

The Answer to FDR:

Coming Out of the Pits



Coal Miners' Wages Cut By Latest WLB "Increase"

By WALTER WEISS

All the newspapers are saying that the latest miners' strike started over a matter of thirty-seven and a half cents a day. The reader is supposed to draw an obvious conclusion: What kind of men are these who would "betray their country" for such a trifle?

Of course, none of the newspapers ask: If the sum is so trifling, why not give it to the miners, since they risk their lives every working day of the year?

As a matter of fact, this is another case where the Roosevelt Administration's simple statistics lie.

The miners started out asking for two dollars more per day, or twelve dollars per week—not a bit too much in view of rising prices, runaway taxes, almost compulsory war bond purchases, and the increasing danger of working conditions under the pressure of war production. And this says nothing of the fabulous profits of those who risk not a thing, not even their own capital, since the government builds plants for them and then guarantees them rich cost-plus returns.

As the months passed, John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, time and again made concessions. He adopted more and more the War Labor Board's program for labor: Earn more money by sweatshop efforts (incentive pay) or by longer hours!

THE ILLINOIS AGREEMENT

The Illinois agreement submitted to the WLB proposed that the miners do four and a half hours more actual work per week, which at overtime rates would yield \$6.75 additional pay per week. It further proposed four and a half hours of portal-to-portal pay. This was the only REAL increase asked for.

But, observe, Lewis was not even asking \$6.75 for portal-to-portal pay, let alone twelve dollars a week. He agreed that overtime should begin after FORTY HOURS A WEEK, INSTEAD OF THIRTY-FIVE, AS IN THE OLD CONTRACT. In this way, the miners would receive one dollar an hour instead of one dollar and a half for those five hours, a total loss of two dollars and a half!

What remained of the original twelve dollar demand? Exactly \$4.25!

The whole quarrel is about thirty-seven and a half cents a day, say the newspapers. That happens to be \$2.25 a week and leaves the miners with two dollars a WEEK instead of two dollars a DAY (or twelve dollars a week) for their portal-to-portal pay.

ROOSEVELT AND BUSINESS WEEK

Roosevelt gets indignant at the miners, sends a letter to the WLB saying that the board was probably too generous, since the miners can now earn about \$8.50 more each week.

Business Week, which is read almost exclusively by the bosses, can afford to be more honest. In its issue of October 30, it says:

"THIS, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF TOOLS AND VACATION ALLOWANCE, WHICH HE WON EARLY IN HIS GAME, LEWIS REACHES THIS POINT IN HIS LONG BATTLE FOR TWO DOLLARS MORE A DAY, TWELVE DOLLARS MORE A WEEK, WITH A PROPOSAL FROM THE NWLB WHICH GRANTS HIM VIRTUALLY NOTHING MORE THAN THE \$6.75 OVERTIME PAY, WHICH HIS MINERS COULD HAVE GOT UNDER THE OLD CONTRACT."

This is the exact truth! Nevertheless, we must point out to our readers that even by granting the miners two dollars, the WLB departed from the big principle of the wage-stabilization program, that increased earnings must come only from at least equal increase in production. That's why Roosevelt said that "... it seems to me that the board has resolved every reasonable doubt with respect to the requirements of the stabilization program in favor of the miners' demands. Some (meaning Roosevelt himself, no doubt—W.W.) may rea-

sonably question whether the board has not gone too far."

THE WLB WORKS IT OUT

Let's see how the board proceeded, so far as we can figure the situation out from press reports.

Lewis and the Illinois operators proposed \$8.50 for an eight and a half hour day (seven and three-quarter working hours plus three-quarters of an hour travel time). After forty hours the time and a half rate would apply. The board said that was all right, that it was satisfactory to TALK ABOUT travel time in the contract, but that it would be contrary to the stabilization program TO PAY for such time, since nothing was being produced!

In other words, they really rejected the idea of portal-to-portal pay. However, they said to the miners, you will be producing for three-quarters of an hour more per day. Since you have been getting overtime after thirty-five hours a week, or seven hours a day, we can follow the Price Control Act and still pay you time and a half for that extra three-quarters of an hour. We can pay you, instead of the straight rate of \$7.75 for seven and three-quarter hours, \$8.12½.

