UAW Convention **Faces Issue of No-Strike Pledge**

By ALBERT GATES

One of the most important questions now before the locals of the UAW and one which will undoubtedly come before the eighth annual convention in Buffalo on October 4 is the issue of the no-strike pledge

In the opening article of this series we pointed out that the no-strike pledge was obtained from the labor movement on the basis of a series of PROMISES made by President Roosevelt, none of which has been carried out. The labor officialdoms readily assented to the President's request without prior consultation or vote of the rank and file unionists.

In some cases, only after the labor leaders had already given their word to the President that they would adhere to his request did the matter come before any local unions. But then it was not so much a matter of bringing the issue before the membership as it was to obtain RATIFICATION by the rank and file to an action already accepted by the leadership.

In the UAW, the rank and file was immediately supicious of this proposal made by Roosevelt. It took a great deal of persuasion to convince the membership to accept the no-strike pledge. As matters have turned out, the sentiments of the rank and file were correct, because the no-strike pledge has turned out to be a noose around the neck of the whole labor movement, and especially of the automobile workers. It has served as the wedge by which the bosses have sought to open the way for a destruction of unionism in the auto industry.

WHO GAVE UP WHAT?

In return for the no-strike pledge, President Roosevelt promised many things: no lockouts by the bosses, limitation of profits, no war profiteering, no war millionaires, control and ceilings on prices, maintenance of collective bargaining, no union busting campaign by the bosses and control of the cost of living.

In each case, however, these have turned out to be empty promises.

While the workers have really given up something, the bosses have surrendered nothing.

Someone might object and say: Haven't the bosses agreed not to lock out the workers? The answer to this objection contains the key to the whole problem.

The bosses, that is to say, industry, monopolistic big business and all the lesser lights who fatten on their crumbs, are making a good thing out of this war. Every worker knows that the boss is in this game for only one thing: PROFIT. He profits off the abor of his workers!

War contracts keep industry going at a steady pace every day in the week and every week in the year. If the boss were to lock out his workers that would mean a loss of his income and profits.

Why, then, should big business, in this period, when it is overstuffed with war contracts on a cost-plus basis, i.e., WITH GUARANTEED PROFITS, lock out workers, under any conceivable circumstances. No, its interest is to keep labor working all the time.

THE WORKERS HAVE SACRIFICED

The boss is willing to forego the lockout, because it means giving up nothing in order to keep the worker's nose to the grindstone If this were a period of economic crisis and the boss agreed to keep the worker on the job, that might be called a "sacrifice." Even then, the worker would only be getting his just due.

Or, if the boss agreed to pay the worker an additional sum as a post-war "contingent wage," that might be construed as a sacrifice, although then too (Continued on page 4)

Quebec Meeting On Allied Plans

For the sixth time since the United States became a participant in the war, Roosevelt, Churchill and their respective staffs and aides came together for the purpose of mapping political and military war strategy. This time the meeting took place in Quebec, Canada.

The titular heads of the Anglo-American coalition of the United Nations met under circumstances quite different from those of a year or two ago.

In the early meetings, though characterized by the confidence



The Russians have organized a

across the Channel. From a military

point of view, nothing else will sat-

The invasion of North Africa, Si-

cily and the prospect of an invasion

of Italy do not satisfy the Russians.

In their eyes this is not a real sec-

ond front. The suggestion that a real

second front may be established in

(Continued on page 4)

isfy Stalin.

The Second Front-

What Kind and Where?

LABOR ACTION

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

Stalin Withdraws Litvinov and Maisky

The Allied-Russian Crisis

The removal of Ambassadors Litvinov and Maisky, representing Russia in the United States and Great Britain, respectively, brought to a head the sharpened conflicts in military policy and political aims between the Anglo-American bloc in the United Nations and Stalin.

AUGUST 30, 1943

This is not to say that there are no disagreements between Washington and London. As a matter of fact, an announcement from Quebec called attention to this fact, but added that the differences between the United States and Great Britain did not re-

late to principle! The removal of Litvinov and Maisky, the representatives of the Russian policy of collective security and the public advocates of an American-British-Russian coalition, has caused great speculation in the camp of the Allies as to its real significance. The liberals are particularly alarmed and there is an explanation to their alarm, though we believe their reason's cannot now be taken seriously.





Litvinov's Removal Was the Forerunner of Pact with Hitler

It is recalled that in 1939 the removal of Litvinov as Commissar of Foreign Affairs presaged the Hitler-Stalin pact, which served to guarantee the Nazis' Eastern front. This was one of the important secondary factors which opened up the war in Europe.

Thus the question is now asked: Does this mean that Stalin is prepared to make a separate peace with Germany? Does it mean that Stalin has already made a deal with certain elements in Germany?

What strengthens such questions is the knowledge that Stalin carefully prepares his steps and never does anything unless it is fully calculated to bring about a desired end.

We do not believe that there is a current possibility that Stalin will make a separate peace with Hitler. But that this thought has occurred to him, and no doubt to some sections of the German ruling class, is certain. It is an eventual possibility, but must be excluded for the immediate future.

Two main questions which sepa-

President Roosevelt's latest order to the National War Labor Board is a culminating point in the Administration-big business coalition against American labor. It calls for "sanctions" against unions and workers who refuse to accept rulings of the WLB or who strike as a last resort to obtain their just grievances and demands.

ONE CENT

The yellow capitalist press fully understood the true significance of the President's executive order when it heralded his letter to Chairman Davis of the WLB as "sanctions fixed against strikers." This is interesting, because the letter presumably ordered "action" too against companies which refused to carry out any decision by the same board.

But the New York Times remarked aptly enough that "less drastic sanctions" were authorized in respect to business. The order authorized "control of war contracts, of essential materials and of transportation and fuel," whatever that may mean, provided it did not impede the war effort.

That is the whole point! Up to now big business gets away with almost anything and everything, because action against big business "might impede the war effort."

Not so with labor. Against the workers, anything goes.

The President has given the board power to withhold in escrow union dues collected under union agreements where plants have been seized by the government because of a strike.

But the most drastic and dangerous aspect of the President's order is the authorization given to the Selective Service System to cancel draft deferments of "recalcitrant" workers, i.e., militant workers, who strike in an effort to win their demands from a rapacious, profit-mad boss class.

One WLB official described the order as giving his agency "a lower set of teeth."

These "sanctions" ordered by the President are in line with the anti-labor provisions of the Smith-Connally Bill, which has now become law. They only add to the penalties against labor provided for in that infamous act.

Thus Roosevelt has put his fine touch to a series of anti-labor actions emanation from Congress and his Administration. These are all in line with wage freezing, job freezing, anti-strike legislation, absence of price control and the unbridled run-away cost of living.

It is in line, too, with the enormous growth in profits of American industry, with the sky-high salaries of the big business men, with the rights which the bosses have to enrich themselves out of the war effort at the expense of the millions of workers in this country.

.The first reactions of the labor officials have been in keeping with their craven attitude on labor problems. Some of the labor press, seeking to minimize the effect of Roosevelt's order, sought to emphasize the fact that it is directed at the bosses, too. But they overlook the fact that the bosses do not have to struggle against the high cost of living, for better wages, for shorter hours, or for better working conditions. That is the lot of the workers.

There is an important political lesson to be gained from the recent Roosevelt action: Labor can have no trust in the parties of big business, no matter who their standard-bearers are!

The WLB has become the graveyard of labor demands. Labor must quit this board.

of the participants, the main problems were those of raising the military power of the coalition to meet those of the Axis, to turn the tide of military events admittedly unfavorable to the Allies.

German arms still advanced without serious resistance. The European Continent was largely in Hitler's hands. Britain faced the possible loss of Egypt and the whole Mediterranean. India was in a state of ferment after the loss of Singapore and Burma. The United States was still unprepared for large-scale warfare.

The only bright spot was Hitler's treacherous attack on Soviet Russia. E ven though the German legions advanced deep into Russia and the Ukraine, it relieved some of the pressure on the West.

THE TURN IN THE WAR

But for some months now, the military might of the Allied coalition has not only matched the Axis, but in many respects has outstripped it.

Even though Europe is, for the most part, still Hitler's domain, German imperialism has lost a number of important engagements. It was driven out of North Africa in a campaign which stripped Italy of its empire. American and British armies stand ready to invade the European soil. The immediate effect of their victories in Sicily was the collapse of Mussolini and his black-shirted regime.

On the Eastern front, the Russian armies have not only halted Hitler's divisions, but are on the offensive in driving them back, notwithstanding the heavy costs involved.

While there have been no decisive victories in the Pacific, Japan, which advanced so rapidly in the early campaigns, has not only been halted, but even driven back on several fronts.

This is not yet the victory of the United Nations, but it marks a definite turning point in the war. It is clear that victory for the Axis, which appeared so near more than a year ago, cannot come. It has definitely lost the initiative.

POLITICAL CONFLICTS AMONG ALLIES

But this improvement of the Allied military position, however, has only brought forth difficult issues of a political character. Political relations between the big powers have obviously deteriorated. This is evident in the fact that the great strategical meetings are limited to America and Great Britain. The other powers, naturally, are "kept fully informed," but the fact that stands out is that they do not participate as full-fledged partners.

The reason for this situation is found in the absence of agreement between the Anglo-American combination in the United Nations, on the one had, and Russia and China, separately, on the other.

Each power is largely governed in its respective conduct by purely national aims. Thus, Stalin's Russia, bearing the major brunt of the war against Germany, demands the immediate opening of a second front. Not in the Balkans, to be sure, since Stalin regards that area as his stamping ground, but a second front across the Channel into the Low Countries and France.

(Continued on page 4)

First of a Series on Post-War Unemployment

20 Million Will Be Jobless

By SUSAN GREEN

There isn't anyone these days who does not harbor in his heart the fear of post-war unemployment. To the worker, unemployment means starvation. To the mogul of big business, a large starving army of unemployed may spell the end of his power on this earth-for there is a point beyond which workers will not tolerate the social system that makes them starve.

