

Browder and Speed-Up "Engineer" Join Hands For Incentive Pay Scheme

By SAM ADAMS

The big drive to put over the piecework-speed-up system known as "incentive pay" was launched some time ago. Behind the new scheme of cheating the American workers was a combination made up of the Administration, big business, some misleaders of labor and the Stalinists. The ranks of the labor movement, however, having more than enough experience with such plans for increasing the profits of the bosses, voiced their determined opposition to this ingenious system which originated in the ranks of big business.

But on Sunday, September 5, a new attempt to popularize and convince a skeptical working class of the benefits of incentive pay was made by two persons of seemingly divergent views, who are, however, really close friends these days.

On that day, the Worker, organ of the Stalinist Communist Party of America, carried a long article by its leader, Earl Browder, entitled "Incentive Wage—Key to War Labor Problems." Simultaneously, the New York Times published a featured letter by one Albert Ramond on "Incentive Pay Viewed as One Solution of War Effort."

Earl Browder needs no introduction, for the labor movement is fairly well acquainted with this

leader of the union-wreckers. But Mr. Ramond is not so publicly well known. But he should be. Since 1937 he has been the acting head of the Bedaux Company, an agency devoted to devising ways and means of speeding up workers to increase profits, but politely referred to as "industrial engineers."

The Bedaux Company earned the deep hatred of the labor movement not only for the vicious speed-up and piecework systems it introduced into industry, but also for its blatant anti-union activity. This hatred was not confined to the "company," but was directed especially against Charles E. Bedaux, its founder and sponsor.

When the Duke of Windsor planned to tour the United States for the purpose of studying plant management and production, he announced that his associate and companion would be the same Mr. Bedaux, who left the country in 1937. But the protests of the labor movement, the personal denunciations by Green, Lewis and a host of other labor leaders was so sharp and indignant that the Duke gave up the idea of bringing with him this notorious slave-driver.

The real meaning of incentive pay, however, is illustrated by the fact that Albert Ramond, present head of the Bedaux Company, is one of its loudest and most persistent advocates.

LABOR ACTION has described the operation of incentive pay on many occasions. The real key to the problem is to be found in the manner in which Browder and Bedaux, in advocating its adoption, are compelled to plead for the scheme and to explain "past irregularities."

What are these "irregularities"? They are simply that, under such schemes, the increased productivity of the workers was "rewarded" with proportional declines in wage rates so that at the end, in relation to total production, the workers actually suffered wage cuts. On the other hand, the benefits of increased productivity, realized in enormous profits for the bosses, went into their hands, and their hands alone.

Beautifying Incentive Pay

Both Browder and Ramond admit that this past history of such schemes as incentive pay do not make it easy to put it over on the workers this time. Ramond excuses his class of exploiters by saying that it wasn't true of all businesses, only some of them. Browder says that "This tendency of the manufacturers to cut rates arbitrarily destroys, of course, the very foundation of the incentive system." To make it work now, they mustn't do this—the leopard should change its spots!

Browder lies. The foundation of incentive pay is precisely what big business says and does with it. Big business did not invent this scheme in order to improve the wages and standard of living of the workers. It introduced it for the specific and sole purpose of increasing the productivity of the worker while actually cut-

How the Wage Freeze Works for Big Business

Some of you may know part of this list. But there are others we haven't yet reported on and we think you ought to know how Roosevelt's wage freeze works hardships on these gentlemen. A careful study of the figures will reveal some of the manifestations of cost-plus contracts given to big business and how they are reflected in cost-plus salaries.

Company	Executive	1940	1942
American Locomotive Co.	W. Dickerman	\$75,954	\$114,091
Armour & Co.	G. A. Eastwood	74,378	101,340
Aviation Corp.	V. Emanuel	25,000	88,917
Canada Dry Ginger Ale, Inc.	E. G. Budd	110,428	140,318
Budd Wheel Co.	J. Spencer Love	91,940	196,348
Burlington Mills, Inc.	R. W. Moore	47,747	65,540
Doehler Die Casting Co.	H. H. Doehler	35,830	56,105
Electric Storage Battery Co.	R. C. Norberg	42,882	69,740
Fairbanks-Morse & Co.	R. H. Morse	120,700	162,170
Firestone Tire & Rubber Co.	J. W. Thomas	91,937	120,000
Flintkote Co.	I. J. Harvey, Jr.	53,370	90,050
General American Transp. Corp.	L. N. Selig	60,000	84,000
Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co.	E. J. Thomas	91,937	120,000
Kennecott Copper Co.	E. T. Stannard	101,220	126,150
J. R. Kinney, Inc.	G. L. Smith	23,600	44,150
Lima Locomotive Works Co.	J. E. Dixon	31,680	63,310
Lowsing, Inc.	L. B. Mayer	697,048	949,766
Munsingwear, Inc.	E. L. Olrich	27,886	68,787
J. C. Penney Co.	A. W. Hughes	47,975	81,155
Phelps Dodge Corp.	L. S. Cates	100,520	151,350
Savage Arms Co.	F. F. Hickey	32,010	66,400
Snider Packing Corp.	S. E. Comstock	22,000	35,595
Standard Oil Co. (Ohio)	W. T. Holliday	90,000	120,000
Swift & Co.	J. Holmes	65,000	85,000
Union Bag & Paper Co.	A. S. Calder	86,829	100,731
Vick Chemical Co.	H. S. Richardson	48,380	95,285
Walworth Co.	W. B. Holton, Jr.	60,000	120,000
Willys-Overland Motors Co.	J. W. Frazer	60,000	123,184

ting his wage rates and, in effect, reducing his standard of living, but increasing his profits at the same time.

This is borne out by the fact that since the turn of the century the productivity of the American worker has gone up and up and up. But the worker's share in this productivity has steadily declined!

Another aspect of this campaign by Browder and the Bedaux Company is the inference they make that the workers have been stalling on the job. Ramond states that incentive pay would give a "badly needed stimulus to production in war industries."

What Labor Has Contributed

These gentlemen malign labor. Anyone with half an eye can see how vast has been the production of war materials. The skill and productivity of the American worker is unequalled anywhere in the world. Moreover, this has always been true. But it is especially true in this war. As a matter of fact, the Administration and a number of big business leaders have expressed their astonishment at the productivity of labor in the modern American industries.

It would appear on the surface that the big dispute in the UAW is between the Reuther-Leonard and the Addes-Frankensteen factions, with Thomas holding himself aloof from this fight. This is true to a considerable extent, but it would be extremely superficial to think that this is the whole struggle, or that the issues which divide the leadership are devoid of any relationship to the ranks of the union and the pressures which they exert on the divided bureaucracy.

The industrial and mass character of the UAW has made it possible, no

five per cent of the war contracts in one hundred large corporations so that certain areas are unnecessarily short of labor."

Preparing Passage of the Bill

The reason for the renewed protests was a statement by McNutt that the WMC "would be guilty of a neglected duty if we were not prepared to submit an alternative program (to voluntary labor) based on our experience in the event the present one does not meet the situation."

McNutt's meaning is clear. The Roosevelt Administration is preparing to urge passage of the Austin-Wadsworth Act. It is employing exactly the same technique it has used to put across every other unpopular piece of legislation. It pretends in the beginning to be opposed to the legislation and tries, but not too seriously,

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It is also admitted that war production in many fields has surpassed original plans and needs (tanks, shells, etc.). President Murray of the CIO has even publicly warned against the danger of unemployment in a number of war industries.

What, then, is behind this boss-inspired campaign for incentive pay? (Continued on page 3)

The Struggle for Power in the UAW

By Albert Gates

In our series of articles dealing with the problems which confront the largest union in the world, we have thus far concerned ourselves with some of the main issues which are of the deepest significance for the rank and file. There are an additional number of such problems which will be the subject of our examination in succeeding articles, but the factional division in the union and the struggle which is now fought between them require immediate comment.

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Louis Hollander, vice-president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and president of the New York State CIO, attacked the bill, calling it "a measure to cover up confusion by compulsion. It concripts labor on the excuse that this is needed to increase production."

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LABOR ACTION

SEPTEMBER 13, 1943

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

ITALIAN LABOR MUST GAIN ITS FREEDOM!

Young Soldier Jailed for Opposing Army Jim Crow

(Release by Morris Milgrim, Secretary of the Workers Defense League)

Protesting the court-martialing of Sergeant Alton Levy of the Lincoln, Neb., Air Base for his expressed disapproval of the Army's treatment of Negro troops stationed there, a score of leading liberals, including William M. Agar, Roger N. Baldwin, Lester Granger, A. Philip Randolph, Norman Thomas, Irving Abramson, Reinhold Niebuhr, John Chamberlain and Charles S. Zimmerman, urged that President Roosevelt and high Army circles conduct a thorough review of the case.

Sergeant Levy is serving four months at hard labor in the Lincoln Air Base guardhouse, after having been demoted to a private for protesting the discriminatory treatment the Negro troops received.

In an open letter to the President, Secretary of War Stimson, Chief of Staff Marshall and Judge Advocate General Cramer, the liberal group pointed to the dangerous reaction upon army and civilian morale resulting from the persecution of those who believe in democracy and equality between races. Noting that racial tensions in the nation were already "great," the President and Army chiefs were warned against penalizing "those who seek to establish better relationships between the races" and urged immediate action on the case.

Sergeant Levy, 29, of New York City, a former organizer for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, rose to the rank of staff sergeant in the year of service he saw. At the Lincoln Air Base he was assigned to work with Negro troops and noted the discriminatory treatment against soldiers of that race in the matter of new equipment, in their Jim Crow segregation and in their rude treatment by officers.

Levy protested repeatedly at local staff meetings against the undemocratic treatment of the Negro troops, both because of his concern for the principles of democracy and his fear of increased race conflict.

Early in August, after a riot between Americans of Mexican descent and Negro troops, Levy was questioned by Army intelligence officers on alleged statements he had made, primarily his protests against the treatment of colored troops at the post. Levy admitted the statements of protest against Negro troop life, but denied the other charges. On August 13, the Army authorities instituted formal prosecution of the charges with Levy's court-martial on grounds of conduct unbecoming a soldier.

Testimony at the trial called Sergeant Levy's statements "unpatriotic" and "reprehensible" concerning his comments on the treatment of Negro troops. Denied Levy in reply: "I wouldn't deny (the statements) if I could, I said them, and I still say them." Sergeant Levy was found guilty by the court, sentenced to four months at hard labor, demoted from sergeant to private and docked \$18 a month pay.