This, however, would have given the miners nothing extra at all, but would have followed the old contract, merely increasing the weekly hours of work. Therefore, the board, having allowed time and a half for all the overtime worked on a daily basis, this time after forty hours instead of after thirty-five hours.

In order to pile up even overtime beyond forty hours to bring about the piddling two dollars a week concession finally arrived at, the forty-six and a half hours of actual working time would not suffice; but fifty-one hours, including the four and a half hours of travel time, would.

The board, therefore, after stating that travel time could NOT be paid for, announced that the \$8.12½ daily wage for productive work would be considered payment for an eight and a half hour day which INCLUDED travel time. Thus, enough overtime beyond forty hours (i.e., eleven hours of overtime) could be piled up to compensate for the cut in basic pay which Lewis complained of (\$8.12½ for eight and a half hours amounting to ninety-five and a half cents an hour, instead of the old dollar an hour rate).

AFL MEMBERS OF WLB EXPLAIN

The AFL members of the board correctly described the majority's decision as the product of "MENTAL, LEGAL AND ARITHMETICAL GYMNASTICS."

Some members of the majority, they said, stated that travel time was being paid for only after forty hours. In other words, when the wartime need for coal passes, their view is that no travel time will have to be paid. Chairman Davis, on the other hand, did not make clear just when portal-to-portal pay was being allowed, according to the AFL members.

By all this complicated maneuvering, on the exact meaning of which even the originators disagree, the majority in its decision states that it has accomplished these results: (1) disposed of the portal-to-portal issue; (2) measured the mine workers' case in the same way, under the stabilization program, as all other cases.

In other words, they tell the miners: We have granted you some portal-to-portal pay. At the same time they tell other workers, for example, packing-house workers, who might claim something similar to travel pay, that the miners are really getting a little extra money for actually working more than their usual seven-hour day.

The miners have not been taken in by the "arithmetical gymnastics." Neither will other workers be taken in by it. But, as we have said many times, they cannot really fight this phony board without forcing the labor members to resign from it. They cannot fight the whole phony stabilization program without taking back their only weapon, the strike weapon. Unless they do this, not only the miners but all the workers are betrayed.

Nationalize the Mines and Railroads! Build an Independent Labor Party!

LABOR ACTION

NOVEMBER 8, 1943

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

MINERS IN STRIKE AGAINST WLB AWARD

An Editorial--

Nationalize the Mines and Railroads! Build a Labor Party!

A strike ballot has been submitted for the vote of the members of all the standard railroad unions in the country, except the dispatchers, who have a separate wage agreement.

The union leaders, who speak of themselves as "noted for their patience and forbearance in the face of trying conditions," freely predict that the railroad workers, numbering almost 1,500,000 men, will vote overwhelmingly in favor of a strike for an increase in wages.

The railroad workers are the largest single group in the country to take such action.

The miners, numbering about 500,000 men, are already out on strike, after months and months of the most cynical run-around given to workers by the government during the war.

It is no exaggeration to say that the entire labor movement is watching the fight of the miners and railroad workers with the most intense interest and concern. It is their fight too, the fight of all of us.

The idea that the railroad workers have been earning "fantastic" wages and enjoying wonderful conditions is at least ninety-five per cent myth. It probably derives from the fact that before the war broke out the bankrupt railroads were put back on their feet by tens of millions of dollars of government money (through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation) and that in the course of the war, the railroads and the banking magnates who control them have been making more profits than ever before in their history. They are simply wallowing in profits up to their ears.

To meet the sky-rocketing cost of living, the unions made the modest demand for a thirty-per cent raise. After weeks of hearings before the Roosevelt-appointed Emergency Board, the unions proved to the hilt that a money raise of twenty cents an hour was clearly justified. The board, last May, agreed to an eight cents an hour raise.

MR. VINSON, NEW HATCHET-MAN

The union leaders backed down and accepted the eight cents proposal on Roosevelt's "urgent request." A day before, meeting with the employers, Judge Vinson, Economic Stabilization Director, dictatorially set aside the increase. Whereupon, after another meeting with Roosevelt, the union leaders made another concession, and agreed to a seven-cent raise.

A day later, even this raise, approved by Roosevelt, was torpedoed. One of his secretaries told the unions that Byrnes and Vinson objected and that the Emergency Board would have to review the case again.