The most forthright acknowledgement of capitalist bankruptcy in the face of the unemployment problem has come from Sir William Beveridge, the British "social problems exnert." whose "generous" plan for socalled social security would allow about \$1.86 a week for bringing up a child. Here are his own words on

unemployment: "If we have mass unemployment we may not be able to carry out the proposals of my report. . . . I don't know how we shall continue productive employment after the war....I do not know how it is to be done and do not even know whether anyone else does.'

More Baseless Promises

That's not mincing words! No such honest statement has been issued in this country from any capitalist source. The New Deal demagogues, anxious to keep the votes of disillusioned workers, rant about freedom from want and the war against starvation and unemployment.

Thus Vice - President Wallace recently in Detroit spoke bright words about a world free from want and unemployment-and a few days later he assured reporters that "ninety-five to ninety-eight per cent of the corporations are harmless or beneficent and suffer just as much from the small minority as any other group in the population." So it isn't the main body of capitalists who cause the trouble-they are "harmless or beneficient." If it weren't for a few chiselers, according to Wallace, everything would be hunky-dory.

Actually, of course, it is the ninetyfive to ninety-eight per cent of these

or beneficent" corporations which, for one profit reason or another, keep millions of workers away from the means of earning a living. Was it the few chiselers who created the depression army of unemployed at one time rising as high as 17,000,000?

The demagogues of the Republican Party, anxious to win the votes of the workers away from the New Deal, are just as ardent in their platitudes and vague promises. The more sober contingent among the conservatives, like Walter Lippmann, columnist for the New York Herald Tribune, can offer nothing more encouraging than "we have to learn by trial and error."

It seems, however, that the workers have already learned by sufferings and trials that, as far as they are concerned, tragic "errors" are all they can expect from the capitalist system, whether administered by the Democratic or Republican politicians.

In the meantime post-war unemployment already casts its dark shadow before it. It looms before us when 2,500 to 3,000 workers are dropped at one clip from a New Jersey arsenal. It looms before us when a government contract for \$60,000,000 worth of tanks is cancelled. Such news items presage the end of the war boom, which is now keeping 60,000,000 Americans pretty busyand pose the vital question: WHAT NEXT?

Optimists whose understanding of economics is gleaned from the convincing advertisements in such magazines as the Saturday Evening Post and other literature of the same level stick their heads in the sand and hope the unemployment problem will solve itself. Why, they say, after the war there will be such a stampede to buy consumer goods that industry will be humming and workers employed to nearly capacity.

There may be, immediately upon the signing of peace, a short flurry of "prosperity." And, while the workers are compelled to "hold the line" for the war program, the bosses have

been preparing for the peacetime rush.

Dr. Julius Hirsch, able capitalist miners. economist connected with OPA, says: "American industry is already more prepared for conversion than most people think."

TPEU

All right. So there will be a great rush to buy everything from kitchen knives to automobiles. Pots and pans, radios and refrigerators, beds and dressers, phonograph records and pianos-these and other such goods will be bought up by a goodspopulation. FOR HOW starved LONG?

Post-War "Prosperity" Short

The same Dr. Hirsch, in a very comprehensive article on the subject of post-war unemployment written for a Wall Street publication, Barron's National Business and Financial Weekly, estimates the boom in consumers goods as follows: "As a result, the employment problem will not be pressing on Armistice Day nor for some ten or twelve months thereafter."

As will be shown later on, by "not pressing" Dr. Hirsch means that there won't be 20,000,000 out of work right off the bat. However, the production of consumer goods for the immediate post-armistice rush will not employ all the war workers, the demobilized armed forces, as well as the civilian workers. First, the demand for consumer goods, even at its height, cannot begin to equal the enormous war orders. And second, the productivity of labor, due to technical improvements during the war period, has made it possible to produce much more goods with fewer workers.

THERE WILL BE PLENTY OF WORKERS WALKING THE STREETS EVEN DURING THIS FREAK RUSH IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING THE ARMISTICE-AND EVEN BEFORE THE COM-PLETE DEMOBILIZATION OF THE 11,000,000 IN THE ARMED FORCES **Twenty Million Jobless!**

But how about war-torn Europe (Continued on page 3)

WLB Rejects Coal Miners' **State of Illinois Contract**

WASHINGTON - The War Labor creases, the board, by an eight-to-Board has done it again-that is, rejected a legitimate wage increase for thousands of underpaid Illinois coal

Little more than a month ago, the United Mine Workers in Illinois and the operators of that state agreed on a contract which called for a \$1.25 a day increase for all miners. Of this increase, \$1.00 was a compromise agreement on "portal-to-portal" pay and twenty-five cents was to compensate miners for the purchase of tools, dynamite and other equipment, and to increase vacation pay. Under Roosevelt's hold-the-line order and since the passage of the reactionary Smith-Connally bill, this agreement between the Illinois miners and operators was before the

the state of the second

WLB for review and approval. Lewis and other officials of the union appeared before the WLB to present the case for the miners. While the press then reported that the mine

leaders had made a favorable im-

pression on the WLB as a result of

their powerful case for wage in-

four vote, rejected the agreement. The industry and so-called "public" representatives voted to reject, the labor representatives dissenting.

Thus another chapter has been added to the anti-labor record of the WLB. In any case, it has been consistent in the sense that it has persistently opposed the best interests of the American working class.

If any further proof was needed that labor has no place on this board and should resign in a body, this latest action on the Illinois agreement is such proof. The WLB has become the graveyard of labor's wage demands.

But, most important of all, this action on the Illinois agreement has set the precedent for the whole coal industry. It shows clearly that the coal miners can get no redress from a body with a majority made up of industry representatives, an "impartial" rich lawyer and a professor representing the "public.'

Labor should get off the WLB.

Anthracite Dispute Before WLB

WASHINGTON - The dispute between the United Mine Workers and the anthracite coal operators highlighted the latest session of the WLB hearings on the coal wage dispute. After months of negotiations, the anthracite operators refused to come to an agreement with the miners. In the hearings before the WLB, the miners presented a mass of data showing how difficult it is for this body of workers to exist on present

wage scales. Lewis raised the question of "human rights" involved in the case, the high easualty rate in anthracite mining, the low wages, and contrasted them to the profits of the operators. saying that "corporate interests have sucked the life blood out of the industry."

In his statement before the WLB, Lewis declared:

"I never yet heard an anthracite operator, or the anthracite conference as such, ever concede that a single concession was due a single

coal miner in that industry for a quarter of a century.

"These operators never yield anything; they always say no. They employ statisticians, researchers, lawyears, and pay them large salaries to serve the corporations and ignore the human rights in the industry."

Referring to the system of "courthouse dockage," where miners are penalized for dirty coal, Lewis said: "Well, perhaps God intended the mine workers to be responsible for every deficiency in a coal mine, but the mine workers don't think so." In the meantime the WLB has reserved decision on the anthracite miners' demands. But their action on the Illinois agreement is an indication of what they will do here.

The purpose of the WLB in preventing legitimate wage increases is only too clear. Adhering to the "Little Steal" formula, which they too admit does not correspond to the rise in the cost of living, they have "legalized" their anti-labor actions.

Page 2

LABOR ACTION

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

War Manpower Commission Hits at Labor

By MIKE STEVENS

The new directives issued by the War Manpower Commission on August 14 are part and parcel of a conscious transition to a FORCED LA-BOR DRAFT.

The WMC explained that the new rules are intended to "hold essential workers on war-useful jobs if that is where they are employed now, to assure the transfer of workers to jobs aiding in the war effort and to supply men needed for the armed forces without cutting war production.

The changes in the rules provide that a war job takes precedence over a dependency status as a cause for deferment from the armed forces. The WMC will have strict control over the hiring of these new workers. Migration of workers is prohibited. The previous executive order on job freezing is reaffirmed with one change: the WMC will have more rigid control over transfers but will permit transfers if they come under its rules.

Worker Gets It in the Neck

Before going into the more important phases of this transitory program, it is interesting to note once again the difference in the way the workers are treated by the government and the way the bosses are treated by the same government.

The worker is told to leave his present job and go into a "critical industry." He does not receive any money while he is training and seeking a job. If there are no openings or industries in his locality he will have to move and may be forced to accept less wages than on his previous job, although his costs will certainly be higher. There are no provisions for severance pay for the period when he and millions of others will be thrown out of work.

On the other hand, when the government approaches an industrialist to do "critical work," it guarantees him all of his costs, no matter how high they rise, plus a good substantial profit. The government is



The absence of "Press Action" for the past five weeks has deprived our readers of the subscription results since the conclusion of our drive. Two hundred and ninety-five subs have been received during the past five-week period. All LABOR AC-TION agents, friends and the Workers Party have done their bit to hit this record and keep it up.

Our Louisville news agent has sent

also concerned about the dark days Totalitarian Control of Labor when the boss shuts down his plant and the profits stop, either due to lack of war orders or the period of getting back to consumer goods production. Certainly the boss should not dig down into his pockets and use a few of the millions he made during the war. No; no need for that. The government permits him to put away large sums from the money it gives him at the present time.

The government holds a blackjack over the worker's head. Either he goes into a war industry and stays "frozen" to his job, no matter what the sacrifice, or else he is drafted. The government holds bushels of cost-plus profits over the boss' head and says: "Don't bother to ask, for ye shall receive anyhow."

Paul V. McNutt, War Manpower Commissioner, in announcing the new rules, said that "the time has come when every worker must justify himself in terms of his contribution to the war program." McNutt wants a free hand to decide where. when and how this "contribution" is to be made. He has absolutely no faith in these rules to solve the manpower shortage or the production lags that he claims exist throughout

the country. Nobody expected him to blame the dollar-a-year men in Washington for bogging down production through their control of priorities to the best interests of their respective companies. But even if these new rules were simply a real desire to get

workers into the war factories and on the jobs in which they are at their top skill, why no real provision to force the bosses to hire Negroes? Millions of Negroes are unemployed, or at menial occupations, or working at jobs that require far less skill than they possess.