Southern 'Democracy'

SANDERSVILLE, Ga.—Any Negro over sixteen years of age found without a badge indicating the name of his employer and his work schedule will be thrown into jail and prosecuted. This does not apply to the white workers.

The order was issued by County Agent S. G. Mercer as a means of relieving the farm labor shortage which he claims exists.

The news of the unconditional surrender of Italy came over the wires as LABOR ACTION was going to press. Obviously there is a great deal more to the purely military aspect of the capitulation of Italy than is contained in the bare announcement of the surrender.

Italy is now out of the war, and this leaves Germany to fight on without her heretofore most important European ally. This does not yet mean the collapse of Hitler's armies, for they are still very strong. But there is no doubt that the Axis armies are much weaker than ever. Its defeat in the war seems certain.

The Italian debacle, however, cannot be properly understood only in the light of military analysis. There is much more to the Italian situation than the fact that it was a poor military power.

Miners Tried As Criminals Under Smith-Connally Bill

By JOHN BERNE

The first prosecutions of workers under the Smith-Connally anti-strike law were held against twenty-seven miners of Western Pennsylvania. They were brought to the bar of capitalist justice—so-called—for "instigating strikes" in government-operated coal mines.

Three other miners under similar charges were unable to appear in court because they were in the hospital. These "criminals" under boss law were suffering from injuries received in a mine accident—an accident which probably could have been avoided if a fraction of the money and brains employed in attempts to enslave labor were employed in protecting it.

"Enemies of Society"

These "dangerous enemies of society" who daily risk their lives in the mines to produce the country's coal, received sentences of six months in prison. But on the plea of the attorney for the miners, who assured the

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The source of its military weakness is to be sought in the intense hatred which the Italian masses had for the war, the fascist regime and its alliance with German fascism.

The soldiers had no spirit because they had no belief in the war or its champions.

These two factors, especially the pressure and dissatisfaction of the working and peasant masses, laid the groundwork for the collapse of the blow-hard regime of the murderer, Mussolini, who counted among his friends persons high in finance and big business in all countries of the world, including our own.

Knocking Italy out of the war is but another test of Allied political policy. It cannot be said that the experiences of North Africa and Sicily give reason for expecting that the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter will be applied any more faithfully in Italy than elsewhere.

But one thing is certain: the Italian masses want an end to the slaughter, an end to the monarchy and to the Badoglio regime. They want a genuine democratic change; the right to immediate and free elections, the right to a free press, the right to meet and to organize—in a word, to impose their will in the present situation.

It will soon be established what policy the Allies will pursue in Italy. This question, however, will be discussed in the next issue of LABOR ACTION.

Labor Draft Is Workers' Slavery

Labor leaders and trade unions throughout the country redoubled their protest against the totalitarian Austin-Wadsworth labor draft bill as indications grew that the Roosevelt Administration is preparing to urge passage of the act.

Delegates from CIO and AFL unions meeting in the Negro Labor Assembly of New York City called the labor draft bill a "dangerously broad step toward the fascist and Nazi concept of compulsory labor." The Assembly said the bill would legalize and make common the kind of job discrimination recommended by Attorney General Biddle in his report to the President calling for restrictions on Negro migration.

The Workers Defense League attacked Nat'nal War Manpower Commissioner McNutt's "waste of taxpayers' money to prepare Hitlerian labor controls for America." The League exploded the idea that the bill is necessary when it pointed out that "one million or so unemployed or underemployed Negroes have not been utilized through the power given the WMC by the FEPC....The WMC has allowed the concentration of seventy-

movement to be even more powerful than the union-busting drive of big business.

The Stalinist unions have one occupation now: support Roosevelt for a fourth term, fight against an Independent Labor Party, and hogtie the labor movement to the corrupt and rotten political machines of the boss-dominated Democratic Party. In this they have the aid of Murray and Hillman.

The union-bureaucracies have sacrificed the best interests of the working class to unite with the bosses on the war, on the right of big business to its profits, on incentive pay, and a host of other issues which can result in nothing but harm for the labor movement. The Stalinists work with Murray and Hillman, because they all stand with Roosevelt and the policy of his Administration, the former because they are the disciples of Stalin in this country, and the latter because they are the lackeys of capitalist politicians and capitalist policies.

The importance of citing this differentiation in the officialdom, the Stalinists and the rank and file is necessary because it will enable one to understand something of the struggle now going on in the UAW. The Reuther-Leonard and the Addes-Frankensteen groups reflect the sharp divergences in the CIO and the wide road which separates the leaderships from the rank and file.

Behind the struggle in the UAW is the whole situation in the country. When the war broke out, the labor movement was asked to devote itself completely to the war effort. The workers were asked to sacrifice the conditions they had won after many years of struggle. They were asked to work longer hours, forego shop conditions, forget grievances, ignore wage scales.

The workers were asked to do these things because the President had promised them that: this time—unlike 1917-18—there would be "equality of sacrifice," the bosses would not be permitted to make war profits, there would be no repetition of a new class of war millionaires, taxes would be equalized, the burden placed upon those able to afford them, inflation would be prevented by equality in rationing, prohibiting the black market and control of prices to keep down the cost of living.

Only a fool or a misleader of labor would contend that these promises have been kept. There is hardly a worker who does not know that exactly the opposite has occurred. Yes, the workers have made their sacrifice. But, on the other side of the ledger, we find big business making the greatest profits in history, despite higher taxes. War profiteering is the rule rather than the exception. The black market does flourish. Heavy taxes have been put on the backs of the workers. Price control has been a tremendous farce and the cost of living has mounted way beyond the ability of the workers to meet it.



E. J. THOMAS



WALTER REUTHER



RICHARD FRANKENSTEEN

The Editor's Comments

The Labor Leaders "Play" Politics

Several weeks ago we discussed the problem of independent political action of labor and how necessary it was for the trade union movement to take the lead in the formation of a Labor Party as an indispensable measure to fortify itself against the onslaughts of big business.

The recent congressional session made it abundantly clear that economic action of the workers was insufficient; it had to be backed up by strong and independent political action of the workers.

The sentiment for such independent political action was and is growing more powerful in the ranks of labor. But there are still strong barriers in the way to such a development on a mass and nationwide scale. There is the bad tradition handed down by the AFL, which ties labor hand and foot to the political machines of the boss parties. The CIO has been just as negligent on the political field.

But the lessons handed down by the incumbent reactionary Congress and the unmistakable conservative turn of the President, added to the measures taken, since the war, against the interests of the workers, have hastened the political education of the labor movement.

What the Workers Want On the Political Field

Thousands upon thousands of workers understand more clearly than ever that there is little to be hoped for from political parties whose basic interest lies with big business and the capitalist system of exploitation. These parties, by their composition, program, tradition and aims are necessarily anti-labor.

The growth of pro-Labor Party sentiment was evidenced by a whole series of editorials which appeared in various local union papers. Many unions have gone on record for such independent political action, and more recently the Michigan State convention of the CIO passed a measure calling for further exploration and work with the view of preparing the organization of an independent party of labor.

These developments inside the union movement were quickly countered by the resistance of the bureaucracies of the AFL and CIO. The Executive Council of the AFL reaffirmed its traditional policy of supporting no party but merely the best candidates of the Republican and Democratic machines. The CIO officialdom, however, has gone much further. Under Murray and Hillman, they are seeking the complete surrender of the labor movement to Roosevelt and his wing of the Democratic Party.

The CIO Misleaders at Work To Halt Labor Party

For this purpose, they set up the CIO Political Action Committee. But this committee has an additional purpose to that of securing the CIO behind Roosevelt's fourth term cam-

paign; namely, to fight the sentiment in the union movement for a Labor Party and to prevent such sentiment from taking organizational form.

The press of the CIO officialdom is full of news of the activity of this Hillman body. They support the policies of the Hillman committee. But the most powerful source of aid to Hillman, as well as the most adamant opposition to a Labor Party, comes from the Stalinist union-wreckers.

Together they have launched a campaign against third party developments in the unions. They joined hands to stop the efforts of the American Labor Party to build up replicas of the ALP in other states. They joined hands, too, to take over the ALP to turn it into a pure and simple bargaining committee with the New York Democratic machine and finally to destroy the party altogether.

Thus Murray, Hillman and the Stalinists have earned the dubious laurel of being the champions of rotten boss politics in the labor movement. They are wasting a great deal of the workers' money to prevent the formation of a Labor Party. They are giving all their time, paid for by the workers, to fighting these progressive political sentiments of labor. They are, in a word, tying the labor movement, once more, to the political tail of anti-labor political parties.

There Can Be Only One Result of Boss Politics

The net result of this policy of the CIO bureaucracy is that at the end of the campaign, the labor movement, weakened politically by its failure to pursue an independent course, will be stabbed in the back by the Administration, the Democratic and Republican Parties. This has been the reward of labor for the many decades it has supported the capitalist parties. It will be its reward again.

This chief responsibility for a recurrence of this experience will lie with the dull-witted, politically stupid and anti-working class conduct of the CIO Political Action Committee, the executive Council of the AFL, the Stalinists and Hillman.

Hillman, of course, is the individual with the most odious record. He is the social worker turned labor leader. He is the labor leader with the papier-mache backbone. His record is one of continual prostration before the power of big business, of boss politics and subservience to the class which rules this society. He gathers strength and willpower only when fighting against the best interests of the labor movement.

The workers would do well always to remember the role of this "Uncle Tom" of the union and political movement of the workers.

To reject the course of these misleaders of labor is the first step necessary to a genuine political development of the American workers.

URW Militants Prepare Fight For Progressive Convention

Special to LABOR ACTION

AKRON—As delegates to the eighth annual convention of the United Rubber Workers of America gather in Toronto on September 20, they will look back over the record of the past year with considerable dismay. In spite of the thousands of new members added to their rolls, serious new problems have confronted the rubber workers, and many of these problems are still crying for solution.

The biggest event in the life of the Rubber Workers Union of the past year was undoubtedly the big strike movement that involved 50,000 Akron workers in May. After practically a whole year of stalling and "studying," the War Labor Board dished out a mere three-cent wage increase, overriding the recommendation of the WLB panel for eight cents. This strike was terminated only by the direct threat of President Roosevelt to use force. But the three-cent decision rankles every union man and woman just as much today as it did then.