Eight days later, the board offered a raise... of four cents an hour! To gain redress by strike action is clearly indicated and altogether legitimate. If the railroad workers win, we all win. If they lose...

NATIONALIZATION IS IMPERATIVE!

But while the strike weapon is indispensable, it is not enough. MINERS AND RAILROADERS MUST JOIN AND, SUPPORTED BY THE WHOLE LABOR MOVEMENT, MUST DEMAND: THE NATIONALIZATION OF THE MINES AND RAILROADS, UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL! NATIONALIZATION IS AN OLD DEMAND OF THE RAILROAD AND MINE WORKERS, AND IT IS TIME TO PUT IT FORWARD WITH REAL INSISTENCE.

After the rotten experiences with the present government, and the parties that back it against labor, is there any reason to believe that it will grant this demand? Not any more than it granted the much more modest demands made in the past.

In that case, let labor, which is more powerfully organized than ever before in world history, get a government of its own! The present government is a government of, for and by the minority—the capitalist minority. A government of labor would be a government of, for and by the majority—the working-class majority. And it would protect the elementary rights of this majority, which is as it should be.

FOR A LABOR PARTY—FOR A GOVERNMENT OF LABOR

For a labor government, the unions need a Labor Party. What is that? Simply this: a party based on the labor unions and committed point-blank to the interests of labor, the only ones who count, the men and women who do the physical and mental work in the country and make every wheel turn around.

NATIONALIZE THE MINES AND RAILROADS UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL!

AN INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY OF THE WORKERS, BY THE WORKERS AND FOR THE WORKERS!

When Three Powers Get Together

Dividing the Spoils in Moscow

By MAX SHACHTMAN

Oceans of ink are being spilled all over the press for the purpose of concealing the most important basic points in the agreement reached by the three big Allied powers at the Moscow Conference.

Point One is the common fear of Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin of the coming revolution in Europe, and their agreement to prevent it from breaking out, to control it and take the heart out of it if it does break out, to suppress it by force if it cannot be controlled and rendered harmless.

That is why the joint declaration of the three powers (four with China) recognizes "the necessity of ensuring the rapid and ORDERLY transition from war to peace," and speaks of "the re-establishment of law and order." That is why it calls for the use of "their military forces within the territories of other states... for the purposes envisaged in this dec-

laration and after joint consultation."

Anyone who understands anything about imperialist politics knows what such declarations as the one adopted in Moscow mean by the words "law and order." They mean: no revolution, down with revolution, down with the rule of the working people!

The imperialists are fully aware that millions of workers and peasants in Europe are already determined to put an end to the rule of the reactionaries, the exploiters and oppressors, who are responsible for their dreadful sufferings and agonizing misery—not only in Germany in Italy, but in practically every other European country. They know that at the first opportunity the people will rise in revolution as they did in the period of the First World War. Again, as in the First World War, "law and order" means: stop the revolution if you can; crush it by force if you cannot stop it.

On this point, Churchill, Stalin and

Coal Miners Lead Struggle Of Entire Labor Movement

For the fourth time in six months, half a million of the nation's coal miners have left the pits on strike under their historic slogan, "No contract, no work."

The capitalist press is howling again like a pack of jackals, although this time it is not emphasizing so much the lie that the miners are just a bunch of cattle who are driven out on strike against their will under the political order of John L. Lewis. The spontaneous actions of the miners themselves have served to explode this slander.

The lies haven't worked. Neither have the dirty plans of Roosevelt's War Labor Board, which has hoped from the beginning of the fight to keep the miners in such a torment of suspension, of promises and half-promises, of double-crosses and triple-crosses, that the miners would be worn out and finally accept the miserable proposals with which the board seeks to thwart the modest demands of the men who take their lives in their hands every day that they go down to dig the nation's coal.

We will not repeat here the excellent story of how the War Labor Board has systematically misrepresented the demands of the miners and tried to cheat them out of their due in the most cynical and shameless manner. That story is told in full elsewhere in this issue of LABOR ACTION. (See the article by Walter Weiss, starting in column one of this page.)

It is enough to say that whoever else may have been tricked by the War Labor Board and the oceans of propaganda streaming through the capitalist press, the miners have not been! They know what is due them; they know that they are only asking for a small part of what is due them; and they are determined not to yield an inch until they get it.