Migration of workers who are NOT in the war industries to the places were workers are needed would be at least a little help on the manpower situation. And yet the new rules specifically forbid it. Why?

Roosevelt and his entire Administration know that, in fighting modern total wars, under the capitalist system, the only way that the labor resources of a country can be completely mobilized is through the labor draft. But they do not dare

to come out for the labor draft yet. The labor movement and public sentiment are too strongly against it.

Early in July of this year McNutt called a meeting of the labor-management committee, and the labor draft was the first point on the agenda. It is obvious that the decision was to prepare the road by stages. Every time the WMC announces new rules, the instruments of control over labor and its freedom of movement. initiative and action are increased.

The Worker as a Chess Piece

The new rules cannot work, and no one has any illusions about them. The New York Herald Tribune refers to them as "the last makeshift." The labor draft will follow; the capitalist class cannot and will not bring in anything else.

Lawrence A. Appley, executive director of the WMC, in commenting on the new rules, said: "If this does not work, something else will." Undersecretary of War Patterson admitted that "national conscription may be the answer."

All the correspondents close to Roosevelt and his advisers have let it be known that the entire Administration will support the vicious slave act known as the Austin-Wadsworth national service (labor draft) bill this coming fall when Congress convenes.

The national service bill has been politely explained as the plan "to place every man and woman in the nation in the position he or she can serve best." In other words, labor will be regimented so that any worker can be picked up at any moment and sent to any section of the country that the WMC feels that some capitalist needs him. As the masters of the WMC see fit, so shall skilled and unskilled workers be changed from their occupations, trades and localities.

What arguments can the labor leaders have to the Austin - Wadsworth bill when it comes up in Congress? Roosevelt will politely call them in and say: "We have a manpower problem, and you know we really have tried everything else short of a labor draft, and none of these things has worked. We must draft labor and ship them wherever they are needed in order to have peak production for the war."

What can the labor leaders say? They are supporting the war, and this slave bill is necessary to produce under the present government. Philip Murray's single objection to the labor draft in the past was "not out of any notion of protecting itself, but solely with an eye to the best interests of war production."

What if Roosevelt proves to Murray that the labor draft is necessary for the best interests of capitalist

DEMONSTRATIONS OF GREEK WORKERS DEFEAT NAZIS

Europe in Revolt A Review of Political Events

A recent bulletin of the Internacollaboration" that the government of the Greek Quisling, Professor Lotional Transport Workers Federation carries the following report on the gotheopoulos, had been formed by resistance of the Greek people to the the Germans. The propaganda preliminaries took deportation order issued by the Nazis

up the months of January and Feb-This event is an outstanding examruary. At the end of February rumor was rife that the compulsory deporple of how, even under conditions of Gestapo terror, mass actions against tations were about to begin. Overnight Athens was flooded with leafthe Nazi apparatus can lead to at lets urging active resistance to these least partial success. Militant action plans. On March 1 and 2 Athens was of labor, wherever possible, is ten the scene of great demonstrations, times more effective than individual which in the evening culminated in sabotage. It activizes thousands and mass meetings in the working-class makes them feel their united strength and, unlike individual sabodistricts. A particularly active part was taken by contingents of war intage, it is a clear sign of renewed valids from the Albanian campaign.

The police repeatedly tried to disperse the demonstrators, using batons and firing warning shots. On Concently formed Greek government to stitution Square and Canning Square scription of all males between eightwater hoses had to be played upon een and forty-five. It was for the the crowds before they could be dispurpose of preparing this "economic persed.

destroyed all the documents and ma-

terial bearing thereon they could lay

hands on. Then they withdrew in

orderly fashion. The demonstration

was continued, however, and when

the invasion of the Ministry of Labor

became known the whole of Athens

celebrated the victory. The situation

looked like it was developing into a

veritable revolt which the police, at

first acting without the assistance of

the occupation authorities, would not

be able to control. At this stage the

occupation authorities intervened.

Strong detachments of German and

Italian troops supported by tanks and

low flying planes were brought into

Athens from the surrounding dis-

tricts. Eye-witnesses report many

serious clashes with several killed

and injured. Acts of terror followed

against small shop keepers who had

shown their sympathy toward the

demonstrators. Many Greek police

officials, keeping up the tradition of

the Metaxas regime of terror, on

these occasions outdid 'even the cc-

cupation troops in ferocity.

THE MASS POWER OF THE GREEK PEOPLE charged with the civil comb-out and

On March 5 large crowds, as though by pre-arrangement, began to stream from the working class outskirts toward the center of the city. Parties of five to ten gathered into veritable processions, singing the Greek national anthem, chanting slogans against the forced labor and the Quisling" government. A large contingent of the demonstration reached the Ancient Castle, in which the government had its political office, and demanded to see the Prime Minister. They were prevented from entering by a reinforced guard. In the meantime a large crowd had also assembled on Canning Square. Strong forces of police tried to disperse the crowd, but could not clear the adjacent narrow streets. Suddenly the police found themselves encircled and after a brief resistance allowed themselves to be disarmed. The goal of these demonstrators was the nearby Ministry of Labor, whither they marched after overcoming the police, forced the doors and swarmed into the building. They penetrated into the departments

Early this year the German occu-

pation authorities instructed the re-

carry through the industrial con-

and the Greek Quislings.

mass activity.

A RETREAT BY THE GOVERNMENT

On March 6 the Quisling, Logothopoulos, made the following declaration: "Terrorist organizations have organized anarchic gatherings in the city with the view of disturbing work in public and industrial premises. These ill-considered activities resulted in clashes between the terrorist bands and the guardians of public order. These bandits even used arms against those who resisted them. The anarchic unrest and gatherings were organized under the pretext of a protest against the civil call-up. I have already informed the Greek people that the civil call-up

occupation troops are not to be drafted outside of Greece. The public service staffs joined the trouble makers at the very moment when their demands were being conceded and when the cabinet had decided that the improvements granted a few days previously were to go into effect.'

This declaration amounted to a partial victory. Nobody believed that it had been decided before that the call-up was not to go into effect. The militant direct action of the Greek people had won them important concessions from the Quislings and the

Workers Defense League Exposes Reactionary **Records of Sponsors of Compulsory Labor Bill**

Morris Milgram, national secretary curity bill and consistently voted (as employers for voluntary acceptance of the Workers Defense League, has made public the following letter on the records of Senator Austin and Representative Wadsworth, sponsors of a labor draft bill which goes under their names.

The letter, sent to War Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt for the purpose of obtaining a statement from his office on the matter of the labor draft, is a complete explanation of the background of the two politicians and their purpose in presenting the bill.

The text of the letter follows: "Dear Mr. McNutt:

"The press reports that you told a press conference that 'if the need arises, the machinery will be ready' to carry out a labor draft.

"I wonder if you realize how much ammunition the proponent of draft labor legislation are giving to the Axis. Austin-Wadsworth bill proponents are saying in effect that the American people will not do work that is declared essential to the national safety unless they are forced to do it. You are declaring that the people are not behind the government, do not believe in the war, and will not volunteer for jobs they can fill unless the gun muzzle of a stiff fine and a jail sentence is placed at their backs. It is not only excellent propaganda for the Axis; it is fine for the Republican Party which may be why two Republicans are sponsoring

Their Congressional Records

the bill.

"Look at the records of Senator Austin and Representative Wadsworth and you will see that they have always opposed legislation favorable to labor. "In 1935 Senator Austin voted against the Wagner Labor Relations Act; voted to repeal publicity to in-

A Reader Writes

On 'WLB' Davis

It has become obvious now that

should not ask for wage increases.

But William B. Davis, chairman of

the WLB, goes them all one better.

It doesn't matter whether his reasons

are false and contradictory. The im-

keep the workers in their places.

with it (probably by his brass).

Dear Editor:

work relief appropriations. "In 1937, he opposed the wage and hour bill and the Wagner housing bill; in 1939 he opposed the payment of prevailing wages on work relief projects and opposed the La Follette

he did for years) against needed

amendment to boost income surtaxes; in 1940 he was paired against the anti-labor-spy bill; in 1942 he opposed poll-tax repeal; in 1943 he was record for the Smith-Connally antilabor bill. "Representative Wadsworth, whose

home political atmosphere is so reactionary that his wife, Mrs. Alice Hay Wadsworth, was named honorary president for life of the National Association Opposed to Women Suffrage, after serving as its active president from 1917 to 1919, is equally anti-labor. In 1935 he voted nay on the social security bill. In 1936 he

voted for the return of unemployment relief to the states. In 1937 he voted against the Wagner housing bill, was paired against the Gavagan anti-lynching bill, and voted to repeal corporate salary publicity. "In 1938 he voted against the wage

and hour bill; in 1939 he voted for the anti-labor bill to investigate the NLRB, and opposed needed work relief funds. In 1940 he again opposed the anti-lynching bill. In 1941 he voted for the Smith anti-labor bill. In 1942, he voted for the Dies committee. In 1943 he opposed poll-tax repeal and voted for the Hobbs bill and for the Smith-Connally anti-labor bill.

A-Totalitarian Bill

"How can you expect to sell a labor draft bill to the workers when it is backed by such notoriously anti-labor men:

port of the labor draft bill involves acceptance of the totalitarian concept in which human rights mean nothing, nor does the individual judgment, and the state is all-powerful, all-wise, even in the disposition of individual lives. "We urge you to consider the case for and against compulsory national

of employment of employables. Sup-

service legislation. Last year you declared in September, before the House Agriculture Committee, that the Administration would make recommendations for a national service act in the 'very near future.' That passage of the Austin-Wadsworth bill has been held up has been due to the sensible public opposition to the bill, an opposition which will increase as knowledge of its stringent controls on individual liberties becomes widespread.

"Morris Milgram, National Secretary,

Workers Defense League.

McNutt's Reply

The following is the text of Chairman McNutt's reply, received August 16 by the Workers Defense League: "I have your letter of August 5 regarding a statement credited to me that 'if the need arises, the machinery will be ready' for carrying out the labor draft.