The strike posed sharply all the issues facing labor—what to do about the WLB, the no-strike pledge, rising company profits and rising living costs.

Naturally, then, these issues will properly come before the convention for discussion, along with important subsidiary ones. On all of them, the Dalrymple-Burns-Stalinist office-Stalinist crowd will have one (and only one) answer: "Delegates, we must remain UNITED (read: PARALYZED) for the duration of the war! Above all, don't do anything in the way of promoting better conditions that our great Commander-in-Chief disapproves of."

A certain deluge of fury will descend on the heads of those Akron unionists who carried through the May strike, and who are now going to the convention with resolutions in their pockets demanding the rescinding of the no-strike pledge. This demand, passed by Firestone and

Goodrich locals, which represent about 30,000 workers, will find the greatest support at the convention and will be the main issue, in spite of the fact that Dalrymple and Burns hope to pacify the delegates with soothing words about the "new rubber production program."

The WLB will come in for some hard blows, since Goodrich Local is demanding the withdrawal of labor members from it, in an effort to set collective bargaining operations on their pre-war basis again. The possible passage of such a resolution has the international officers in a panic, too.

Everything adds up to the fact that APPEASING THE RUBBER BARONS by means of holding onto the no-strike pledge, stringing along with the vicious WLB and in general "playing dead" on the part of the top labor leaders, has resulted in greater opposition from the ranks of the URW than at any time since the founding of the union! To top off all this, the rubber corporations are coining profits greater than ever before. They are the real beneficiaries of the Dalrymple-Burns-Stalin line.

As is to be expected, the Stalinists from Detroit Local 101 and Akron Goodyear Local 2 will take the lead in slanderously opposing all progressive demands. This has already been recognized by the whole Akron labor movement, since their strike-breaking and stool-pigeoning during the May strike gained them such well-deserved hatred. In Local 101, the Stalinist fellow travelers, Marmion and McCormick, are fighting to retain their offices against the charges brought against them by Akron Goodrich Local for malicious slander during the May strike. The scabby "Communist" Party is desperately fighting with its back to the wall to retain its present influence within the URW. And it will receive important support from the official URW leadership, precisely because the latter also FEARS the growing opposition from the ranks.

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

UAW Faction Struggle - -

(Continued from page 1)

Since Chicago, there were plenty of signs at that convention that the membership wanted more than speeches from its leadership. Thomas ought well remember that convention before he runs off to Washington once more to kneel before the President and return to Detroit, as usual, empty-handed.

Rise of Rank and File Movements

Since Chicago, the ranks have given vent to their deep dissatisfaction by organizing a great number of local slates, groups and platforms, which, while not always clear or complete, indicate the road they want to travel.

It is possible and necessary to point out that the auto workers are sick and tired of the no-strike pledge. This is exactly the thing which the big corporations have utilized to break down collective bargaining, negotiations, upgrading, wage rates, conditions of work, equalization of pay, etc.

The workers are opposed to incentive pay. They want wage increases and improvement of their working conditions and the means of compelling the auto bosses to fulfill their contractual obligations!

The platforms of the slates reveal these sentiments. Some stand for rescinding the no-strike pledge, for higher wage rates, for equalization of wages, for independent political action, for limitation of profits, for a post-war contingent wage for auto workers, and all of them are against incentive pay. Others raise the question of nationalization of the auto industry, post-war conversion problems, and so on.

It is these sentiments which are reflected, in part only, by the Reuther-Leonard group. And it is in this sense that they are more closely aware of the sentiments of the membership. The group is opposed to incentive pay, and it is for equalization of pay, for wage increases, and has a fair record in the struggle against some sections of the auto bosses. But Reuther at the same time, however qualified, opposed the revocation of the no-strike pledge. He has also opposed the organization of a Labor Party.

The Two Factions

The differences between this group and the Addes-Frankensteen group are not always clear. Their attitude toward the war is the same; they both support Roosevelt and are committed to the fourth term. But the Addes-Frankensteen group is for incentive pay. It is the most vigorous opponent of a Labor Party. Addes has been closely aligned with the Stalinists for many years. Frankensteen championed the incentive pay proposal at the general executive board.

The struggle between these groups has been sharpened by the nomination of Leonard for Addes' post of secretary-treasurer of the union and the outright bid made by Reuther for the leadership of the UAW. But this is exactly in conflict with what Addes and Frankensteen want. Reuther is apparently willing for Thomas to remain, under his (Reu-

ther's) control of the GEB, but he insists on the ouster of the Stalinists and their fellow travelers, among whom they count George Addes.

The Stalinists have intervened in this situation with a somewhat changed line which cannot but be confusing to many members in the UAW. Everyone knows the close association between them and Addes-Frankensteen. Yet, in a policy article in the Daily Worker, written by the Stalinist trade union expert, Roy Hudson, they are critical of both factions.

What the Stalinists Want

The Stalinist program in the union is simple: support for the three presidents, Roosevelt, Murray and Thomas; against factionalism in the union; for unity of the two groups with Thomas. Thus it sounds strange that the most cynical and destructive factional grouping in the labor movement now champions unity and the end of factions.

The main reason for this is the fear that the Stalinists have of a Reuther-Leonard victory. But they are also worried about Addes-Frankensteen, since the latter have the support of many reactionaries. Moreover, by their dealings with Frankensteen, they know him to be a blatant opportunist and careerist. The Stalinists have been losing strength in the union and find themselves assailed in many quarters for their own avowed opportunism, sell-out policies and union-wrecking activities.

Their hope lies in a compromise between the two main factions, with Thomas presiding over them as the impartial president. This kind of a conclusion to the present fight would best serve the Stalinists in fighting for their power and anti-working class program in the union.

For a National Progressive Group

The danger in this situation is that the struggle between the Reuther-Leonard and Addes-Frankensteen groups will overshadow the more important questions confronting the ranks of the union. While it is true that in some respects the former is a more progressive group than Addes-Frankensteen, that it has in its ranks many genuine progressives and in other respects reflects the pressure of these progressives, the real need of the union is the establishment of a genuine, national progressive group. This does not exist in the UAW. There are many local groups which could qualify for such distinction. But as yet these groups have not been fully crystallized and solidified, nor have their programs been fully clarified.

A national progressive group would have to stand on a program somewhat as follows: for rescinding the no-strike pledge; against incentive pay; for a Labor Party; no increase in dues; no increase in salaries of the officials; for equalization of wage rates; against differentials in pay; for organization of the unorganized in the industry; for post-war contingent wages; for wage increases; against the wage freeze; against the job freeze; against the WLB.

In addition, a genuinely progressive group would have to take a positive position in favor of nationalization of the auto industry under workers' control. It would have to consider the matter of post-war conversion of the industry to prevent such a dislocation as will result in mass unemployment of the auto workers and the consequent hardships which would follow.

Here, then, are some of the genuine programs which confront the union. So far the Addes-Frankensteen group has been silent on most of them. On others it has taken an equivocal position. On still others, a reactionary one. The Stalinists have only a simple program, as we have already indicated: Support the three presidents and incentive pay; support the war and the Administration, at the complete expense of the position of the working class. Reuther and Leonard have made a start on a few progressive issues; on the other important questions their position is not unlike the others. Or else, they have kept silent, too.

It is clear, however, that a real national progressive group built around a militant pro-labor program has yet to be erected. This is the prime task of the auto workers!

What Stalinist "Unity" Means to Auto Workers

By T. R. COBB

Posing as advocates of "unity" in the forthcoming convention of the United Auto Workers Union, leaders of the Stalinist Party, through their stooges in Local 155 of the UAW, have issued a public letter, reprinted in the Daily Worker, demanding an end to "factionalism" through the re-election of the incumbent officers of the international union and the adoption of the Stalinist union-wrecking program.

Addressed to George F. Addes, present secretary-treasurer of the union, and to Richard T. Leonard, who will oppose him for that post at the Buffalo convention, the letter follows a familiar pattern of Stalinist treachery.

What They Propose

It decries the fact that two major factions have undertaken a struggle for administrative power. The letter suggests that all would be well (yes, for Uncle Joe Stalin, Earl Browder, John Anderson, Nat Ganley and all other Stalinists and the fellow travelers) if all heated discussions around the life and death issues facing the most important union in the nation would cease. They want no discussion of union issues.

There must first be "unity," they say. What kind of "unity"? Nothing special. Just the usual kind of Stalinist "unity," that is to say, either you agree with them in their union-wrecking program or you are a "Trotskyite disrupter" or a "Levite fascist" or an "enemy of humanity."

The Stalinist Program

In characteristic fashion, the letter commences with the statement that

the executive board of Local 155 has instructed the thirty-three delegates elected to the convention to steer clear of factions and caucuses, and to maintain an "independent" attitude. But in the next breath it launches into a series of programmatic demands, every one of them a carbon copy of the declared trade union policy of the Communist Party and the Daily Worker.

It is in favor of the union-busting agencies of the Roosevelt administration.

It is insistent in its defense of the no-strike pledge, the one device, more than any other factor, that has delivered the labor movement into the hands of the Wall Street corporations.

It supports the sly speed-up scheme of incentive pay.

It goes all-out for labor's subservience to the corrupt boss politicians and warns against the forging of labor's political weapon—an Independent Labor Party.

Nowhere does it take cognizance of the defeats that labor has suffered at the hands of the WLB, of the wage freeze, of the wage cuts in the form of uncontrolled price increases, of the open drive on the part of corporate industry, aided by the government, to smash the entire union movement and tighten its hold on the economic and political life of the country.

Not one word does it say on how labor is to defend its rights. It even ventures to falsify the record in its outright revision of the June convention of the Michigan CIO Council.

At that time the Stalinist flanks, led by C. Pat Quin, John Anderson and Nat Ganley, were sent scurrying to their rat holes when the democratic

group would have to take a positive position in favor of nationalization of the auto industry under workers' control. It would have to consider the matter of post-war conversion of the industry to prevent such a dislocation as will result in mass unemployment of the auto workers and the consequent hardships which would follow.

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The Stalinists have only a simple program, as we have already indicated: Support the three presidents and incentive pay; support the war and the Administration, at the complete expense of the position of the working class.

