparatively mild anti-Semitic laws were passed. Jewish children were removed from school. Later come the expropriation of Jewish proper'y. In 1938, mass arrests of Jews became general. By 1941, crematories had to be built for mass disposal of bodies. By, the end of the war, almost 6,000,000 Jews were killed. The road to barbarism was clearly indicated!

(To Be Continued)

### **Demand Freedom for India Now!**

By HENRY JUDD

What's going on in India behind the scenes? For several weeks now, a mission from the British Cabinet has been in that independence-hungry country, negotiating with the various parties. But so far, the whole matter has been very silent, and the nature of these negotiations is a deep secret. What kind of raw deal is being cooked up?

Will the Congress Party bargain away the demand of the people for complete, unqualified, unconditional independence, without a single string attached to it? This is what the British mission would like to do. They would like to weight in advance, for their advantage, any Indian Constituent Assembly convened to write a new constitution for the country. Will the conservative Congress leaders (Gandhi, Nehru and friends) accept a constitution-making body elected according to BRITISH terms?

And what's happening with Mr. Jinnah, socalled leader of the Moslems of India? He is talking about "civil war," if he doesn't get his demand for a division of India into Hindu state and Moslem state. Is there anything behind this talk, or is he just complaining, in advance, about the deal to be made at his expense?

These and many other questions cannot be answered yet, nor will they be answered until the whole story comes out of hiding to where it properly belongs-in open discussion before the 400 million Indian people, the people whose future is at stake. The program of the Indian Trotskyists sums up the real desires and aspirations of these people:

No secret deal with British imperialism; an end

The convening of a freely-elected, democratic Constituent Assembly, for which every Indian votes, to declare India free, and draft a new Con-

The immediate withdrawal of all British and American troops, and the turning over of the country to the Indian nation.

The settlement of all internal differences (religious and national in character) by the Indian people themselves.

then keep their hands off!

In a word, let the imperialists quit India and .

## Turn the PAC Into a Labor Party - -

It is a patently intolerable situation that labor should each year vote into office those men who by class interest are enemies of labor. To advance toward a future of security and plenty, labor must develop a consciousness of itself as a class, pursuing its goal independently, winning to its side the poor farmer and the others who with labor make up the mass of people.

the system of capitalist enterpriseas did the General Motors workers, who, in relating profits, wages and prices, demanded that the books be opened and that no price rise accompany a wage raise - are obviously ready to challenge that system politically as well. Given direction, they will respond in vast numbers.

The capitalist politicians know this. They need the labor vote and seek its acquiescence precisely through such devices as PAC. They know the fect can only be to block the road

That is the crime of PAC. Under

the pretense of mobilizing labor under its own political banner it actually \*diverts that organization from the channels it should properly take. NO THIRD PARTYISM!

That is also the crime of Third Partyism. A third party is no more a Labor Party than either of the two we now have. Like PAC, its net ef-

armies of Soviet Russia will march

The revolution failed to material-

ize. But that does not alter the facts.

The workers' state of Lenin and Trot-

sky was revolutionary. The workers

of the world knew that. The capital-

In those days Russia was a weak

state. Its economy was still half-

ruined. It was surrounded by power-

ful capitalist states, particularly Ger-

many and Japan. Poland was its en-

emy. Yet it was revolutionary and

survived. Today Russia is the most

once Austria-Hungary. It sits on half

of Germany. Japan is flat on its face.

The workers all over the world are

crying for help, for leadership, ready

to struggle against the crimes, the

barbarism, the ruin of imperialism.

But not a word comes from the rul-

ers of Russia to them. Stalinist Rus-

sia is busy grabbing territory, steal-

ing factories from starving coun-

tries, fomenting insurrections for oil

and other concessions and telling the

workers that socialism is not for them

The Russian army today exists ex-

clusively for the preservation of the

power of the Russian bureaucracy

and to carry out its imperialist ban-

That is what Stalinism is as com-

pared to the workers' state of Lenin

ditry abroad.

to defend the German workers.

ists knew it too.

WHAT STALINISM IS

toward a Labor Party. A third party is a capitalist party, a Democratic or Republican Party under more deceptive or more palatable (maybe!) aus-

A conference to form such a party was held in Chicago on April 5 and 6 under what seems to have been the inspiration of the decrepit Socialist Party. Headed by A. Philip Randolph, president of the AFL's Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the conference set up a committee to "build sentiment for a new party when the time is ripe." Randolph, who performed a magnificent job in organizing the Pullman Car Porters, is doing the very opposite for a Labor Party.