"The War Manpower Commission has not varied from the position that our labor problems can best be met on a voluntary basis without compulsory legislation. We still believe that that can be done, but I believe you will agree that in view of the responsibility placed upon the War Jannower Commission we would be

in twenty-eight new subs on the prepaid sub carbs and has reordered the same amount.

LABOR ACTION readers should send for these prepaid sub cards to be sold to their friends and fellow workers. You buy the card for twenty-five cents, fill in your name, address and city, then drop the card in the mail box. We do the rest...you get LABOR ACTION for the next six months. Simple? Of course! So just send in a dollar or two and we will send you the sub cards.

Buffalo just increased its bundle order by 500, which raises the circulation of LA to 40,000!

The breakdown of the subs received during the past two weeks follows:

Bronx	. 12
Ohio	_ 10
New York City	. 9
Buffalo	. 8
Detroit	7
California	. 6
Brooklyn	. 5
Philadelphia	. 5
Chicago	. 4
Louisville	. 4
Georgia	. 2
North Carolina	. 1
St. Louis	. 1
Virginia	. 1
Wisconsin	. 1
Total	. 76

Three California subscribers have requested that they be sent small bundles of LABOR ACTION each week so that they can introduce the paper to their fellow workers. We : will be glad to send any subscriber a small bundle of papers each week. Just send us a card and tell us how many; we'll do the rest.

And thanks to our friend in Rocky Mount, N. C., who sent in the subs for Savannah, Ga., and Virginia.

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draft bill is a confession of failure on come tax figures, opposed loans to the part of the War Manpower Comtenants to buy farms, opposed old age mission to devise adequate plans for pension provisions of the social se- voluntary manpower utilization by one does not meet the situation."

"In addition, support of the labor guilty of a neglected duty if we were production? Murray will have to acnot prepared to submit an alternative program based on our experience in the event that the present

cept the slave bill or expose the whole system of capitalism and show that this is a result of the war and the class struggle.

is not to be carried out and that Nazi occupation authorities. those who are in the service of the Europacus.

Local 365 of UAW Elects **Delegates for Convention**

NEW YORK-In the recent election of delegates to the UAW convention conducted by Local 365, a combination of Stalinists and reactionaries elected five out, of eleven delegates from Long Island City. The administration made a clean sweep in Newark and Johnsville.

The election of five delegates on the Stalinist - reactionary slate came as a complete surprise, since the administration not only expected to sweep the election, but was conceded such a victory. The reason for this defeat, then, must be examined.

The Slates in the Field

There were three important slates in the field, plus a number of independents. First there was the administration slate, known as "A." The Stalinist - reactionary bloc slate entered the field as "B." And finally there was the "C" slate, a newly formed anti - administration group headed by a former executive board member formerly associated with the

administration. The administration approached the election with supreme confidence,

and did little campaigning, so certain was it of victory. It ran on the general Reuther - Leonard program, retaining little of the militant Bushkill Conference program which it had previously adopted.

The Stalinist program was simple: it called for support of the officialdoms of the CIO and UAW and for retention of the no-strike pledge. The "C" group ran on the Bushkill program, but omitted one of its most important planks, for a Labor Party. While these were the nominal programs, they played little or no role in the election fight, since the slates all concentrated the fight around secondary local union issues.

Substituting Local Issues The fact is that for the past two months the record of the administration in the shop has not been a good one. A number of petty grievances remain unsettled, as the company adopted a policy of making agreements with the union, but seldom carrying them out. These grievances have piled up in recent weeks.

The "B" and "C" groups, in addition to mud-slinging, charged the administration with being a bureaucratic machine dominated by questionable elements. They played up justifiable grievances which existed.

The "C" slate, now broken with the administration, made the most of these local grievances. They, too, played them up out of all proportion and conducted a purely demagogic vote-catching campaign, catering to small sections of the shop.

Splitting the Anti-Stalinist Vote

This slate ran six people for delegate and one alternate. It received an average of 650 votes, thus splitting the anti-Stalinist majority in the union.

On the basis of this split, the Stalinist-reactionary bloc slipped in with five delegates by margins of from five to seventy-five votes.

In practice, the campaign of the "C" group was the same as the Stalinist - reactionary combination. It made no criticisms of the "B" group and slate, concentrating all of its fire on the administration. This was one of the main contributing factors to the election of the five delegates on 'the "B" slate, when, under all normal circumstances, the Stalinists, the most dangerously anti-working class element in the union movement, didn't have a chance.

Coming Attractions--

The UAW and Incentive Pay, by Albert Gates. The Victory of the CCF in Canada, by Mike Stevens Prospects of Post-War Unemployment, by Susan Green. The Story of the Hatboro-Brewster UAW Strike.

liam D. Davis was quoted as saying that "even if all the other fronts of the anti-inflation fight were broken (as if they were being held!) wage control must be maintained." In other words, even if the food profiteers grow fat and the corpora-

the bosses and their press will dig up every conceivable reason, all of tions wallow in profits, the workers, them bad, why the "Little Steal" forand they alone, must carry the burmula must be kept and why workers dens of the war. Continuing in the month of Au-

gust, "WLB" Davis defended the "Little Steal" formula by saying that, on the whole, price control was successful, except ... except for the

portant thing, according to him, is to prices of food! As a matter of fact, price control Thus PM reported in April that "on the whole" has not been held. Davis had stated that this is the first If prices of clothes, services and war in which wages have kept up rents have not risen as high or as with prices. Davis' statement is so spectacularly as food, every worker obviously untrue, we can only wonand every housewife knows that der how he expected to get away they have risen far beyond the means of the worker to meet them. More

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Digging Their Own **Political Graves** Dear Editor: A certain group called the Workers Socialist Party, in its theoretical magazine, the Western Socialist,

Jhe Readers of Labor Action Jake the Floor ...

sky-rocketed.

pay increases!

ican workers.

writes that the October Revolution In July, however, the same Wilthan half of the worker's wages are in Russia in 1917 was not socialist but capitalist, because it destroyed the last vestiges of feudalism. It also states that there never was a "dictatorship of the proletariat" in Russia, but a party and leader dictatorship and a state-controlled capitalism.

It further states that the working class needs NO leadership (a party) and no economic might (soviets, or

workers' councils) to back up its political demand: socialism. You have exposed crackpots-please send these people where they belong: to a grave political end!

Keep up the GREAT WORK!

R. B. (New York). Our friend R. B. has a big order here, which it is impossible to do in LABOR ACTION. As a matter of fact, we don't even believe it is nec- peasants mercilessly. One thing is essary. The Western Socialist, by its ideas, is guaranteeing its own obscurity. Naturally, we believe its views ism .-- Editor.

spent for food on which prices have to be totally false and in general the contents of our paper are a weekly This is the same Mr. Davis who sits answer to views which would doom as."impartial" chairman of the WLB. the whole working class. Fortunately which decides on all requests for their program is completely out of line with the needs of the workers The moral, fellow workers, is that and the concrete education which workers receive in their day-to-day if the labor leaders got off the board, not only would they be in a better

experiences. Lack of leadership, lack of a proposition to fight and win wage raises, but they would put Mr. Davis out of gram and a party and lack of ecoa job which enables him to concoct untruths against millions of Amer-W. G. (New York).

arise in the course of the American class strugge.-Editor.

At Your Service,

Fellow Worker!

Dear Friends:

Some one has been sending me the "Second Front" (Daily Worker) for a month. Now I am glad it's stopped coming. This Russian capitalist sheet is disgusting reading, so I take advantage of your offer to send LA for six months for a quarter-enclosed three dimes (keep the change). I'll be glad to read a socialist paper for a change.

L. R. (St. Louis, Mo.)

Of course, we don't believe that Russia is a capitalist nation, but we can understand how L. B., reading the Daily Worker, would get that notion. In our opinion, Russia represents a new type of state where the bureaucracy, under Stalin, has risen to the position of a new ruling class, exploiting the Russian workers and certain-it is not a workers' state and has nothing in common with social-

nomic organizations, such as mentioned in your letter, express what is the fundamental weakness of a very powerful and militant American working class. But such political and economic organization will LABOR ACTION

What Labor **To the Workers**

By Carl Davis-

There was a time when the American labor movement celebrated May 1 as the holiday of all who toil. May Day was a tradition of labor struggle. It emphasized the fact that the American working class had to fight for its right to organize and for all the gains it had won in wages, hours and conditions of work.

It was to counteract the militant working class spirit of its marching legions on May Day that the government, acting jointly with big business and reactionary labor leaders, set aside the first Monday in September as a labor holiday.

Thus Labor Day has become a traditional "day of rest." But more important than that, it has become a symbol of labor docility, of collaboration with the bosses, of everything that weakens and hurts the working class.

It is the day when government officials pat labor on the back and then warn the workers to be good slaves, not to fight profits, not to resist their bosses, not to demand higher wages, shorter hours or better working conditions.

It is a day when reactionary bosses and hardfisted industrialists say hello to the men in overalls and thank them for their labors, cautioning them to be good slaves and to resist any desire to change their conditions of existence.

It is a day when reactionary labor leaders plead with the workers not to be trouble-makers by fighting for their rights and thus upsetting the "good" relations which exist between "capital and labor."

The whole atmosphere of Labor Day is repugnant. It is against the best traditions and the best interests of labor. It is the perpetuation of a lie that the workers can improve their lot by being quiet, agreeable mules.

Since the war broke out, labor has received one blow after another.

- Wages have been frozen.
- Jobs have been frozen.
- More than half of the working class exists on
- a wage of under thirty dollars a week! Hours of work have been lengthened. Condi-

tions of labor have worsened to the point where industrial accidents far exceed war casualties. The cost of living is far beyond the ability of

bet the workers to meet it.

Price control and price rollbacks have become a bitter joke!

On the other side of the ledger we find war profiteering without a let-up. .

We find the growth of new war millionaires. We find cost-plus contracts which further enrich the rich. There are no real limits to profits."

There are no limits to salaries! In addition to the frightful situation on the home front, there is the war-a wasteful, destructive and purposeless feature of a decaying capitalist system.