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Need of Negro Housing in City Of Baltimore

BALTIMORE—The need for housing units in this city for Negro workers has become so acute that any further neglect of the problem must be branded as criminal negligence.

The Negroes in Baltimore constitute twenty per cent of the city's population but they are jammed into less than seven per cent of its living space. The War Manpower Commission estimates that Negroes, answering the call of the war industries, are moving into Baltimore at the rate of 2,000 per month, further taxing the overcrowded, inadequate facilities.

Tuberculosis and other diseases, as well as juvenile delinquency, are steadily increasing among the Negro population because of the miserable sanitation in the Negro districts and almost total lack of recreational facilities for Negro children.

Federal, state and local authorities are entirely to blame for the lack of adequate housing here. Last February the National Housing Agency approved a \$9,000,000 Negro housing project for Baltimore, but anti-Negro forces in the city ganged up and prevented the selection of a suitable site.

In July, an interracial committee, in cooperation with the NHA, selected a site known as Herring Run for the project, but the plan was again frustrated when the Baltimore City Council ruled that only it had proper authority to select a site. Instead of proceeding to select one, however, it adjourned until the fall, after adopting a measure prohibiting anyone else from selecting a site.

Europe in Revolt

A Review of Political Events

STALIN AND THE FREE GERMAN COMMITTEE

We said in previous articles that the aim of the Free German Committee set up recently in Moscow was not, as certain innocents believed, to appeal to the German people or the German soldiers to revolt in an anti-Nazi revolution, but rather an attempt to make a deal with a German officers' clique under some German Badoglio.

Now some of the propaganda broadcasts which this committee sends to the German army have been made known. The broadcasts made by German army officers confirm our first impression. Here are some typical ones: "The German army is a valuable instrument which must be preserved at any cost and in full. . . . We are opposed to formulating demoralization in the Wehrmacht. We do not intend to incite the soldiers to abandon their arms and retreat in disorder. . . . We must avoid all anarchy and undisciplined behavior. . . . Construction of a strong democracy will require the support of a strongly welded army led by officers who realize their responsibility. . . . If the war is carried on to the last, there is danger the armed forces might simply break up, and that would be the end of any chance of an orderly march back. We all know what that would mean."

Indeed we know what that would mean: it would mean a revolution in the German army, and that's exactly what Stalin wants to avoid at all costs. And then there are still people who say that Russia is a "degenerated workers' state—a "degenerated" workers' state addressing itself openly to the officers of the Nazi army in a plea to join forces to prevent revolutionary outbreaks!

The reasons for this course are quite apparent. First, Russia is worried lest British-American imperialism occupy the whole of Western Europe and Germany, and it tries to stave off this danger by preparing an alliance with a militarily weakened but still powerful Germany against the threat from the West. And Stalin is also well aware of the revolutionary sentiment slowly growing among the German soldiers.

A German revolution, especially among troops still on Russian soil, would quickly undermine Stalin's hold on the Russian workers. Russia's rulers do what every ruling class has done under such circumstances: they try to find allies among the "elements of order" of the opposite camp, so that, in the event of a revolution, they might get together, forgetting all previous differences, in order to fight against a people's revolution.

For a number of days the Danish police were unable or unwilling to suppress the movement. The workers were out in the streets, demonstrated, and killed in a few Nazi officers and officials. When the movement threatened to engulf the whole country, when strikes occurred in other cities, especially among the militant stevedores and shipyard workers, the Nazis imposed martial law, dismissed the government and the King, and proceeded to establish the same regime of terror as in Norway.

At the time of this writing, the movement is still going on. Isolated as it is, it will of necessity be crushed as soon as possible. One lesson stands out: the ruling classes, monarchy and social-democratic leaders are willing to go along collaborating (with a number of mental reservations), consoling themselves for their cowardly deeds of the day with staunch and uncorrupted resolves. . . . in private. But this can go on only for a while. Eventually the inherent logic of fascist oppression forces a showdown. It has again been the working class that has been in the vanguard of this new struggle against fascism.

Denmark used to be the "model country" to which the Nazis pointed with pride when questioned about their policy of exploiting the peoples of Europe. They did not interfere, so they said, with internal politics of the country. Hadn't they even found many important members of the Social-Democratic Party to collaborate with them? Didn't His Majesty take his daily horseback ride in the streets of Copenhagen, as in the old days?

Of course, they had looted Denmark almost as thoroughly as they had the other European countries. Production had dropped sharply. In 1942, animal production was one-half of the production in 1940. The number of laying poultry, for example, was 5.6 million in March, 1943, as against 14.0 million in July, 1939. The index of production of consumption goods dropped from 100 in 1939 to 73 in 1943.

But all the looting went on in an orderly and business-like fashion. The Danes are a slow people. They do not like violent actions, but still a point had been reached when they could not stand it any longer. There had been individual sabotage before, but in August mass action began. Workers in the big yards and factories of Odense began to strike. The

strike spread, soon to assume the proportions of a mass movement. For a number of days the Danish police were unable or unwilling to suppress the movement. The workers were out in the streets, demonstrated, and killed in a few Nazi officers and officials. When the movement threatened to engulf the whole country, when strikes occurred in other cities, especially among the militant stevedores and shipyard workers, the Nazis imposed martial law, dismissed the government and the King, and proceeded to establish the same regime of terror as in Norway.

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The arrest and conviction of Postal arose out of the struggle between Local 544 and Dan Tobin, president of the Teamsters International Union, AFL Local 544 split from the AFL to enter the CIO and Postal was unanimously ordered by the membership of the local to transfer its funds to the new organization.

There was no charge that Postal misused these funds. On the contrary, everything was found to be in order when Postal was acquitted in his first trial. His conviction grew out of the campaign of persecution initiated by Tobin, who sought to revenge himself on this militant unionist.

The Civil Rights Defense Committee has advised its national committee members of write to the Governor of Minnesota, Edward J. Thye, St. Paul, urging Postal's pardon. Hundreds of letters from unionists, liberals and progressives have already been sent. All are urged to write to the Governor.

A truly democratic, fighting union makes no fetish of "unity at any price." Neither can it allow itself to be led off the path of an honest consideration of union issues by power politics, vote trading and shady deals made behind the backs of the rank and file membership. In this respect, the Reuther-Leonard faction, the Addes-Frankensteen group and the Stalinist "mediators" cannot be trusted for an instant. It is possible that they may all agree at the last moment to a distribution of posts and jobs among themselves, to the exclusion of any consideration of union problems.

Therefore, the watchword must be: "Keep Your Eyes on the Issues"—the issues first, then the leadership, determine the daily working conditions in the shop.

Kelly Postal Pardon Asked

An application for the pardon of Kelly Postal, militant unionist and secretary-treasurer of the Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544, CIO, convicted on the charge of embezzlement, will be filed on September 11 and heard October 11 by the Minnesota State Board of Pardon.

Press Action

A total of fifty-four subs was received last week and several of those are renewals. However, these subs cover new geographical territories for LABOR ACTION. Our goal now is to cover the forty-eight states.

Our new additions this week are Wyoming and Tennessee, and we look to these new subscribers to spread the paper in their states. Remember, we will send several sample copies to prospective subscribers in order to acquaint them with LABOR ACTION. Just send in the names and addresses, and we will send the sample copies and get the subscriptions.

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A Study in Capitalist Exploitation Big Business Enslaves Bolivian Masses

By REVA CRAINE

By refusing to carry through any of the long promised labor reforms, President Penaranda and the Bolivian government revealed once again who the real bosses of that country are.

Early this year, LABOR ACTION reported that about sixty thousand tin miners—producers of nearly one-half of the world's supply of tin—had gone on strike against unbearably oppressive conditions and in order to get the government to act on the labor code, which had been pending for a long time. The government responded with a declaration of martial law and the arrest of more than forty Bolivian labor leaders, who are still imprisoned.

On December 21 the government authorities brutally massacred between two hundred and fifty and five hundred workers, including many wives and children of miners, when they tried to disperse a meeting called to protest the arrest of their (the workers') leaders.

AMERICAN BIG BUSINESS BEHIND SCENES

Soon after the strike was broken and the miners, literally driven back into the mines (re-calcitrant miners were escorted to the mines by heavily armed soldiers, instructed to fire at the first sign of opposition), Ernesto Galarza, then connected with the Pan American Union, revealed that the United States Ambassador, Pierre Boal, had told the Bolivian President that the passage of the labor code might displease the United States, since its application would undoubtedly raise the price of tin somewhat.

Despite strong denials by the United States State Department, it was clearly shown by newspaper reporters that Boal was acting in accordance with instructions from this department. Further, Mr. Boal's siding with the mine owners is also explained by the fact that most of the mining industry is owned or controlled by United States financial interests, and Mr. Boal knows who his masters are.

THE LIFE OF THE MINERS

What are some of the conditions which the miners were seeking to alleviate by their strike actions and the passage of the labor code?

Tin mining in Bolivia is an extremely hazardous and difficult occupation. The mines are located in very high altitudes, which create severe hardships for Bolivia's underfed and underclothed

workers. There is no limit to the number of working hours, and in some mines the men work in thirty-six hour stretches!

Silicosis, the miners' disease, is so prevalent that the span of life of the Bolivian tin worker is very short. Yet in Bolivia there are less than 425 doctors. Wages range from \$5.00 to \$10.00 a week, but the cost of living jumped 1,158 per cent from 1931 to the end of 1941. In 1942 there was a further increase in the cost of living of 60 per cent. Is it surprising, then, that the miners live in a perpetual state of hunger and privation, and chew cocoa leaves, whose narcotic effects still the pangs of hunger?

The mines are situated far from the farm lands, and poor Bolivian peasants had to be virtually kidnapped to the mining regions and put to work. The bosses follow the practice of holding back wages, so that the tin miner is always in debt to the company store and cannot leave the mine. Even such an apologist for the big mining interests as Boal had to admit that this was the reason behind the withholding of wage payments.

The workers of Bolivia demanded the passage of a labor code which would at least guarantee them a minimum wage, payment of wages on time and the right of collective bargaining. The reply was brutal suppression of the miners' strike and a hue and cry on the part of the mine owners that they could not afford any substantial improvements in the living conditions of their workers. But this is the standard answer given by the bosses every time there is a demand for higher wages: "We just can't afford it."

Actually, however, the price of tin has been rising steadily and tin profits, like the profits of big business in this country, are at their highest in history. And as in this country, despite the rising cost of living, workers' wages remain frozen.