THE MINERS ARE RIGHT!

The miners are right, and we are with them one hundred per cent. The capitalists and their press are against the miners. Of course! The whole Stalinist gang in the Communist Party is working, in the fourth strike as in the first, second and third, to break it, and to drive the miners back to the pits like sheep are driven to the pen.

Most of the "labor leaders" who don't begin to deserve that name, are so busy licking the boots of the war machine, that they haven't time to come to the defense and aid of the embattled miners—except to denounce them.

Every worker in the country who knows the first thing about the labor movement and its interests, is on the side of the miners and wishes them a speedy and complete victory.

NO PROFITS IN FOX-HOLES EITHER

No thinking worker is fooled by all the shouting about "This is wartime. There should be no strikes. The miners are not patriotic." He knows, or at least he is beginning to understand, that the war is being used at home for one purpose and one only: to protect the mountainous profits of the big employers, and to smash the living standards and the hard-won rights of the workers.

The capitalist press, which is dead-silent about the blood-profters, shouts: "Labor should not take advantage of the war to get wage increases. The boys in the fox-holes don't strike."

LABOR ACTION says in reply: "The capitalists and their government should not take advantage of the war to swell their profits and destroy labor's living standards. The boys in the fox-holes don't work on cost-plus contracts and six to six hundred per cent profit."

The miners can win and will win, if they don't allow themselves to be tricked into giving up their fight. But the fight must be won on two fronts, economic and political. Some miners are saying: "The way to protest against Roosevelt is to vote Republican."

NEITHER DEMOCRATS NOR REPUBLICANS

A first-class mistake. In the fight against labor, Roosevelt has all the support he needs from the Republicans. Instead of shifting from the Democratic Tweedledee to the Republican Tweedledum, let labor come out on the political field the way it does on the economic field—INDEPENDENTLY!

That means, for miners and all other workers, a party of their own, a Labor Party.

The miners, who have shown what a power they are on the economic field, can show even more power on the political field if they start the ball rolling throughout the labor movement—

FOR A LABOR PARTY!

STRIKE WITH BOTH ARMS, THE ECONOMIC AND THE POLITICAL!

kind, direct or indirect, by American, British or Russian imperialism

To realize their expansionist plans the Big Three are therefore determined to split up ravaged Europe even more hopelessly than it was before the war, making its helpless parts easier to control or absorb.

The Meaning of "Free" Austria

The announcement that "Austria... shall be liberated from German domination" is one of the first signals of the Big Three's intentions. It is not of Hitlerite or fascist domination that the Moscow declaration speaks, but of "German domination."

Talk by the Big Three of "liberating" anybody is one of the cruelest jokes of our time, as the people of India and North Africa can bitterly testify. When they speak of "German domination of Austria," they mean the union of Germany and Austria.

(Continued on page 4)

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

The Manpower Situation in the Northwest

By GEORGE PETERSON

The War Manpower Commission surely understands that the workers do not want the labor draft. It likewise surely understands that the industrialists want the workers straight-jacketed both during the war and after, so that they can gorge themselves on the profits to be made from war and post-war production.

The WMC, to carry out the interest of the latter against the former would naturally look for the spot which has the most favorable condition to inaugurate such a drive. That spot was and is Seattle.

One of the pre-conditions for their plans is a docile labor movement. The Seattle labor movement has long overstepped. It is bureaucratized and divided into craft unions. The CIO is weak and small.

Sections of the labor movement have fallen into the hands of rotten bureaucrats such as Dave Beck, of the Teamsters Union, who has literally clubbed the Central Labor Council to submit to his control. Most of Seattle labor has declined into a lazy existence under old-line AFL business agents, who depend on government boards to improve working conditions.

How the WMC Proceeded

The WMC could not have overlooked these facts in centering their drive in Seattle. Neither could they have overlooked the fact that tens of thousands of new workers, unfamiliar with labor's problems and new to trade unions, have flocked to the mushroom war industries from the farms of the Middle West.

Yet with all of this display of labor docility, the WMC was afraid to inaugurate its plan without some further preparation. It had to make sure that everyone was sold on the idea that the war could not be won without drafting labor. It began a widespread propaganda campaign to establish an illusory labor shortage.