How the Government Serves Its Class **Day '43 Means** Bosses Get Preferential Treatment

By GERTRUDE SHAW

According to the figures of the War Production Board, there has been a dropping off in the production of airplanes and war materiel. The Rickenbacker gang takes this

as an occasion again to lambaste "absenteeism"-whether it exists or not. Other super-patriots willy-nilly shout about the shortage of labor, for the need of a labor draft, for the draft ing of fathers, or for whatever is their pet panacea.

However, some scribes of the capitalist press-in their effort to get more for the class that hires themhave come out with the truth concerning the curtailment in production of airplane engines and of other war goods.

Reactionary Upholds Business

Thus David Lawrence in his column in the New York Sun gave as one reason for the drop in production the displeasure of the war materiel manufacturers with the indictments and criminal proceedings following the Truman Committee reports on the sale to the government of defective engines and parts. THE BOSSES WANT TO BE PAY-TRIOTIC IN THEIR OWN PECULIAR WAY-OR NOT AT ALL!

In a later column, Mr. Lawrence gave an additional reason for the falling off in production. "Management strain," he says, "and the destruction of incentive, particularly the government's failure to set up a termination of war contracts solution that will not discourage management during the war."

Ralph Hendershot, financial editor of the New York World-Telegram, supports this view that the bosses lack "incentive"-poor things! THEIR WAR PROFITS RUN ONLY ALL THE WAY UP TO 2,400 PER CENT! Says Mr. Hendershot: "And one of the chief reasons is that the government has not made adequate provision for payment adjustment when contracts are cancelled.... It is only natural that the corporations should weigh future possibilities. . . . They know they will have need of all their capital to reconvert to a peacetime basis after the war, and they cannot afford to take too many chances."

ing, with the government providing them with modern plants free, gratis and for nothing-with plenty of operating capital from Jesse Jones' treasure chest-and with 1943 profits mounting above the 1942 bonanza? What do all these reasons for slow-

What chances are the bosses tak-

ing down production of planes boil down to? Just this: THE BOSSES HAVE GONE ON A SIT-DOWN STRIKE

Bosses Are Fighting Mad!

They don't like to be prosecuted for being merchants of death and passing off defective war materiel. Presto! They slow down production. They don't like the government's delays in adopting a policy regarding cancelled contracts. Presto! They cause production to fall off, thus putting pressure on their own government conducting a war caused by their own capitalist system. They keep an eye and a half cocked on peacetime business and profits-and don't worry too much about the boys over there.

Yes, the bosses go on their own kind of strike when, as and if they choose. They did so right at the start of the war when the auto industry refused to convert to war production until they got their juicy cost-plus contracts.

They strike now when they don't like government regulations - even the kid-glove OPA kind, as happened when boss slaughterers refused to take care of a large shipment of steers, thus depriving the consumers of thousands of pounds of precious meat. They are striking now by slowing up the production of planes and other war goods because they don't like the Truman Committee, because they want advantageous contract adjustments and because they are already anticipating post - war profits.

Yes, the bosses strike when, as and if they want to. And nobody calls them unpatriotic. Nobody shrieks about sabotaging the boys in the foxholes. Congress does not stampede to pass an anti-strike bill against the

Standards for Worker and Business Quite the contrary! These "grievances" of the war-fattened exploiters are, most naturally, "just" ones and must be alleviated. By all means! Mr. Lawrence thinks that "within the next fortnight there ought to be some constructive suggestions for the handling of the problems that have brought such a serious setback on the airplane production front." And Mr. Hendershot states: "It would seem, therefore, that some definite provision should be made at this time to correct the situation. And Congress is probably the only agency that can get the job done.'

And what is the job Congress is to do? See to it that the Truman Committee doesn't pry into the unscrupulous production methods of the bosses. See to it that the government adopts a pleasing, profit-yielding policy regarding cancelled contracts. See to it that post-war business and profits are given WARTIME consideration.

DEFINITELY THERE IS A DOU-BLE STANDARD - ONE FOR THE BOSSES AND QUITE A DIFFER-ENT ONE FOR THE WORKERS.

For the workers there are nostrike pledges and a Connally-Smith anti-strike bill. For the workers there are invectives of the vilest kind from the whole capitalist press and from every radio commentator directly or indirectly linked to the National Association of Manufacturers. Are not the grievances of labor as

legitimate as those of capital? Of course not-NOT IN THE EYES OF THE CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT AND NOT IN THE EYES OF ALL THE SERVITORS OF THE CAPI-TALIST CLASS. For the grievances of the bosses pertain to the harvesting of profits-always legitimate under the profit system; while the grievances of labor pertain merely to the needs and desires of human beings - AN ALTOGETHER DIF-FERENT PROPOSITION.

Where the Administration Stands

The discontent of labor has to do with grievances over conditions and wages which have been buried in the graveyard of the War Labor Board for months and even years.

The anger of labor has to do with the infamous Little Steel formula, which holds wages down while prices and profits go skyrocketing.

The demands of labor are, for instance, those of miners wanting an adequate wage for their dangerous work and portal-to-portal pay as miners all over the world get.

The grievances of labor pertain to such things as union recognition-a democratic right-for which labor is euphemistically assured this war is being fought.

To these grievances of labor the Roosevelt Administration has responded by using troops to break strikes. Congress has responded with the Connally-Smith anti-strike bill. Another "solution" offered for the discontent of the workers is to impose a military regime on them as in the Army, namely, the labor draft. And, lo and behold, as further means of restraining workers from giving expression to their just grievances, the genial friend of labor in the White House has come out with an executive order to withhold dues from unions involved in strikes.

Yes, there is a double standardone for the bosses and quite a different one for the workers. But it is to be expected that the ruling class will be the favored class - UNDER CAPITALISM THE CAPITALIST CLASS IS THE RULING CLASS. THE PRIVILEGED CLASS.

Labor cannot rely on any supporters of this system which inevitably favors the bosses-not on the Roosevelts, Wallaces, Willkies, and not on the no-strike pledgers in its own ranks who really serve the capitalist class. The working class itself must blaze its path to a better life. It must fight against the no-strike pledge and against the Connally-Smith anti-strike law.

Only by using their economic and political might can the workers improve themselves. They must struggle not only for a decent living standard-but for all the PLUSES of life. And they must realize that the working class must make itself the governing class under a workers' government marching on toward social-

Byrns Makes a Report on the War Economy

-By Robert Klein

Page 3

The one really clear thing that emerges from the report on the war situation broadcast August 16 by War Mobilization Director James F. Byrnes is that labor is going to bear an increasingly heavy share of the war economy.

Byrnes, who is sometimes called the "second President," introduced his report by throwing a wet blanket on any optimistic hopes of an early end to the war, pointing out that the Allies at the present time are farther away from victory than the Axis was in the summer of 1940. Then he proceeded to repeat once more the grimmest joke of the war to date-the fiction that from December, 1941, to July, 1943, the cost of living increased only twelve per cent while weekly wages of factory workers "as a whole" went up 34.7 per cent.

WHAT THE FIGURES REALLY MEAN

Like all the other representatives of big business who use these figures, Byrnes doesn't bother to break them down to show what they really mean. He doesn't indicate, for example, that the twelve per cent rise in the cost of living includes all goods, commodities and services-ninety-five per cent of which never enter into the average worker's budget.

OPA reports have consistently revealed that food prices, which represent the major drain on a worker's income, have gone up fifty, seventy-five and in some case one hundred per cent!

As if realizing what a hollow ring his figures will have in the ears of a worker's wife who tries to feed her family out of a "frozen" wage, Byrnes hands out the Roosevelt Administration's favorite gumdrop: "There will be a substantial reduction in the cost of actual necessities." Workers who received that same promise a long time ago are still waiting for ANY reduction, let alone a "substantial" one.

The high spot in the report comes when Byrnes says: "Our people have nearly \$20,000,000,000 more to spend a year for goods and services than there are goods and services available for them to buy.

The purpose of this statement, of course, is to pave the way for the announcement that "We must drain off by taxation or freeze by enforced savings that excess purchasing power," or, in plain English, the worker's wage must be cut further by new and heavier taxes.

EXCESS PURCHASING AND PROFITS.

This twenty billion dollar figure is an even bigger fraud than the twelve per cent gag. What does it mean, after all? It means simply that the government is spending twenty billion dollars more per year than it is receiving, but Byrnes' implication that this twenty billion dollars goes into general circulation is a feeble deception.

Actually, the bulk of it is drained off in the form of corporate profits which never reach the worker's pay envelope. It is reinvested as expanded capital or simply stored up in securities and holdings for post-war investment. Thus while corporation profits will be allowed to

Why the Capitalist System Won't Work

Following is a chapter taken from the pamphlet, PLENTY FOR ALL, a popular presentation of the socialist program, by Ernest Lund. It was published by the Workers Party this month.

Why did the capitalists mess up this chance of plenty for all? Why did they bring about chaos instead of order? Why wealth piled up on one side and poverty on the other? Why "boom" years followed by "depression"? Why "depression" followed by war? Why the turmoil of strikes, strife, struggle; man against man, class against class, nation against nation?

The capitalist was interested in longer hours, speed-up, and low wages. The worker was interested in shorter hours,

easier work, and high wages. Capitalism created a class of owners pitted

against a class of workers-at war with each other engaged in a CLASS STRUGGLE with each other.

The capitalist owner of industry has only one reason to run his factory-profit. Under capitalism, the needs of the people for various goods are not the PRIMARY purpose of production. The capitalist will just as soon make rifles as Bibles, bison gas, pre-fabricated houses "block-buster" bombs, artistic reprints as pornography. All he asks is: "Which will pay more?"

wars, in class strife and civil war, in hunger and freezing, in industrial accidents and disease, in malnutrition and child labor, in poverty and crime. It destroys the wealth of society and wastes the labor potential of millions of idle hands.

Capitalism pits worker against worker in bidding for a job. It pits capitalist against capitalist in fighting for profits. It pits workers against capitalist in class struggle. It pits capitalist nation against capitalist nation in imperialist war. It pits producer against consumer, landlord against tenant, farmer against city dweller, white against Negro, Gentile against Jew.