THE COMMITTEE OF INVESTIGATION

In the early part of this year a joint Bolivian-United States Labor Commission investigated conditions of the Bolivian tin miners. The report they brought back described these conditions as being so horrible that the International Labor Office refused for a long time to make it public.

Martin Kyne, vice-president of the United Retail and Wholesale Workers, CIO, who was a labor member of the commission, issued his own report in which he told of the conditions which led to

the miners' strike and of the strike itself. Many workers in this country were angered by the revelations in this report, and the CIO made representations to the government that something be done to improve the conditions of the Bolivian miners.

Bolivian President Penaranda was in the United States when the Kyne report was released. He spoke at a number of labor rallies, at which he promised that something would be done to alleviate the sufferings of the Bolivian miners. He promised that the labor code would be passed and enacted. The "good President" then returned to his native land.

PERPETUATING THE SLAVERY

In August came the report that the Bolivian government is not prepared to carry out any of the recommendations of the investigating commission, which in essence are the same as the provisions of the labor code. It is further revealed that the two largest mining interests, Patino Mines & Enterprises, Consolidated (incorporated in the state of Delaware and owned jointly by Simon Patino and the National Lead Company of New York) and the Hochschild interests, are strongly opposed to any labor legislation.

They are now in the process of negotiating new contracts with the United States government, in which they are seeking to raise the price of tin from sixty to seventy cents a pound.

The CIO, on the other hand, is demanding that any contracts which this government signs for Bolivian tin should include improvements in the wages and conditions of the Bolivian miners.

The United States government, by controlling the purse strings, is in a position to compel the Bolivian government to pass the labor code and to guarantee some improvements for the tin miners. But the whitewash of Ambassador Boal, who so openly sided with Patino and Hochschild; the long suppression of the report of the investigating commission; the firing of Galarza because he exposed Boal's role in Bolivia—all these leave little to hope for from the United States government.

Unless Bolivian and American labor act unitedly and independently of government agencies, it is most certain that the new contracts will be signed, granting higher prices to the mine barons and leaving the Bolivian miners in the same desperate condition they have endured for years.

A Genuine Socialist Program For Post-War Unemployment

By SUSAN GREEN

On the farms and in the agricultural industries of this country the productive capacity per worker has risen one-third above the 1935-39 average. In war industries—which means in modern industry as a whole—the productive capacity per worker has increased from fifty per cent to seventy per cent above 1935-39—and in some industries, like aircraft, even more than that.

Under the rational system of socialism, this would be exceedingly good news. It would mean more things to eat, to wear, to enjoy—and at the same time more leisure for farm and industrial workers. Under capitalism, however, this splendid technological improvement turns into a great social disaster—fewer jobs, more unemployed, more worry, more hunger, more starvation. In fact, the predictions of post-war unemployed run up to 30,000,000!

The figure settled on in these articles is a conservative 23,500,000 of post-war jobless. In the previous article it was shown that the possibility for absorbing any considerable number of these 23,500,000 prospective jobless in the field of non-durable consumer goods are very slim indeed.

So now we come to the consideration of those avenues of production in which most hope is placed by the bolsters of the boss profit system. You will see that—at the very most—these so-called promising industries can provide jobs for two or three million more workers than they employed in 1939, still leaving at least 20,000,000 unaccounted for.

How About Auto Production?

The automobile industry is expected to have a tremendous revival, due to the almost complete stoppage of auto manufacturing during the war. Optimistic estimates are that the demand for auto vehicles of various kinds will be seven to eight million.

I haven't the figures for 1939 production of automobiles, but in 1941 some 448,000 auto workers turned out some 4,800,000 vehicles. On this basis, due to the great productivity increase of labor, the same number of workers ought to be able to turn out about one-half more cars—or 7,200,000!

It is only by foolishly supposing that the automobile industry will get going for post-war business at its old productive capacity—disregarding the new mechanical and efficiency improvements—that we can see the chance of employment of more workers. Supposing the same productivity level as 1941, perhaps 250,000 to 300,000 additional auto workers would be needed to turn out seven to eight million cars. But why suppose this?

To view the subject of auto production comprehensively, we must remember that military jeeps, army trucks and other vehicles used by the armed forces, can be converted to civilian uses—and why should they not be? Furthermore, the logical

question pops into one's head:

For how long, anyway, can there be a super-colossal demand for seven to eight million cars?

Airplane and Hot Air

Ah, but airplanes! The optimists rub their hands in great expectation. Here will be a great industry that will do for capitalism what the auto industry did several decades ago.

Undoubtedly there will be an increase in the use of all kinds of airplanes—air flivvers, big cargo planes, big ocean-crossing passenger airships. However, to suppose that air traffic can assume the popularity and proportions of road traffic is fantastic. The solid ground is still what the average family man will want to drive his children on and the average business will want his goods carried on—leaving aside other weighty considerations.

American industrialists do not place the possible post-war market above 2,000 to 2,500 planes a month—or 25,000 to 30,000 in a whole year. And how many workers would the airplane industry require to turn out this number of planes?

Top estimates run to 500,000 men. More conservative figures are only half of that. In any case, there will not be many more than 250,000 employed in airplane production for some years to come.

How, pray, can this new industry that will at the very most give jobs to 500,000 workers, solve post-war unemployment? The auto industry, it will be remembered—producing several millions of cars, trucks, buses and stimulating roadbuilding, petroleum production, etc.—did not prevent the 1929 collapse, with unemployment rising to 17,000,000 and with 9,500,000 remaining unemployed right up to the war.

Construction the Trump Card

The "planners" who are going to build a post-war paradise right in rotten capitalism's backyard, envision the erection of new houses, schools, hospitals, nurseries, playgrounds—like the sprouting of weeds. All right. Let us give them the benefit of every doubt—and there are many. How many workers will this possible construction demand? That's what we are interested in now.

The National Resources Planning Board reported that "highly exaggerated hopes" have been aroused for post-war construction as the solution for unemployment. Even if peacetime civilian construction were to continue the same as for war plants, shipyards, war housing, etc.—in itself extremely doubtful—"this would not at all be decisive" in attaining the goal of full employment. No, indeed! A glance at the figures will show this.

In 1939 both private enterprise and government employed in the construction trades about 1,250,000 men. At the high level of wartime construction reached in January, 1943, only twice as many workers were employed in these trades. Therefore, the

most to be expected would be 1,250,000 more construction jobs than in 1939.

We could go into other fields of production to show that the prospects for jobs for those 23,500,000 to 30,000,000 post-war unemployed are very bad indeed—under the capitalist status quo. For instance, the manufacture of refrigerators required only 36,000 workers in 1939; radios and phonographs needed only 44,000 hands. This is mere chicken feed—even assuming a greater demand than in 1939.

Some people misguidedly think that the manufacture of the wonderful labor-saving machines used in production, themselves require lots of labor to produce. But the production of labor-saving machinery is also done with labor-saving machinery. Thus the manufacture of agricultural machinery never absorbed more than 60,000 workers, and in 1939 all the electrically machinery installed in modern plants was turned out by only 256,000 workers.

A Workers' Solution Needed

What, then, remains? To be drafted into the post-war armed forces which are expected to police the "bright new world"? To be shipped off to some CCC camp in the wilderness? Maybe to hold down a charity job on something equivalent to the WPA or PWA? Maybe to get on relief? Or perhaps to produce for a world market which will be highly competitive and in a chaotic international situation?

That is all that remains if the workers want to leave the problem of 23,500,000 to 30,000,000 unemployed to the mercy of private enterprise and of the boss government.

But if the workers consider the solution of unemployment their own affair, there is an entirely different prospect ahead.

The labor movement must fight for a short enough work week to employ all workers, and at decent wages befitting this age of plenty. The unions must prepare themselves to take over and operate under workers' control all plants shut down in the post-war period for reasons of profit—so that workers can have jobs and the things they need to live. The labor movement must fight for a real program of housing and public works—with financing covered by taxes paid by the rich, not by the poor.

To carry through such a program, organized labor needs to grow both in militancy and in numbers—taking into its fold masses of workers whose unorganized state is honey for the bosses.

But the workers must also realize that unemployment will be abolished once and for all when production is carried on for use, and not for private profit. Therefore, organized labor has to acquire political wisdom—TO GET ONTO THE ROAD OF INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTION LEADING TO A WORKERS' GOVERNMENT, AND TO SOCIALISM.

Who Will Save the European Jews?

By ROBERT HART

There is no finer object lesson in political futility than the appeals addressed to Roosevelt and Churchill on behalf of the European Jews. As the Nazi scythe moves across Europe, cutting down hundreds of thousands of Jewish men, women and children, the slaughter is accompanied by a dirge sung by the "liberals" in the form of resolutions, open letters and appeals to the two great "democratic" leaders.

The chief agency responsible for these appeals in the United States is the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe. Its sponsor list reads like an American Who's Who. Prominent writers, educators, publishers, clergymen and industrialists back its campaigns. The committee's resources from the combined contributions of its wealthy sponsors alone is enormous, and it rakes in thousands of dollars from smaller contributors and organizations. With these funds it buys full page ads in the daily press—hysterical appeals for action usually written by Pierre van Paassan.

APPEALING TO THE WINDS

The appeals are sickening. They whine, wheedle, plead, cajole and flatter. Churchill is called wise, good, gallant, great, heroic. Ditto for Roosevelt. Van Paassan chews his nails and exhausts his stock of ten-dollar words calling the war everything from a crusade to the Apocalypse. The Bible is quoted, the spirit of Christ evoked. Roosevelt and Churchill are now solemnly, now frantically warned that they stand before the bar of history. Babies yet unborn shall judge their deeds.

What a slobbering performance! In traditional fashion, the liberals place all hope, faith and reliance in their great and good leaders. On all fours they come begging for a bone, even a slightly chewed bone.

Isn't it a monstrous joke to hail Roosevelt and Churchill as great liberals fighting in a just cause, and at the same time address the tenth, fiftieth or hundredth appeal to them to take any one of the many steps within their power to save the Jews from extermination? Isn't it either hypocrisy or plain stupidity to pledge undying faith in the

United Nations and their war aims, and at the same time plead in vain with these same nations to execute a simple act of mercy?