The WPB transferred war contracts to other areas because of a labor shortage.

The WMC designated Seattle as a labor-shortage area. Appeals were sent out for new workers to come to Seattle. Housewives were pleaded with to scrap the apron for the overalls. Pre-Pearl Harbor fathers were threatened with draft. The contracts of small industries were cancelled. It was announced that production schedules were falling behind. The Northwest was denied an aluminum plant because of the labor shortage.

Large posters were hung everywhere, describing the horrors of war without fighting weapons. Boeing Aircraft Co. needed 9,000 workers. Bremerton Navy Yards needed 10,000 new workers. Drafting Boeing

workers into the armed forces was discontinued. Crops were rotting in the fields and fruit withered on the trees. The blackness was so thick that McNutt and Byrnes were at their wits' end.

They overplayed their hand. In fact, they made so much noise that sleeping labor rubbed its eyes and began to wonder what the smell was. A few investigations were made, a few deductions were drawn.

What the Real Facts Were

A survey disclosed that the shipyards, on the basis of their planned production schedules, were overmanned by 14,000 men. Industries in Oregon, California and Western Washington which had not heard about the labor shortage (or didn't believe it) were able to recruit a sizable number of skilled workers. Alaska projects took thousands of workers north.

It was found after a survey that there was a sufficient supply of labor at the site of the aluminum plant. When the workers of Seattle took the propaganda seriously and lined up at the employment office windows, the Boeing Company called it quits long before the 9,000 "needed" workers were hired, and the workers were told that they would take their "applications."

At the psychological moment H. C. Wilson of the WMC appeared, called a conference of the Northwest labor leaders and presented them with the Baruch plan. It was apparent that he expected but little opposition, for he was surprised when every last man objected to it.

If labor had taken an unequivocal stand against the plan and told him to find a solution elsewhere, the WMC would undoubtedly have made a retreat, but labor's opposition was full of holes, making it possible for Wilson to come off with a partial victory.

The Labor Opposition

The opposition developed three viewpoints:

- (1) Along the line of defending the union's rights and gains. This opposition was the most genuine and progressive. It was pointed out that the proposal would destroy the union hiring halls, wage standards and seniority rights. They called attention to the slogan, "Only free labor will win."
- (2) An opposition of a most treacherous kind is best described by the statement of the Stalinist fair-haired boy, State Senator and business agent of the Building Service Employees Union, Tom Rabbitt. "The labor draft would practically destroy my union. If it is necessary to win the war, I would be willing to have it

eliminated, but I don't think it is necessary."

(3) An opposition which is no less treacherous was that labor could not cooperate because it had no part in the formulation or administration of the plan. There was a half-hearted opposition. It gave the WMC the loophole whereby it was able to make further encroachments on the rights of labor by "voluntary servitude."

On October 16 the new WMC decrees, with the consent of the labor leaders, were put in force. Workers are chained more solidly to their jobs and new workers and transfers are to be channeled into specific industries.

On October 17 the Boeing Company announced that it had gone over the top in its hiring campaign long before the 9,000 mark was reached. Five hundred Washington shipyard workers are to be laid off and they face the prospect of looking for work in non-essential industries.

The fact is that there was and is no labor shortage. There being no labor shortage problem, no real or sincere attempt was or is being made to solve it. The WMC, in cooperation

with industry, tried to establish the illusion of a labor shortage as an excuse for handcuffing labor with the Baruch plan.

Through inefficiency, poor scheduling of material, delays for design changes, bottlenecks, etc., war industries have fallen behind in their production schedules. Instead of putting their finger on these causes they point their finger at the phantom or purposely created labor shortage. The WMC statements and actions to solve the manpower problem are shot through with fakery, evasions and distortions.

A Program for Labor

If the WMC is serious about solving the manpower problem without resorting to the labor draft, let it make the best use of the available labor supply. Let it eliminate the causes of absenteeism—fatigue, sickness, injury and lack of time to take care of personal affairs. Let it:

1. Build decent homes close to the job.
2. Furnish nourishing meals on the job.
3. Put some heat in those damp ships.

4. Insulate and heat the buildings.
5. Get rid of the welding fumes.
6. Stop the killing and maiming of workers by unsafe working conditions.
7. Speed up and improve transportation so it won't take from two to four hours to go to and from work.