Labor Day, 1943, brings home the point: There is need for a change of our society. Socialism is a necessity.

It would destroy the capitalist system wherein one class is enriched by exploiting the majority.

We need socialism because the means of life, the factories, mines, mills and land would belong to the people!

We need socialism because production of the necessities of life would be for the use of the people instead of the profit of a few.

A Spokesman for the **Chamber of Commerce**

There are no Sunday comics in the New York Times. With them the world is strictly serious, Sundays included. But they have a Sunday magazine section which every so often beats Barney Google and the Katzenjammer Kids combined.

Last Sunday, for example, we popped three shirt buttons over an article called "Ap End to Reaction-A Charter for Business" by Eric A. Johnston, president of the United States Chamber of Commerce.

Now Mr. Johnson isn't really a professional clown. It's just that when he tries to be serious, it comes out funny. The comic effect is produced (you can try it yourself) by loudly urging an idea in one sentence, and in the next sentence, twice as loudly urging exactly the opposite.

Here, for instance, is what Johnston's "Charter for Business" boils down to (hold on to your buttons!): I am for free enterprise, but I am also for controlled profits; I am for unlimited, unrestricted competition, but I am also for a planned economy; I am for international cartels, but I am against monopolies; I am for collective bargaining, but I am against trade unions; and most of all, I am for an economy of scarcity that will give plenty to everybody.

The point is that the "smart" capitalists-the Roosevelt, Wallace, Willkie, Johnston crowd-go in for all kinds of hocus-pocus to convince workers they are deeply concerned about their interests. What they are really worried about is that the capitalists whom Johnston calls "unenlightened"-the ones who won't yield an inch -will cause the workers to rise against the entire boss class. So they favor tossing an occasional bone to the workers and at the same time try to throw a smokescreen over the real inadequacies of capitalist economy by mouthing the contradictory type of statements in Johnston's article.

"We must preserve the American tradition of freedom to take a chance-to lose your shirt if you want to," Johnston says. We can assure Mr. Johnston that we workers are confident that, under capitalism, we'll always have the freedom to lose our shirt. What we should like, for a change, is the freedom to keep our shirt.

Because the very root of capitalism is wrong. Because the basic idea is unsound.

Because the foundation is illogical. Because the capitalist system is founded on a CONTRADICTION.

What is this contradiction?

It is the system in which the man who owns the tools of production does not work them; and-The man who works them does not own them. This is the basic contradiction of capitalism.

Before we had capitalism the owner of the tools and the worker of the tools WERE THE SAME MAN. In those days the tools were simple: saws, hammers, spinning wheels, weaving looms. The workman owned his tools. He bought his raw materials. The product he made was his own. He sold it for the best price. He was his own boss. True-he worked long hours and hard. He never lived well. Life was a drudgery. But he didn't know wage cuts, lock-outs, unemployment, speedups, strikes and insecurity.

Then came the inventions. The tools of production became workshops, factories and, finally, gigantic industries. Only a rich man could set up a factory. Land owners, bankers, merchants had the capital. They became the capitalists.

Each machine now turned out as much as several workmen formerly did with hand tools. The owner of the machine could pay the worker to run it and still keep a good margin of profit. The profit bought more machines. More workers were employed. More profit. More machines. On one hand, a handful of men who owned the tools of production. On the other hand, the mass of workers who could only make a living by working for the capitalists.

What happened now?

The product no longer belonged to the producer-the worker at the machine. It belonged to the capitalist owner of the machine. He sold it for the best price the market would pay. And he gave the worker the smallest wage he would work for.

The less the wage for the worker, the bigger the profit for the capitalist.

The bigger the wage for the worker, the less the profit for the capitalist.

(Continued from page 1)

and the world-wide reconstruction

Dr. Hirsch believes the "require-

ments have been greatly overesti-

mated." He is not optimistic. His

opinion is that this source of busi-

ness will be dried up quickly-

"Mainly because the productive pow-

er in Europe has risen to a degree

which almost insures that its recon-

struction this time will be much

quicker and more efficient than last."

needed after the war?

The fact that the millions of people depend upon industry for food, clothing, housing, furniture. transportation, communications and amusement is of interest to the capitalist only as the "market" in which he can realize a profit.

He is the dictator over his plant. He can run it or shut it down to please himself. If there is profit in production he hires men, works overtime, night shifts. If profit falls off, he throws his workers into the street to shift for themselves.

He operates anarchistically.' Without plan, without social purpose. His only god is the Al-* mighty Dollar-his Holy Script is the magic word "Dividends."

That is why capitalism is more destructive than all the earthquakes, tornadoes, floods, cloudbursts, tidal waves and volcanic eruptions ever visited upon earth from the beginning of time.

Capitalism kills and cripples millions in its

Brewster Strike!

Next week's issue of LABOR ACTION will carry a full story on the following important union struggle:

Five thousand workers have been on strike at the Hatboro, Pa., plant of the Brewster Aeronautical Company since early Monday morning, when four guards, members of the UAW-CIO were thrown into jail because they refused to break the seniority rules of the union. Seven more guards were arrested on Wednesday. All eleven are in military prison with no charges as yet preferred against them.

The workers in the Long Island City plants of the company, in an overflow meeting of over six thousand workers, held on August 25, voted to inform the various governmental agencies of their desire to take a strike vote in solidarity with the imprisoned UAW-CIO guards of Hatboro.

20,000,000 Workers Will Be Jobless --

WHY? All in the mad race for a crust of bread, for survival, for security. In an age when plenty is

possible for all! It is the system of COMPETITION-

It is the system of dog eat dog, of each man for himself and the devil take the hindmost, of the law of the jungle.

And in the mad scramble of capitalism, the Age of Plenty-the New World within our power-is being trampled in the dust.

So that Mrs. McLean can throw a \$50,000 party and parade her two million dollar diamond before her six hundred and fifty guests.

And ten million workers run bayonets into each "other's guts in an imperialist war.

Capitalism stands before us indicted as a system of criminal madness, "dripping with blood and filth."

And the capitalist class stands before us as mad overlords in control of a high-powered auto careening furiously to destruction.

LABOR ACTION A Paper in the Interests of Labor

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swell to the bursting point, labor will be taxed more heavily to drain off this excess purchasing power which it never received in the first place. This, of course, all comes under the heading of "equality of sacrifice"!

Byrnes himself shows the true color of things when he says: "The net profits of corporations AFTER (our emphasis) taxes in 1942...were eighty-three per cent higher than they were in the pre-war year 1939. IT IS ESTIMATED THAT CORPORATION PROFITS AFTER TAXES IN 1943 ARE RUNNING TWELVE PER CENT ABOVE 1942." Corporation profits, in other words, are currently over one hundred and four per cent higher than in 1939!

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Here is something we must not lose sight of. Not only in America has agricultural and industrial production been stepped up to meet war requirements - (the exact figures will be given in the next article). EV-ERY COUNTRY IN THE WORLD HAS DEVELOPED ITS PRODUC-TION TECHNIQUE IMMEASURA-BLY.

The Brookings Institutes figures that the two factors of stimulated consumer demand at home and from between eight and ten million people

war-exhausted countries abroad will together keep the American industrial machine operating for NOT MORE THAN TWO YEARS.

Dr. Hirsch thinks the boom will end much sooner, but asks the question: "IRRESPECTIVE OF THE LENGTH OF THIS REPLENISH-MENT BOOM, HOWEVER, WHAT THEN WILL FOLLOW?"

And he answers this all-important question: "While a labor surplus of

was never absorbed in any single one of seven peacetime years after 1929, THE PROBLEM AFTER THE WAR WILL BE TO ABSORB A NUMBER PERHAPS UP TO DOUBLE THAT FIGURE."

In the next article[•] it will be shown-industry by industry-that it is impossible for Mr. Wallace's "harmless or beneficent" capitalist corporations to absorb 20,000,000 unemployed.

EDITORIAL PAGE

LABOR ACTION

Editorials

Cost-Plus Wage In Practice

The demand issued by the Workers Party for a cost-plus wage to all labor is heartily endorsed by LABOR ACTION. This demand meets the real needs of the American workers and is a fitting answer to the profitsnatching of big business.

There is hardly a worker who does not know that the bosses, in addition to their extremely high profits, are permitted funds for post-war conversion, depreciation and replacement, and all kinds of "contingencies." Mostly, this means to guarantee their incomes no matter what will happen after the war. The government guarantees these payments to the companies!

The worker gets exactly nothing outside of his wages, which are just enough to keep him going. Despite the fact that he produces the wealth of the nation, he has no conversion funds. He is paid nothing for his depreciation and he gets nothing for contingent purposes. No job means starvation and misery for him.

United Automobile Workers are demanding special payments to workers to take care of any post-war situation-primarily unemployment. The demand for such payments is not only a necessity, but a right. Industry would be giving to workers what rightfully belongs to them.

The best formulation for this demand is: A COST-PLUS WAGE! This is the slogan which should be adopted by the UAW at its eighth annual convention. It is a demand which should become the ringing cry of the entire labor movement.

For every worker: A COST-PLUS WAGE!

Our Martyrs

On August 22, 1927, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were murdered. They were murdered "legally." Massachusetts boss justice in the persons of Judge Thayer and Governor Fuller decreed their death.

Sacco, the shoemaker, Vanzetti, the fish-peddler, had "sinned" against society. Their sin, their crime, was born out of an idealism and a conviction-that the exploitation of man by man was wrong, that It is no wonder then that locals in the a brotherhood of humanity in which no

man was another's oppressor was right. For that conviction they gave their lives.

The charges against Sacco and Vanzetti (murder and robbery) have long since been exploded. Never at any moment in the seven years they spent in jail, while their case was heard and appealed, was there a shred of evidence against them. It didn't matter. Prosecutor and judge publicly bragged that they would "burn those damn anarchists." And burn the "damn anarchists' 'they did-for just that crime, for believing in human freedom.