THE JEWISH PERSECUTION

At least 3,000,000 Jews have been slaughtered since the war began. Many of them could have been saved. The Nazis are primarily interested in getting rid of them—the method is not always important. Recently the Rumanian government offered to permit Jews to emigrate at so much per head. The Nazis, through their satellite powers, have made similar offers at periodic intervals. But the United Nations, the nations which generated hatred against the Axis by recounting its horrible slaughter of Jews and innocents, have been unwilling to offer the Jews a refuge! They, no less than the Nazis, are guilty of the blood that is today soaking the ghettos of Europe.

Palestine alone could have provided a haven to countless numbers of European Jews. It is easily accessible from Europe by both land and water. But the British government refused to modify its tight immigration quota. Why? The British say it would cause trouble with the Arabs. What they really mean is that they don't want to risk control and domination of the colony. For the British Foreign Office, that risk is far too costly a price to pay for the lives of a couple of million Jews, more or less.

The American government likewise has done nothing. The long heralded Bermuda Conference didn't even produce a promise, let alone a program. The one American contribution to the Jewish problem so far has been tacit acceptance of Giraud's anti-Semitic decrees in North Africa!

A KNOTTY PROBLEM INDEED

Appeals to Roosevelt and Churchill are idiotic. So long as the liberals continue to act like clowns and pat Roosevelt and Churchill on the back with one hand while frenziedly pointing out the "correct" path with the other, Roosevelt and Churchill will do no more than make an occasional gesture, another threat or two to prosecute the guilty Nazis. From their point of view, no more is required.

While they are assured of support for their war, the Jewish problem becomes a secondary issue to be settled when and if convenient. After all, it IS a knotty problem, and among good friends, humanitarians all, fighting in a common cause, these things can be thrashed out amicably—and slowly, very slowly.

If the liberals refuse to see the war for what it is, they can contribute nothing to either the solution of the Jewish problem or any other problem. So long as they accept the premise that this is a good, just and necessary war, no matter how many facts refute it, they will content themselves with shaking a warning finger when they should be raising a smashing fist.

TURN TO THE LABOR MOVEMENT

It is significant that while the Emergency Committee has appealed to anybody and everybody with a big name and/or a fat income, never once has it called upon organized labor to support its campaign. It has completely ignored the only progressive force in the country which when organized possesses enormous power. It prefers, instead, to agitate among a group of handpicked liberals for the purpose of creating a marching and chowder club to call on the President, petition in hand, grief on the face.

Only organized labor can help save the Jews of Europe. But let's have no pious appeals to Roosevelt and Churchill to remember that they are grand old liberals. What is needed is a simple statement to the effect that the failure to help the Jews of Europe, when and where such help was possible, brands the stated war aims of the United Nations as hypocrisy and deceit; that it exposes the war as primarily a struggle for empires and economic domination of nations; and that continued failure to try to save the Jews wherever possible will meet with the ever increasing organized protest of the labor movement.

The workers of America and England can save at least some of the remaining Jews in Europe by sweeping aside the liberals' claptrap of reliance on "leaders," and asserting their united, undefeatable will!

Champions of the Incentive Pay Plan--

(Continued from page 1)

More profits! Not satisfied with the greatest profits in history, American capitalists and their underlings, agents and new-found friends in the shape of the Stalinists, have devised this scheme to defraud the American workers even more than at present.

Browder is behind this campaign because, agent of Stalin, ally of England and America, he supports the Roosevelt Administration. He is fully aware of the deep dissatisfaction of the workers with the wage freeze and the hold-the-line order. He knows that the workers are getting the wrong end of the stick and that they are stirring with resentment at the fact that the war is enriching the already rich capitalist class, while they have had to make every sacrifice.

The workers are fed up with the high cost of living, the enormous taxes which overburden them, the farce of price control, and with the thousand and one ways in which they are cheated. And they see through the farce of "equality of sacrifice" which has meant only sacrifice by them, while big business wallows in the wealth produced by their toil.

The Stalinists stand four-square behind the Roosevelt program, espe-

cially its domestic policies. To forestall the resentment of the workers, Browder offers incentive pay as the only means open to an increase of workers' wages.

Thus the Browder aim is to quiet the protest of the workers and mobilize mass support for Roosevelt's fourth term campaign. It is this scheme which coincides with the big business plan for increased profits.

Jumping a Hurdle

The Administration, big business and the Stalinists have argued against wage increases on the ground that they would produce inflation. They are ready to grant wage increases on the basis of the incentive plan. But this would apply primarily to the war industries producing war goods. Obviously this production would not increase the amount of consumer goods in circulation. How, then, do they square their opposition to wage increases with their willingness to grant them such increases under the incentive plan? The answer is, that they do not square it, for they cannot. And this alone serves to expose the whole game.

One needs only to glance over the list of sponsors of incentive pay to

see what it really is. It is not at all accidental that Browder and Ramond chose the same day to make their pleas. But it would have been more

in keeping with events to have printed Ramond's letter in the Sunday Worker and Browder's article in the New York Times.

ATTENTION!
Detroit Readers of Labor Action--
You are invited to attend a series of four discussions on problems vitally affecting the labor movement:

Sunday, September 19, 8:00 p.m.
"The Record of the Last Congress"
Sunday, September 26, 8:00 p.m.
"Labor's 'Friend' in the White House"
Sunday, October 3, 8:00 p.m.
"The Labor Movement and the Fight for Equal Rights for Negroes"

To be held at the
LABOR FORUM
WESLEY BUILDING, ROOM 304
2847 GRAND RIVER (NEAR TEMPLE)
ADMISSION FREE

Index On the Cost of Living

Is the cost of living going down? Government statistics say yes, but we have yet to hear any housewife agree. However, don't despair. The OPA has a new plan, which surpasses even its own previous efforts in toothlessness.

This Business of New Orleans

According to the New York Times of August 25, the plan has already been tried in some localities. In New Orleans, during May and June, the Young Men's Business Club organized the good work and received the cooperation of business and industrial interests. Within a month, according to both the National Industrial Conference Board and the Bureau of Labor Statistics, food prices went down by five per cent, the biggest drop in the United States.

We know that our readers, like other intelligent people, don't take such figures too seriously. But just in case any dumb cluck should be taken in, the Times, on the very same page, in a much smaller article, gives the National Industrial Conference Board statistics for a month later, July. These figures claim that the cost of living in general (not just food) dropped on an average of 1.2 per cent for the whole country.

However, in New Orleans there was a rise of 0.8 per cent, the LARGEST rise in the whole country. The Times gives no details on how much of this was due to food costs, but past experience indicates that practically all of it was. Since food is calculated as over one-third of the cost of living, the rise in food costs would be about two and a half per cent. The national decline for food costs alone was supposed to be about three per cent, making the total difference, or the comparative rise in New Orleans, OVER five per cent.

Asserting That Costs Are Lower

You and I aren't the only ones who don't believe any of the talk about declines in the HCL. The hardboiled business observers are skeptical, too. Newsweek of August 23 says: "The cost of living has now leveled off,

and is beginning to move downward—at least STATISTICALLY—under pressure from Washington" (emphasis ours).

Business Week of August 21 takes a similar view: "The goal of reducing the cost of living to the September, 1942, level may not be reached, but some JUGGLING OF FIGURES, some judicious wage increases, and some SMOOTH TALK will be coupled to achieve an overall result which will look pretty good to the public" (emphasis ours).

Here are a few figures for you: The Bureau of Labor Statistics gives the cost of living as 117.8 in September, 1942, and 123.8 in July, 1943.

The Facts Are Otherwise

James Byrnes, Roosevelt's right-hand man, has the unusual idea that these official government figures for

July are too high, claims that they don't yet show the full effect of food rollbacks, that the cost of living is really only four and a half per cent above September, 1942, levels (New York Times, August 17).

Chester Bowles, new prime minister of the OPA, says: "If I am not mistaken, we are now only three per cent above the September, 1942, level" (New York Times, same date, August 17). How could a man in Bowles' job be mistaken on such a subject—except intentionally? His long training in the inaccuracy required by the advertising business, whence he comes, is now proving very valuable to him.

Naturally, not even the bureau's figures are right. They take no account of black market prices, lowered quality, the disappearance of low cost goods from the stores, and other such factors.

OPA Reveals Huge Profits Of Wholesale Food Dealers

Workers' wives who each week take home less and less food from the grocery for the money they spend out of "frozen wages," will be interested in an OPA report revealing that the big wholesale food grocers' profits, before taxes, increased over 200 per cent between 1939 and 1942.

The OPA report shows that the profits before taxes for all wholesale food grocers soared from \$4,121,000 in 1941 to \$12,897,000 in 1942, an increase of 213 per cent in one year! The volume of dollar sales in the same period jumped from \$292,640,000 to \$417,350,000, an increase of 42 per cent.

"Based on an annual inventory turnover of about ten times," the report states, "wholesale food grocers are currently earning an average of about 25 to 30 per cent on the capital invested in inventories at any time during the year."

The report says that for three out of every ten wholesale grocers, the profit increase for 1942 over 1939 was at least 300 per cent, and "for half of these, profits rose 500 per cent or more." "In other words," the report continues, "more than one out of every ten companies reported profits at least six times those of 1939."

According to the OPA, seventy companies with sales under \$5,000,000 showed a profit increase from 1941 to 1942 of 249.5 per cent. It is worth while recalling that during this same period the wage increase allowed to workers by the government was FIFTEEN PER CENT!

What Is the Real Purpose of Stalin's "Free Germany" Committee?

By R. Fahan

Viewed in retrospect, the creation of a so-called National Committee of Free Germany under the aegis of Stalin is a far more important event than it appeared to be at its inception.

The immediate reaction of most commentators was to view it as a move in the struggle being waged under the political table between Stalin on the one hand and America and England on the other. And when one takes into account the most recent events in this struggle, all of which point to a cumulative deterioration in relations between Russia and the Allies, it becomes clear that an important motive behind Stalin's setting up of this committee was undoubtedly to use it as a means of political blackmail against his partners when the questions of a second front and the post-war world come up for discussion.

Nonetheless, it is the opinion of this writer that the creation of the Free German Committee by Stalin is indicative of another, and perhaps as important, development—the entering of a new and intensified stage of imperialist perspectives on the part of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Before elaborating this idea, however, let us briefly examine the nature of this Free Germany Committee to see what clues we can discover about its real purpose.