The Stalinists, who are toying with their own kind of third party set-up, denounced this conference as a Dubinsky-Reuther plot. It is typical of Stalinism that it is concerned only with the fact that labor leaders whom it cannot control and who are opposed to Stalinism and Kremlin direction, have started something.

We are all for Dubinsky and Reuther and Randolph starting something. Unfortunately, what Randolph has here started is the wrong thing, is, in fact, a dangerous thing,

At the recent UAW convention, Reuther, who - make no mistake about it-was elected president because he was associated with a program of militant and advanced action in the GM strike, weakened the entire structure of his program shillyshallying on the Labor Party issue. The last two issues of LABOR AC-TION have discussed this in some detail. The conclusions of militant economic action, demonstrated best in the GM strike, dictate their politiequivalent

#### powerful state in Europe. Poland is its satellite. It rules over what was

FOR A REAL LABOR PARTY! Neither by third partyism, nor by the PAC as it is now constituted, can we achieve what is for us today an absolute MUST. It is not a party in which labor leaders join with liberal capitalists to foist the illusion of political independence upon labor that we need. It is not an electoral instrument to boost capitalist politicians into office that we need.

It is a party that has an aggressive WORKING CLASS PROGRAM, which will speak for the majority of the American people against the monopolists, against the capitalist class -it is such a party that we need. The Labor Party we speak of is a party based upon unions, not individual liberals, that will attack the capitalist system at its roots, demand the nationalization of industry under workers' control and seek to estab-

Hillman and Murray must be forced A LABOR PARTY!

### Seattle Leaps Ahead In WP Fund Drive

By NATHAN GOULD, National Organizer, Workers Party

Seattle and Boston, at opposite points of the country, came through this week to reinforce the abutments of our Fund Drive bridge, as New York and Detroit strengthened the pillars under the great span. The Seattle Branch, contributing \$153.54 toward its \$300 quota, rocketed from seventeenth place on the list to seventh place. Seattle's phenomenal rise was outdone only by Boston, which smashed through from eighteenth on the list to fourth; from a percentage of zero to 7 per cent of its quota. The \$50 quota for Boston has already been oversubscribed 100 per cent in pledges. Tom McCarthy writes from Boston that among the contributors to the Fund Drive is a fellow worker on the job who has promised to "donate \$1.00 per week for the duration of the Fund Drive."

Local New York came through again this week as usual, topping its \$350 contribution of the previous week by \$100. The \$146.50 from Detroit helped to make the \$994.92 total of the current week's contributions. Most important in the Detroit contribution this week is the note from Billy (member of the Detroit Fund Drive Committee) which reveals the spirit which ani-

When I was in Detroit reporting on the Fund Drive, Billy rose at the meeting to announce that he expected to receive a small inheritance from a relative. Billy desired that a reasonable share of this shall go to the Fund Drive-that is, everything over and above the debts he had accumulated. Billy made good this promise by contributing \$76.50 of his inheritance to the Fund Drive plus \$38.50, representing one week of his wages. We are happy to acknowledge that the same spirit which animated Billy is shared by other comrades throughout the country. A number of veterans, for example, have already contributed a good portion of their mustering-out pay to the \$15,000 Party and Press Expansion Drive.

Another such example is displayed by our comrades in Hibbing, Minn. The Hibbing comrades have experienced unemployment and have been beset by many hardships. We deliberately gave this branch a low quota. Yet from the very beginning the Hibbing Branch has topped our list. One of our members (cautioning us that it would take the duration of the drive to do this), pledged not one but two weeks of his wages for the drive. This com-

"As I mentioned in my letter to you last night, H. writes that he will pay up his \$20 pledge some time this month. He said that he might be able to increase it a little on the strength of our 16 cent pay boost....Of course they working hours again so that we would be back to the eight-hour

This is the spirit that will put our drive over the top. With this issue we pass the half-way mark of the drive. Our total contributions now are \$7,840.92, or 52 per cent. Our bridge is sagging a little in some areas, but efforts are being speeded to bolster it. Cleveland, also beset by unemployment, entered the drive this week with a \$43 contribution. This leaves only Streator, Ill., and St. Louis, Mo., without even the foundations for their pillars. San Pedro and Los Angeles both worked toward their goals by contributing \$45 each this week. And the Chicago Local sent another \$50. Reading, Pa., too, pitched in with a \$5.00 addition, bringing it to 40 per cent of fulfillment.