Sacco and Vanzetti died in our cause. Like the many, many martyrs who have carried freedom's banner, they never once flinched, never once yielded an inch to the howl and terror of the enemy.

Long after the infamy of the Thayers and the Fullers becomes part of a decayed and maggot-eaten past will the memory of Sacco and Vanzetti be fresh and green, living as it does in the heart of every fighter in freedom's cause. For the banner they carry is ours. And so long as mankind suffers the lash of tyranny and oppression will their names be an inspiration to keep their banner flying.

Italian and American Capitalists Made Mussolini **Big Business Backed Fascism**

By CHRIS SIKOKIS

The Badoglio military dictatorship in Italy is reported to have arrested a handful of industrialists. The arrests are obviously an attempt by Badoglio to give the impression to the Italian people that he is going to punish the capitalists who financed and profited from fascism.

The fact is, however, that almost the entire boss class of Italy financed Mussolini and helped to put him into power. Mussolini was their tool, as Badoglio is today.

It was the capitalists who wanted the trade unions destroyed so that they could force long hours and starvation wages on the workers, and thus reap big profits for themselves. It was the capitalists who wanted the working class organizations destroyed. It is they who are really responsible for the poverty and hun-

Urges German Labor To Follow Italian Example

It is reported that the Gestapo is trying to find the source of the following leaflet that was distributed in thousands throughout Berlin on the fall of Mussolini:

IMAGINE THIS!

Goebbels' radio and press minimize the revolutionary events in Italy. They say that it is only a change of government, that it is entirely an internal Italian matter, and that the war will continue. We can, however, get a clearer insight into the events and be better able to grasp what happened if we try to project them onto the background

Imagine workers in Berlin, Hamburg and all other major cities of the Reich stopping work, filling the streets and shouting: "We want peace!" Imagine Hitler trying to avoid catastrophe by resigning his post and withdrawing to Berchtesgaden. Imagine officers and soldiers declaring their solidarity with rebellious workers, all the offices of the party and of party officials closing down, and the extirpation of Nazism. Imagine Goering, Himmler, Goebbels and all the others arrested and locked up, and excited masses breaking into the houses and palaces of the Nazi dogs and distributing their hoarded foodstuffs among the people. Imagine the editor-in-chief of the Volkischer Beobachter arrested and the newspaper suddenly appearing as a democratic organ. Imagine hundreds and thousands of people asking the Gestapo to release prisoners; imagine this demand fulfilled and the members of the Gestapo taken to concentration camps.

Whatever the specific source of this leaflet-it is, of course, literature issued by the underground-it is a clarion call to the German workers to do even as the Italian workers are doing.

(Continued from page 1)

China, which has waged war against Japan for almost ten years, demands a concentration of Allied arms in the Pacific and objects to the present strategy of directing the main efforts against Germany.

Charter and the Four Freedoms find These military questions are supplemented by equally important political questions.

Allies Fear the Masses

ger of Italy, the slavery of its peo- Confederazione Generale dell'Indusple, and for the deaths of hundreds of thousands of Italian soldiers who died on many battlefields for the profit of the Italian rulers.

When the capitalists of Italy ousted Mussolini they hoped the workers would sit back quietly and say: "There goes the man responsible for fascism. Now let's get to work and make profits for our nice bosses."

But, instead, the workers increased and intensified their strikes and demonstrations. They know who their real enemy is. They know who put Mussolini into power. They know who introduced slave conditions in the factories and on the farms. They know who was the champion of the "national wage cut."

Mussolini's rise to power was financed by virtually every large capitalist organization in Italy. The

tria (similar to the National Association of Manufacturers in the U.S.) was one of the largest contributors. Its Milan section alone contributed 25,000,000 lire to Mussolini as a down payment for services to be rendered in the form of destruction of the trade unions and workers' cooperatives in that area.

Page 4

The Associazione fra Industriali Metallurgici Mecannici (Iron and Steel Institute) also put up some tidy sums to build up the Black Shirts.

The landowners' association, the Sociata Ansaldo (shipbuilding owners), the Fiat Automobile Corporation, the power and utility trusts, the large banking houses and many other boss outfits financed Mussolini in order to enslave the working class.

The American capitalists, always on the alert for a little profit, became very interested in Mussolini and Italy. Imagine: no unions, no workers' or-ganizations, no strikes. What a wonderful place, they said, to "earn" a little dough.

At the executive sessions of the American Bankers Association in 1923, J. H. Barnes, president (he later became head of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States), told his fellow bankers that, as the place for easy picking where workers cannot protest, "Italy is the most promising spot."

American capitalists lost little time. In less than ten years American investments in Italy were over \$416,-000.000.

J. P. Morgan subsidized Mussolini's shipbuilding program.

The Sinclair Oil Company pulled cff deals that would make Standard Oil look like a prodigy of virture.

Dino Grandi, Mussolini's righthand man and at that time president of the fascist Chamber of Deputies, negotiated a loan of \$100,000,000 at eight per cent interest with American bankers.

Sidney K. Mitchell and L. K. Thorne were even board members of Italian Superpower Utilities. In every branch of industry in Italy there were American capitalists sitting alongside their Italian classmates, profiting from the merciless exploitation of the defenseless Italian workers.

Quebec Conference - -

it more convenient not to speak of them any longer. These facts alone serve to indicate the truly reaction-

ary character of the war. Imperialist Contradictions

This fear of the masses dominates

one phase of Anglo-American strate-

gy. It is emphasized in its relations

to fascist Spain and to Argentina.

It is further characterized by the

fact that the sponsors of the Atlantic

of next steps. It has been announced that the war in the Pacific occupied a formidable part of the discussions. But it is interesting to note, that China was not called in until the very end of the conference, when, obviously, the main decisions were already decided.

The war in Europe and the Pacific, the problem of Russia and the second front, relations with the French Committee of Liberation, the Italian mili-

tary and political front, relations

with Spain-all of these occupied the

What they have formally decided

will probably not be known for a

considerable period of time. It will

become known, however, only after

the event, when the practical carry-

ing out of the Quebec decisions takes

As we have already indicated, this

much is certain: the improvement of the military position of the Allies

has brought with it an inner politi-

cal deterioration. Moreover, it has

established that the so-called "politi-

cal" and "democratic" war meant

something utterly different to Roose-

velt-Churchill and the mass of peo-

attention of the war planners.

place.

No-Strike Pledge and UAW Meet --

(Continued from page 1) he would be giving the worker only what was produced by his labor. But to intimate that the boss has sacrificed something in giving up the lockout is a grim joke indeed.

It is quite otherwise when the worker agrees to give up his strike weapon. Why? Because that is the only real weapon which the worker has to fight for his needs and to defend what he has. If he gives up the strike he has no other weapon by which to fight for wages, conditions and hours, and he has no way to defend what he has won after long years of struggle. Without the strike weapon, he must rely on "aid" from some other source-in this case, the President.

But the lesson of the past couple of years is that labor can get nothing substantial and important in that way. On the contrary, all that the worker received from that source is the wage freeze, the Little Steel formula, the job freeze, threats of induction into the Army, and the notorious WLB.

The strength of the worker, however, lies in his organization, his program and his will to struggle unitedly with his brothers against a common enemy.

Equally as important, however, is that the bosses see in the no-strike pledge a means to break the power of the union movement, especially industrial unionism.

violate agreements, hinder collective bargaining, harass the shop steward system, uphold down-grading reclassifications, stall on rate increases. and a hundred and one other grievances which the unions have.

Their aim is to "provoke" the unions into what they call "drastic" actions in order to proceed with their plans to weaken the unions now, and lay the basis for their destruction in the period ahead.

The fact that the no-strike pledge has weakened the labor movement, held it back from organizing the unorganized, retarded its growth, handicapped its struggle for wages, hours and conditions of work, has forced the ranks to fight for rescinding what is clearly a straightjacket built to order for big business.

Big Business Wins-Workers Lose

In addition to the fact that the nostrike pledge has strengthened the hand of the reactionary industrialists, it had laid the basis for the following situation:

Big business has made a good thing out of the war. Its profits are enormous and even the high tax bills have in no way affected the enrichment of monopoly industry. Not only are the companies being enriched by the war (government orders on a cost-plus basis), but the individual bosses, the officials of the great monopolies have jacked up their salaries by tens of thousands of dollars.

controlled. Every worker knows that there has been no genuine price control. The high cost of living has outstripped the incomes of the American

workers. It is true that some workers in manufacturing industries have. increased their earnings, but that has come primarily because of their increased work day and longer week. But so far as the workers as a whole

are concerned, the cost of living has passed beyond the point where their earnings suffice for their livelihood. The fact of the matter is that the standard of living of the American workers, and this every auto worker knows, has dropped considerably.

In addition to the rise in the cost of living, the absence of price control and freezing of wages, the quality of goods has greatly deteriorated. Thus, in still another way, the enrichment of big business takes place.

Meaning of the Miners' Fight The first union organization to face the facts squarely was the United Mine Workers. They broke the no-strike pledge and made a real fight against the reactionary band of profiteering coal operators. It is true that the miners faced not only the operators, but also the Administration and the attacks of stupid labor leaders who, instead of allying themselves with the workers, joined hands with the operators and the Ad-

they will cease their climb or be with anyone who dared try to keep them in their poverty.

But it isn't only the miners who have awakened to the real meaning of the no-strike pledge. Thousands of rank and file auto workers who have themselves experienced the real meaning of this suicidal pledge have denounced the pledge and call for its abandonment.

The issue came up at the Michigan state convention of the CIO. It is before every local union now electing delegates. A large number of local slates have demanded rescinding the no-strike pledge (rank and file slate in Hudson Local 154 and rank and file of Dodge Local 3, for example). Even those who, while they agree with these unionists, are not ready to go so far for a variety of reasons, have demanded certain guarantees in exchange for continuing the pledge.

The issue cannot be postponed. Rescinding the no-strike pledge is a life and death question for the autoworkers, as it is for every other union in the country. Certainly, the Administration is for it. Certainly, the bosses are for it. Certainly, the yellow press, the bosses' organizations, their lickspittles in Congress and their conscious and unconscious spokesmen are for it. Certainly the labor leaders, who spend their time getting a run-around in Washington, are for it.