The Purpose of the Committee

Writing in the New York Times, Arthur Krock quite correctly says:

"The Manifesto [is] carefully blank of any of the Marxian-Communist ideology which had many adherents among the anti-Nazis of Germany... no reference to classes or class conflict, no attack on class enemies, no incitement to social revolution but instead mention of change as 'a liberation struggle of all sections of the German people.' All groups were addressed on the same level. Restoration of something resembling the free enterprise system of the Western nations [i.e., capitalism—R.F.] was pledged."

The above paragraph is a summary of the ideological contents of the committee's program. There is no point in belaboring the fact that Stalin no longer stands for socialist revolution; that has even penetrated the skull of Captain Rickenbacker (to the surprise of those who doubted that any idea could penetrate it).

What is remarkable is this: the manifesto of the committee does not even call for the old kind of Popular Front government. It quite openly appeals to a host of reactionary nationalists, including a section of the army leadership, when it says: "There are forces in the army that are loyal to the country..." and when it urges the German soldiers NOT to turn their rifles against their own officers, but to "hold on to them under the leadership of those commanders who recognize their responsibility."

And most revealing of all, Freies Deutschland, organ of the committee,

carries on its masthead the red, white and black flag of the Reichswehr!

It is possible, of course, to become very indignant about this latest betrayal of the Stalinist regime. But for workers who understand the reactionary role of Stalinism in world affairs, more is required. Just what is Stalin up to this time?

The first and most obvious explanation is that, dissatisfied by the lack of a second front, he is setting up the committee as a means of threatening Roosevelt and Churchill. "If," he tells them, "you don't open up a second front in France, then I am quite ready to make a separate peace with some non-Hitlerite government, and I am not at all squeamish about how reactionary it may be. For I, Stalin, don't have your perspective of attempting to dismember and destroy the German nation and its industrial machine, if only because it can be of great use to me as a counterweight against any 'cordon sanitaire' idea which may be flitting around the back of your minds. As far as I, Stalin, am concerned, a united but fairly 'subversive' Germany might not be a bad thing at all..."

The prospect of such a statement by Stalin does not please the Allied powers. Their slogan of unconditional surrender for Germany is based upon the idea of so destroying and dismembering a defeated Germany that she will disappear from the international scene as an industrial power.

Stalin, then, offers the POSSIBILITY of a separate peace with a non-Hitlerite German regime. Does this mean that he is ready for a separate peace right now? We doubt it. For though Stalin wants a united Germany with a sizable army, he doesn't want a peace with a Nazi government which, if it defeated the Allies, could then jump on Russia once more.

Many things are possible, but at the moment it appears as if the whispers of separate peace are (1) partly induced by the Stalinists as a means of threatening the Allies, as witness the statement in Earl Browder's recent speech that failure to open a second front would hurt the Allies more than Russia and (2) is used by isolationist elements in this country as a means of discrediting the Roosevelt concept of concentrating on the European war first and then attacking Japan.

What Is Stalinist Expansion?

The Free German Committee, then, is Stalin's way of prodding the Allies to create a second front and also to demand a large share of the post-war booty. But, we believe, it is something more.

At the time of Stalin's invasion of the Baltic countries, Poland and Finland, and Bessarabia, we analyzed those moves as part of an imperialist policy on the part of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Trotsky, though disagreeing with the theoretical framework of this analysis, supplied it with its real meat when he spoke of

the invasions as being motivated by "power, prestige and plunder."

The Stalinist bureaucracy, its collective ego inflated by an atmosphere of unlimited nationalistic self-praise, snatched up these slips of land as a means of increasing its European sway of power and interest, of finding new areas for its extensive economic difficulties by annexing some potentially rich territories. Of course, it was clear to us as the time that when we spoke of its imperialist policy we did not speak of it in the sense of a capitalist imperialism. That is, Russia's main motive was not to find a source to invest profitably its surplus capital. But there are varieties of imperialism, as history has amply demonstrated, and Russia's was a more primitive, ACCUMULATIVE type.

This new imperialist appetite of the Stalinist bureaucracy—coming after the destruction of all internal proletarian opposition and the emergence of the bureaucracy as a definite exploitive ruling class—was not the only cause of the invasions, but it was an important one.

Stalin has begun to play with the idea of having a post-war world in which Germany, with its rich industrial machine, its trained technicians, its skilled labor, its great resources, will play second fiddle to Stalinist Russia. That is truly a grandiose perspective for the bureaucracy. But it is a perspective which demands that Germany remain as an integral economic unit, that it be not divided into bits, as the Allies desire. That is why the committee's manifesto demands the retention of a strong German army.

Why, then, doesn't Stalin propose to set up a kind of Stalinist government in Germany, a fake "socialist" government which he would dominate lock stock and barrel? The answer is provided in incipient form in an interesting article by Joachim Joesten in The Nation for September 4, when he writes that "Stalin is much too smart to plan for a Soviet Germany because he is fully aware that such a Germany would eventually dominate Russia. The Germans, with their extraordinary talent for organization, their resources, and their central position in Europe, would soon get the upper hand... by... a Germany that was different. His purpose would be better served from, but friendly toward, the Soviet Union."

Socialist or Capitalist Germany?

What the writer is driving toward is this: The creation of some kind of artificial "Soviet" regime in Germany, dominated completely by Stalin, is far too dangerous a game to play with. Revolutions are events which have a habit of leaving behind those who start them; and for Stalin to play even with the matches of social revolution in Germany might start a fire that would burn down even his own structure. He is far safer attempting to pull the strings from behind capitalist Germany, but a greatly weakened and dependent capitalist Germany, one which would

be led by a coalition of Stalinist-controlled politicians and army officers and from which Stalin could suck the industrial technique which he so desperately needs.

To some minds, the thought of an imperialism which reverses the tendency of capitalist imperialism seems strange, but then, let it be remembered, Stalinist Russia is also a strange phenomenon.

We wish to emphasize that when we raise such possibilities it is by no means in the spirit of believing them to represent a definite chart of future events. Quite the contrary. For Stalin to be able to realize such a grandiose perspective as that of creating an imperialist overlordship over most of Europe with Germany

as the key agent within that organization is a task which faces at least three tremendous barriers: the Axis, the Allies and the European proletariat.

Nonetheless, we believe that such a perspective does exist if only because the peculiar and unique situation of Russia as a society which is neither in complete harmony with capitalist society nor an ally of those attempting to abolish capitalist society, forces her to attempt the artificial solution of nationalist expansionism, which means the creation of as large a chain of buffer and subservient states as possible in Eastern and Central Europe.

At the same time let it be emphasized that Stalin still acts as much

from fear as from aggressiveness; in fact, they form an indissoluble compound. He fears the possibility of Allied aggression in a post-war world via the "cordon sanitaire"; that, plus the internal contradictions of his regime, contributes to the development of the imperialist policy now taking shape in the Kremlin.

Allies at an Impasse

(It should be noted, in passing, that the creation of a powerful Russian military bureaucracy, flushed with some success, is another contributing factor toward the development of such a policy.)

One factor, however, stands out conclusively: whatever agreement may be patched up between the Al-

lies and Stalin, they cannot agree as to what to do about Germany. There they reach an impasse. Each sees in the successful domination of Germany the key to its own predatory security. On that issue no agreement is possible between Stalin and Roosevelt-Churchill.

In all this maze of intrigue and diplomacy, it is clear, however, that the Free German Committee is merely a pawn in an inter-imperialist struggle. If it were to Stalin's advantage, he would immediately choke it (like the Kuusinen "government" of Finland). At present it serves as a political blackjack against his allies and as an entering wedge to satisfy his ambitions with regard to the post-war world.

An Editorial Statement

Hillman's Proposal to "Freeze" ALP

Sidney Hillman, chairman of the CIO Political Action Committee, which is another name for a body whose main job is to prevent independent political action by labor, and to secure its support of the Democratic Party machine and Roosevelt's fourth term, has intervened in the present struggle in the American Labor Party.

The struggle between the incumbent leadership of the ALP, headed by Dubinsky, Counts, Allfange and Armstrong, and the Stalinists (the Communist Party and its members and fellow travelers in the New York union movement), is not a simple one. It cannot be answered merely with the remark that the Stalinists wish to seize control of the ALP. That is true enough, but it is not the whole story.

Who Is "Right" and "Left"?

To call the Dubinsky-Counts group the "Right Wing" doesn't explain anything, either. This would signify that the Hillman-Stalinist bloc is the "Left Wing" or progressive group. Nothing is further from the truth. The Stalinist wing is the most reactionary organized force in the labor movement. It is the chief advocate of policies which can have only one result: To make impossible the effective economic and political action of the working class.

In comparison to the Stalinists, now joined with Hillman, the Dubinsky-Counts group is certainly not to the right. This is true in the same

sense that the reformist labor bureaucracy now stands to the left of the Stalinists in the trade union movement—they are compelled, from time to time, on the basis of their position, to "fight," in their own way, for the interests of the workers against big business, the Administration, Congress and the Stalinists.

For example, the present ALP is a distinct labor political organization. That it does not pursue the course of political independence in campaigns is unquestionably true. Our criticism of the ALP is precisely on the ground that it has failed to use its great power to extend the independent character of the party for genuine independent labor political action against the rotten political machines of the Republican and Democratic parties. In other words, it has been playing cheap capitalist machine politics.

It is possible, however, to change the course of the ALP, because the entire framework for an independent political party is present in the ALP. All that is necessary is to force a radical change of policy, to alter the present politics of the leading group. This, however, presupposes complete support of the principle of independent political action.

Hillman's Intervention

That is the problem before the ALP: Genuine independent political action! No entangling alliances with the rotten political machines of the boss-controlled Democratic and Republican Parties!

Into this situation has come Sidney Hillman, a man noted for his opportunism, his collaboration with business and association with rotten politics, and, lastly, as "labor's" perennial representative in the Administration. He has assumed the job of trying to put over Roosevelt's anti-labor policies on the union movement.

Recently he intervened in the ALP primaries, in an election not yet fully decided, for the purpose of helping the Stalinists win control of the party. And now he has come forward with the proposal that the state organizations of the AFL and the CIO

and their affiliated unions take over the ALP.

Why the Proposal Now?