With the drive half over, all branches should be moving in full momentum. For the fulfillment of the drive we must now register contributions of over \$1,000 per week. Let's get a rousing response from all quarters next

N. S. C.		Current	Total	
Branch	Quota	Contribution	Contribution	Per Cen
Hibbing, Minn,	. \$25.00	\$10.00	\$45.00	180
Baltimore, Md.	50.00	00.00	50.00	100
Newark, N. J		00.00	500.00	100
Boston, Mass.		39.50	39.50	79
New York, N. Y		452.00	3561.50	71
Buffalo, N. Y.		00.00	110.00	55
Seattle, Wash.		153.54	158.54	53
Akron, Ohio	500.00	00.00	235.00	47
Youngstown, Ohio		00.00	70.00	46
National Office	3850.00	5.00	1662.00	43 *
Reading, Pa.		5.00	20.00	40
San Francisco, Cal		00.00	184.38	37
Philadelphia, Pa		. 00.00	128.00	36
San Pedro, Cal	400.00	45.00	139.50	35
Los Angeles, Cal	600.00	45.00	195.00	32
Detroit, Mich.	1250.00	146.50	389.50	31
Chicago, Ill.	1000,00	50.00	285,00	28
Cleveland, Ohio	200.00	43.00	43.00	21
Louisville, Ky.	200.00	00.00	25.00	12
Streator, Ill.	50.00	00.00	00.00	00
St. Louis, Mo		00.00	00.00	00
Totals	315,300.00	994.54	7840.92	52

#### There is a wide and growing senti-(Continued from page 1) consequences should labor organize politically. It would mean the beginment in labor's ranks for action on the political front. Workers who ning of the end for them, for the have challenged the very essence of logic of the situation would demand ever more basic measures.

capable conclusion: labor must act to replace the government of the capitalists with a government of the workers, and to do that it must have its own political instrument.

-Part III of a Series on Stalinism-

## Imperialist Policy in Iran

The treaty between Stalinist Russia and Iran has appeared in the press.\* It is a document which the American worker should read and examine carefully in all its implications. When he realizes what it signifies, he will be able to watch the Stalinists in his union with new eyes, and throw their lying, corrupt arguments back in

The treaty arranges for an oil company in which for 25 years 51% of the profits will go to Stalinist Russia. Iran will supply the land (and the oil), Stalinist Russia will supply the equipment and wage and salary expenses for the workers, technicians, etc.

So that is what the struggle is about. An old-fashioned imperialist cut-throat scramble for oil. So that all the talk about democratic rights for the Iranian minorities was just a lot of Stalinist lies. The insurrection of the Azerbaijinian Republic, that, too, was only a Stalinist maneuver to get oil. We expect this sort of thing from the United States and from Britain. But why from Russia, from what the Socialist Workers Party calls a degenerated workers'

The SWP says that it does not support this. But if war broke out between Russia and the United States and Britain, then, it says, the workers should support Russia in the war. The Workers Party says, "No." And it says further that however much the SWP may denounce the crimes of Stalinism, by this attitude it only helps the Stalinists and confuses the workers, miseducates them, and drags the conception of the workers' state in the mud.

LENIN AND TROTSKY'S POLICY Listen to the Stalinist in the union. He will point out that Lenin and the Old Bolsheviks made treaties with capitalist states. So they did. But they did something else too. In 1921 Russia was busily engaged in trying to establish trade relations with as many capitalist countries as possible. But in June the Third International met in Congress in Moscow. Trotsky was People's Commissar of War and Na-

day to the Red Army and signed it half of the German capitalists, the with his official title. Here are some extracts: "It is a great joy and honor for the

workers, peasants and Red soldiers of Russia to greet within the walls of the Red capital the best representatives of the world working class . . . "You have assured to the representatives of the world working class the opportunity to come together un-

der your protection in order to elaborate the further wars and methods of waging the struggle against capitalist coercion-in the name of the fraternity, liberty and happiness of all oppressed mankind." The working class today has forgotten what the Russian government was in the days when it was a workers' government. It believed in the world revolution. It organized openly

for it. Lenin and Trotsky declared

that only the world revolution could

save mankind from another war, from devastating economic crises and barbarous reaction. In 1923 there was a revolutionary situation in Germany. The imperialist governments of Poland and France threatened to intervene against the workers. Trotsky, Commissar of War, massed Russian troops on the Polish

border and made a declaration which amounted to this:

Let the German workers and the German capitalists fight it out. We do not want war, but if the armies of foreign countries intervene on be-

#### ATTENTION! **NEW YORK YOUTH** The Socialist Youth League

will hold a forum on

Race Discrimination and the Coming Social Crisis Speakers: Irving Howe, Editorial

Board, Labor Action Connie Charles, Student Chairman: Abby Roberts

Headquarters 276 Fulton Street, Brooklyn, N. Y. Time: Sunday, April 28 8 p.m.

Place: Brooklyn Workers Party

and Trotsky. That is what the Daily Worker and its noisy supporters in the factories defend. The bureaucrats like Foster and Ben Davis know exactly what the facts are. The rank and file Stalinists are ignorant for the most part, having been educated in the belief that Marxism is what the Stalinist bureaucracy does or orders. But whether they are ignorant or not, their organization is a menace to the working class and to socialism. The American workers should denounce them, repudiate them and shame them if they attempt to pass off this imperialist crime in Iran as something different from the robbery and violence of American and British

lish a workers' government. to quit playing the PAC masquerade of capitalist politics under a labor label! Many of the locals in the CIO (LABOR ACTION last week reported the resolution of Reading Steel Local 2715) have declared themselves for a real Labor Party. The sentiment, the desire, the readiness is there. It must be concretized today in a demand that can sweep from local to local: BREAK AWAY THE PAC FROM THE CAPITALIST POL-ITICIANS; TURN THE PAC INTO

# Urges Youth Back Drive for 8-Page Labor Action

By SHIRLEY WALLER, Nat'l Secretary, Socialist Youth League

The Socialist Youth League urges all young workers and students to get behind the Workers Party's \$15,000 fund drive to launch a bigger and better LABOR ACTION. The importance of LABOR ACTION to the youth, as well as to the adult workers, would be hard to over-rate.

Prior to the war, we were confronted with depression. The richest country in the world proved incapable of giving youth jobs. Lacking seniority, we were the first to join the ranks of the unemployed, the first to enter the soup lines and relief stations, the first to face disillusionment. Jobs which were given to youth were in the lowest wage brackets, thus forcing down the standard of living of all workers. When we protested against the barbarism of our existence, the government tossed us a meager palliativethe crumbs of NYA, CCC, WPA. We were the locked-out genera-

tion; we had no future. Then the war came. It was we, the youth, who were handed guns and forced to murder our fellow workers and youth of other nations so the imperialist struggle might continue. We were used as cannon fodder in the name of that great lie inflicted upon our generation, the lie that the Second World War was fought for freedom, security and peace. They said that after this blood bath, the militarization of American youth would also end. The war has ended but the militarization of our youth continues. This was another lie. Now we are fed with promises of a bright post-war period which capitalism cannot create.

The power of LABOR ACTION consists in the fact that it tells the truth. It dispels the lies of capitalism and imperialism and points out the only road of hope. Socialism today is the only movement of hope, the only movement toward freedom, peace, equality. As a socialist paper, LABOR ACTION is not only a staunch fighter for the betterment of conditions of the working class under capitalism, but it carries on a continuous battle for a society of security and plenty for all.

LABOR ACTION fights to create a new world-a world where poverty, hunger, war and fascism will be unknown; a world where production would be regulated according to the needs of the people and not those of profiteers; a world where youth can happily study, play and develop without the haunting fear of insecurity.

Out of the chaos of depression, out of the destruction of war, we of the Socialist Youth League learned the impossibility of living a full life, a life which offered a future to youth in this rotting capitalist world. We learned, further, that to solve the problems of youth, we must fight side by side with the rest of the working class for socialism. That is why we are going full steam ahead to help LABOR ACTION get its \$15,000; that is why we recognize the importance of an enlarged LABOR ACTION.

The Socialist Youth League calls upon all you young workers and students who have not yet joined the struggle to start fighting now for our future by helping LABOR ACTION with your conWE'RE GOING TO HAVE AN 8-PAGE LABOR ACTION!

The thousands of dollars required to make this advance must come from our readers. We appeal to every reader to send us a contribution to make the expansion possible. Make all checks and money orders payable to LABOR ACTION, 114 West 14th Street,

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