But all of that should only point

of German conditions.

A Blow at Unionism

Armed with the knowledge that the labor leaders were enforcing the no-strike pledge and that the Presicution, no matter what provocations done everything in their power to mount higher, with no prospect that

War profiteering is the rule and it is accompanied by the growth of a

crop of new war millionaires! but tragic joke to millions of workdent had insisted upon its loyal exe- ers. The President insists upon an absolute application of his hold-thefaced the workers, the bosses have line order on wages, but prices

Everybody was arrayed against the miners. But, in fact, the miners were The price situation is truly a great carrying on the fight for all the workers in the country. And the miners are now getting some of their demands and will get more. The only reason for this is that they stood up on their feet ready to slug it out

to how harmful this pledge is to the labor movement and the working class in general.

One of the first steps to an improvement of the position of labor, its standards and its organized existence, is rescinding the no-strike pledge.

When the war was yet unfavorable to the Allies, Roosevelt and Churchill presented the world with the Atlantic Charter and the Four Free-

doms, calculated to bolster up an unenthusiastic civilian support to the conflict. With the change in the military situation, these shibboleths have receded to the background. pean territories, the Balkans and the

At each opportunity to apply the single planks of the Charter, Anglo-American policy was calculated to do the opposite. Thus we have observed the deal with Darlan, the choice of the semi-fascist Giraud, the absolute refusal to permit a democratic solution to political problems in the Allied occupied countries.

Churchill's pursuit for "orderly government" has seen Allied "bungling" of the Italian situation. Behind this "bungling," however, is to be found a deep fear of the masses and a determination to prevent their intervention in Algeria, Tunis, Sicily and now Italy.

But, in addition to that, relations with Russia have deteriorated to a critical point. Here the differences are not merely military but, above all, political. The issues involved concern Russia's share of post-war spoils. They involve Eastern Euro-

Far East. The establishment of. Amgot, the political instrument of Allied occupation, was without consultation with Russia. In turn, Stalin set up his own "Free Germany Committee" to inform England and America that he intended to have his say on what to do about that country; but, unlike Roosevelt and Churchill, his course is already decided.

ple. Military interests, strategy and These, then, were some of the aims dominate the present Allied problems which undoubtedly made up an important and decisive part of the Quebec discussions. Certainly military strategy was

course. But these are subordinated to the class interests of the two leading powers, and they are anything considered from the point of view but truly democratic and progressive.

The Crisis in Allied-Russian Relations --

(Continued from page 1)

the Balkans via a conquest of Southern and Central Italy 'finds Russia not only unreceptive, but antagonistic. The reasons for this are political, and we shall shortly deal with them.

While the issue of the second front is a sharply contested one, it is only one of the issues and is not, we believe, the main one which separates the powers.

Russia's absence from the planning conferences of Roosevelt and Churchill have been wrongly magnified as being part of the latters' design. Actually, Stalin has been playing a cagey game. While it might be true that Russia was not invited to Quebec (the problem of the Pacific front would seem to preclude Russian participation), it is an established fact that Stalin avoided the Casablanca conference. He is obviously not ready for such conferences until there is more general agreement on politicalmilitary questions.

The question of post-war boundaries and division of territorial spoils is the most important issue which divides the Allies. In relation to this problem, the second front is a secondary issue.

What Stalin Wants In Europe and Asia

It is known by all the powers that Stalin has a big appetite, not unlike their own. While declaiming any desire for territory, Stalin has seen to it that his real desires are clear to all concerned.

He wants to absorb Finland, or set up his own puppet government. He wants the Baltic states, the whole of Eastern Poland, Bessarabia, part of China, and territory in Iran opening a way to the Persian Gulf.

But that isn't all. Stalin has a clear idea of what he wants in Europe. He regards the Balkans as a Russian

sphere of influence. He wants a laboration, is Stalin's way of calling Gaulle against Giraud and by open united and strong Germany (with a "friendly" regime) after the war. In other words, Stalin seeks to dominate the European Continent, or at least, to prevent its domination by either Great Britain and the United State.

The domination of Europe, however, is also the aim of Great Britain, as it is the aim of the United States. But Roosevelt and Churchill are not quite certain how to proceed. While they have not pronounced a settled policy for Germany, it is clear that they have seriously considered its dismemberment and industrial destruction.

In desperate fear of the masses, something which they have in common with Stalin, their political policy is characterized by contradictory action. This was evident in their relations to the Badoglio regime.

They set up Amgot as an instrument of military-political rule, but under the policy of "dealing with orderly government," Amgot has, in its first test in Sicily, functioned with the remnants of the discredited Mussolini regime.

The Russians claim that Amgot was organized without their knowledge or in common consultation. The Anglo - American coalition replies by saying that Stalin organized the "Free Germany Committee" in the same way.

Litvinov and Maisky Are Mere **Chessmen in Power Politics**

These two events are merely the outward manifestations of the real conflict over boundaries and territories to be set and divided in the post-war period. And it is the conflict over them that is the cause of the crisis in the Allied camp.

The removal of Maisky and Litvinov, the men associated with the policy of American-British-Russian col-

attention to his demands and stating his determination not to yield. He bolsters this position by the organization of a German committee, a Czech committee, setting into motion his Stalinist supporters in the Balkans, by solidifying himself with de ready to make with Stalin.

support of the Yugoslav partisans. Quebec has announced its aim of trying to get a three-power meeting with Russia. If that takes place we shall then know something of what agreement America and England are

A Few Pertinent Questions to The Editor of "The Militant"

We note that The Militant continues to spread fairy tales about Russia. In the July 31 issue, it explains

the morale of the Russian people by saying, as it has on several other occasions, that the Russian masses "have something to fight for: nationalized property, the land and factories which belong to them, their planned economy."

Question: How would you go about proving that the Russian MASSES "have" the nationalized property?

Question: In what sense do the Russian factories and land belong to the masses?

Question: Isn't it true that Russian property belongs to the state, and that the state is ENTIRELY in the hands of an uncontrolled and counter-revolutionary bureaucracy?

Question: If you reply by saying that the state is the property of the bureaucracy "only so to speak," please tell us who has the state AC-TUALLY and not "only so to speak"? Question: Did not Trotsky, in whose name you claim to speak, write that the statement that Russia's nationalized property belongs to the

people is the fundamental lie of Stalinism? Queston: If it is "their," that is, the masses' planned economy, will

planned it, how they planned it, where they planned it?

Question: If the masses planned the Russian economy in the past fifteen years, if it is "theirs," please tell us how it happened that the economy worked out in such a manner that, according to your own description, the Russian masses are worse off now than they were under the Czar, while the ruling bureaucracy is better off now than the old ruling class.

Question: If the property and the planned economy belong to the masses, will you please tell us why, again according to your statement on a previous occasion, Russia is today a vast prison to which the workers are condemned for life?

Question: Will you please explain, finally, what Trotsky meant when he wrote that there is NO planned economy in Russia?

Upon re-reading these questions. we grow a bit gloomy. Will the editors of The Militant answer them? Will the well known Marxian scholar, James P. Cannon, take off some time from assembling his voluminous collected works to write us an enlightening article? Our experience in this field up to now has not been very encouraging. Our friends seem to know where speech should cease you please tell us when the masses and a prudent silence begin.

Rickenbacker Lauds Slavery of Russian Workers; Would Like Same Conditions for American Labor

Captain Eddie Rickenbacker, famous expert on capitalism, labor and democracy, went to Russia, looked things over, and didn't change his mind in the least. He still finds the Stalinist dictatorship a beautiful example of capitalist democracy.

As we reported on the Captain's arrival in Russia over a month ago, he had already testified before a Senate committee in March of this year that Russia was on her way toward becoming the greatest capitalist democracy in the world, while the USA was headed toward what Russia used to be, a Bolshevik dictatorship.

Last week Rickenbacker told reporters that he found democracy everywhere in the Soviet labor system:

1. There is "iron discipline." "I never saw so much discipline." He doubts whether even Germany and Japan, two other well known examples of democracy, could do better.

2. Overtime work-three hours a day-is compulsory. The standard work week is forty-eight hours, and overtime rates begin only after that. (The Captain has long considered American overtime pay after forty hours pure Bolshevism.)

3. There are no labor "difficulties."

This is his refined way of saying no. strikes.

4. Workers who report late or are absent are first reprimanded, then have their wages lowered, then have their food rations cut. Finally, if they prove "unqualified to contribute to the war effort," they find themselves on the breadline.

5. The speed-up incentive system (piecework and similar plans) is universal. "All employees in all plants in Russia are on the incentive plan with a minimum base wage for all. For quality and quantity they are paid in additional wages first and for outstanding effort on the part of employees an additional quantity and quality of food is added to the increased wages."

Rickenbacker complains that our native "Communists" have been hiding this perfect democracy in Russia from the American public. See America first, Captain! Browder has been trying to spread this no-strike, speed-up, iron discipline program in American unions ever since Pearl Harbor. Ask any wide-awake work-

gerous to praise Russia. The New York Times, with a fine disregard for news values, headlined the Captain's story, "Rickenbacker Sees Nazi Doom in 1944.' But plenty of others besides Rickenbacker are willing to try to sell workers a bill of goods by whooping it up for the Russian so-called workers' state.

Many workers admire the Russian fight against the Nazis. A number may even believe that Russia is some vague kind of paradise. The trouble our capitalist friends have in putting over their scheme is that they have to get specific about what they admire in Russia, and that gives the show away.

P.S.-Since his return, Captain Rickenbacker has been feeling a little better about the prospects for American democracy. He admitted that the Administration seems to be moving in the Russian direction on labor problems. A few more iron speeches by Byrnes, a few more iron edicts by Roosevelt, a few more iron decisions by the War Labor Board, and we'll be well on our way back to democracy-Rickenbacker, Bever-Some capitalists still think it dan- idge, Stalin-and Hitler-style!