Ordinarily and under normal circumstances, such a proposal would strengthen the ALP, increase its mass political power and fortify its independent and labor character. Again, under ordinary and normal circumstances, it would serve the best interests of a truly independent ALP. It would indeed give it the scope to really challenge the capitalist parties.

But if this is true, why did Hillman wait all these years before making this proposal? Why have the Stalinists rallied so strongly behind Hillman's proposal? The answer is that, UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES, Hillman's proposal aims at destroying the independent form of the ALP. This is its sole purpose!

1. Hillman is chairman of the CIO Political Action Committee. This committee is on record as opposed to any third party of labor, and its fight with the ALP is for the purpose of destroying whatever independence it has. He and his committee have only one platform: re-elect Roosevelt in 1944 and rally the labor movement behind the Democratic Party. To do this, he finds it necessary to corral the ALP, reduce its effectiveness and tie it completely to the New York Democratic Party.

In addition, Hillman led the attacks on the ALP for its endeavor to organize similar parties in other states.

2. To carry out Hillman's proposal means to turn the ALP over to the Stalinist-dominated unions. The opposition of the Stalinists to a third party of labor and independent labor political action coincides with Hillman's program. They work with Hillman to fight any manifestation of independent labor politics. They, too, are committed to one political aim: rally the labor movement behind Roosevelt and the Democratic Party machine.

3. It is a matter of record that Hillman and the Stalinists and their unions are opposed to an Independent Labor Party. If this is true, and it

is, why does Hillman propose that Stalinist dominated unions, OPPOSED TO AN INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY, should enter the ALP for the purpose of controlling it? Why does Hillman take such an acute interest in the ALP right now, when he is opposed to a Labor Party?

Reject Hillman's Program

The answer is obvious. If he succeeds in his proposal for the ALP, if the Stalinist dominated unions flood the ALP, they will be in a position, in effect, to liquidate the party.

Coming at this time, in view of the political situation in the country, and in view of the sharpening division between Roosevelt and labor, Hillman's proposal is reactionary in content and aim.

Therefore, while completely critical of the pernicious course pursued by the present leadership—which has a long way to go before it understands and practices genuine independent labor political action—we say it is necessary for the ALP to reject decisively the Hillman proposal, supported by the Stalinist union wreckers, as one calculated to ruin the party.



SIDNEY HILLMAN



PHILIP MURRAY

The Labor Draft Bill Slavery--

(Continued from page 1)

all other solutions first. Then when these have all proved unworkable (because the Administration didn't want them to work in the first place) it yields to "necessity" and "public pressure" and "reluctantly" recommends passage of the act.

What It Will Do to Labor

Here is what passage of the Austin-Wadsworth bill will mean for the workers of America.

1. Workers will be forcibly transferred anywhere at any time and forced to work in whatever shop and live in whatever house the labor draft board chooses!

2. Wage levels and working conditions will collapse. The bill will wipe out competition for jobs, as workers will have no choice in the matter.

3. Minority groups, such as Negroes, Mexicans and Japanese-Americans, will be segregated and their wage levels further depressed.

4. Trade union leaders will be throttled by forcibly transferring them to another area as soon as they begin gaining rank and file support.

5. Finally, workers will have absolutely no redress for grievances. Not only won't they have the right to strike, they will not even have the right to quit!

The Austin-Wadsworth bill will deliver the workers bound and gagged into the hands of the bosses!

Big Business Will Rule

Deluded liberals like the New York Post are urging passage of the bill on the theory that control will be in the hands of the "government." This is a meaningless quibble. The workers are employed by private corporations, not by the government. Until all industries and utilities are nationalized and under workers' control, the control will remain with the bosses, and the government will be working hand in hand with them by passing the Austin-Wadsworth bill.

If the bill is passed, the corporations, operating through such agencies as the National Association of

Manufacturers, can come together and agree on the wages and hours they want to force on the American workers. The bosses will be free to pile up enormous profits from the work of their labor slaves who have no weapon left with which to protect themselves.

The Austin-Wadsworth bill will mean the end of all independent trade union activity. The workers'

freedom of movement, his freedom to organize, his freedom of association will be crushed. Labor will be as completely enslaved as under the Hitler regime.

Organized labor must marshal its strength at once to prevent the enactment of this vicious piece of fascist legislation, which will sound the death knell of all working class freedom in America!

Miners' Conviction--

(Continued from page 1)

judge that the strikers "have learned their lesson," sentence was suspended and the men put on three years' probation—something like the treatment handed out to first offenders under any criminal law. In suspending sentence, Judge Schoonmaker warned the "criminals" at the bar "to refrain from any act impeding or retarding the production of coal during the war."

Lawyers are concerned with freeing their clients and seldom bother much about intrinsic truths and principles. The plea of the miners' lawyer that they have learned their lesson and will be good boys, cannot be a statement of fact—if we are to take seriously the militant action of these accused men.

These miners did indeed learn a lesson—but not the one implied by their attorney. As evidenced by their actions, these miners undoubtedly got to understand that the government took over the mines as a means of breaking their splendid industry-wide strike for higher wages to meet the cost of living and for portal-to-portal pay.

Who Are the Real Criminals?

These men may not have put their ideas into so many words, but in going out on strike again after the government took over the mines, they must have realized that govern-

ment operation was only a protective front for the bosses and their huge war profits.

As for refraining "from any act impeding or retarding the production of coal during the war," as directed by the judge, it would have been more to the point to have censored the WLB for refusing to sanction even the Illinois mine agreement with its partial wage increases.

When workers don't get enough to buy, the wherewithal for decent living, they will now—as always—put up a fight for their needs. Because the Smith Connally anti-strike law aims to take away this irreducible minimum of democracy for the workers and is the spearhead of a well planned anti-labor campaign, the unions must go all-out to get it repealed—and to forestall the rabid enemies of the workers who will in the coming session of Congress seek to put even more teeth into this vicious law.

The real criminals against society are the bosses guarding their war-swollen money bags while labor's wages do not provide a decent living and while workers die in preventable industrial accidents. Let criminal laws be passed against the real offenders.

'We Shall Hold Our Own,' Says Churchill

Still Defending the British Empire

By A. A. B.

Winston Churchill is a bold and confident capitalist leader, and his words are always worth watching. He is also bold and confident from natural temperament. That is why the Baldwins, Chamberlains, Samuel Hoares and all the petty politicians who fattened on the sweets of office in peacetime hated him and did their utmost to keep him out of office.

Conflict of policy there was, but less than appears at first sight. When the war came, everybody knew Churchill had to come in. They admitted him grudgingly and, as was expected, he has eclipsed them all.

But Churchill is bold and confident for another, and far more important, reason: he has the Labor Party leadership in Britain tamed. Far more than Roosevelt, he can speak without having to face a stir of opposition among the people which can be used by political opponents. It is this which allows Churchill to give free rein to his fluent, counter-revolutionary tongue and express the schemes and plots cooked up by himself and Roosevelt. Observe—

DEFENDER OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM

Churchill startled the liberals and the people everywhere by saying openly of the British Empire: "We shall hold our own." He said that he was not going to preside at the liquidation of the British Empire. He said this chiefly to Wendell Willkie, but also to Franklin Roosevelt. But he could say this so shamelessly only because the Labor Party leaders in Britain were committed to his policy on India. Had they been opposed to him, he has sense enough to know that it would not have been wise to speak so openly.

People were shocked when Roosevelt showed himself so tender to Badoglio and the House of Savoy. But for months Churchill had felt himself free to say: "One man alone (Mussolini) in Italy is responsible." Obviously, he was preparing the way for a deal with the real culprits, the Italian capitalist class. But note that he said it, while Roosevelt was silent.

There are other instances. Now, recently, Churchill made two speeches. Both of them came immediately after long conferences with Roose-

velt. One significant part of the Quebec broadcast goes as follows: "Certainly we see all Europe rising under Hitler's tyranny, and what is now happening in Denmark is only another example. Certainly we see the Germans hated as no race has ever been hated in human history, or with such good reason."

FEAR OF THE EUROPEAN MASSES

So far, so good. But note now what follows: "We see them sprawled over a dozen once free and happy countries with their talons making festering wounds, the scars of which will never be effaced."

Why does Churchill go out of his way to emphasize that the bitterness between the German people and the people of Europe will "never be healed"? It is because he is afraid (1) of Stalin's determination to bolster up a de-Hitlerized Germany, and if that is the only means of getting his way in Europe; (2) of a proletarian revolution in the main countries of the Continent, which could open a road for the German proletariat.

What Churchill means is that rather than see that, he will do everything possible to emphasize the bitterness and keep Europe divided. A few days before, however, Roosevelt had said that the masses of the people in the Axis countries had nothing to fear. The real policy of these two, you may be sure, came from the mouth of Churchill.

AND CONTEMPT FOR LABOR

Roosevelt has not dared to be so open. But it is good to know from their own mouths exactly what is in the minds of these defenders of a rotten and dying system. And it is important for workers to note that Churchill's contempt for public opinion can be exercised so freely because the official opposition in England, the labor leaders, has sold out completely and has no policy of its own.

Note that Churchill brought to Quebec his wife, his daughter, his Foreign Secretary, his Minister

of Information (called in Germany, Minister of Propaganda), his chief of the Army, his chief of the Navy, his chief of the Air Force. But no single member of the British Labor Party was there!

Let us not think that when Churchill says: "We shall hold our own," he speaks for the British people. In nine cases out of ten, he speaks for the imperialist counter-revolutionaries. For the moment, it is sufficient to say that the majority of the British people, the great masses of the workers in particular, have ideas fundamentally different from his. They cannot get the opportunity to express them and to clarify them because the labor leaders echo Churchill and confuse and suppress the people in the name of "national defense."

Let us listen carefully to Churchill. Let us remember that he can say openly what Roosevelt thinks but prefers not to say. Roosevelt acts! And let us have no doubt that the great body of the people in Britain and America will sooner or later express themselves. We help them to do so by exposing the real policies of the wily Roosevelt and the bold and impudent Churchill.

LABOR ACTION
A Paper in the Interests of Labor

Published Weekly by the
LABOR ACTION PUBLISHING ASSN.
114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y.
(3rd Floor)

Vol. 7, No. 37 September 13, 1943

ALBERT GATES, Editor

Subscription Rate: 60 Cents a Year
75 Cents for Canada, New York and Foreign

Re-entered as second-class matter May 24, 1940,
at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the
Act of March 3, 1879.