If the WMC is serious, let it tear down the top-heavy administrative and supervisory staffs of the cost-plus industries and put the men to work.

If the WMC is serious, let it order jobs open to the rapidly increasing Negro population in the Northwest. Many of the Negroes have trades, others could become as skilled as the white workers, yet they are discouraged from attending training schools and kept on sweeping, cleaning and other menial tasks.

If the government is serious about the manpower problem, let it clean up the boondoggling on the part of management. Eliminate the fabulous profits made through cost-plus, which in turn will wipe out the enormous waste of men and materials. At the same time, restore the right to strike so that corporations will not continue their profits at the expense of the worker.

World Events

By Europeans

Thirty Thousand French Miners Are on Strike

The miners all over the world are in the vanguard of labor's militant action. After the magnificent strike movements of the American and English miners, the French miners, thirty thousand of them, have for the second time gone on strike to protest low food allocations, low wages and Gestapo methods on the part of the Nazi occupation authorities.

One hundred and thirty miners, accused of organizing the strike, were arrested. The regional head of the police department of Lille (Northern France) personally directed the search for these men. The only effect of the arrests, however, was to extend the strike, according to reports reaching Reuters.

A graphic illustration of the way German fascism reduced the working class of all European nations to virtual slavery at the hands of the Nazi war machine is provided by an article in the Quisling "Nouveau Journal," which states that representatives of thirty-three nations make up the manpower recruited for work

on the coastal defenses along the Channel. They are called "volunteers," although there cannot be any illusions left in Europe as to the willingness of these workers to labor for the Nazi cause.

According to the "Nouveau Journal," these workers come from Albania, Arabia, Belgium, Denmark, Indochina, Iran, Cameroon, Italy, Croatia, Morocco, Poland, Rumania, Mongolia, Latvia, Tripolitania, Norway, Lithuania, Sweden, Switzerland, Serbia and Czechoslovakia.

There is hardly any doubt that the day-to-day working together of workers from so many different lands, all identically oppressed, must generate new bonds of friendship and understanding between them. The Nazis, who set out to divide the workers of the different European nations by certain privileges accorded to some but not to others, are now forced, out of the desperate necessities of finding more and more manpower, to actually eliminate these privileges.

Slaves from Thirty-Three Different Nations

A New York Herald Tribune reporter recently sent an extremely revealing dispatch to his paper. He stressed that "the mood of Europe's peoples is unqualifiedly revolutionary.... To reimpose the economic and social system which existed before the war would be strenuously resisted. It is felt that it was this old system that made the present war possible."

Gaulleter Badoglio confirms this. He is extremely worried about the dangers of communism in Italy and is imploring the help of the Allies. "After every war there is danger of communism. People are excited and over-wrought after the distress of the war.... The Allies must help us in

the press and propaganda so that communism does not stand a chance."

No doubt Badoglio does not only want "help in press and propaganda" but much more tangible aid in order to suppress any revolutionary or left-wing movement among the people of Italy. Allied leaders will be only too glad to give him this help, because any genuine communist (not Stalinist) or generally left-wing trend in Italy spells danger.

Badoglio and the King have absolutely no popular support; they would not last twenty-four hours if they did not have the backing of Allied bayonets. Badoglio knows this and the Italian people are learning it, too.

Gaulleter Badoglio Against Communism

The Action Party of Naples recently published demands which included "expropriation and nationalization of major industries and utilities, liquidation of large estates and distribution of the land among the peasants, and immediate participation of workers in the profits of production."

The Action Party is among the moderate parties of the anti-fascist coalition. Count Sforza is one of its leaders. The pressure from below must be extremely strong if they adopt such a program. Indeed, Marshal Badoglio has every reason in the world to become increasingly concerned about the dangers of communism.

We hope that nobody understands Badoglio to mean that he is afraid of the Stalinists, who still call themselves "communists" (but with no more reason than Coughlin called his movement "Social Justice"). Badoglio need not worry about opposition from these quarters. On the contrary, the Stalinists, under the direction of the former "Erocoli," of Comintern fame, now Palmiro Tagliotti, are rallying all their forces for unqualified support to Badoglio. The Naples correspondent of the Herald Tribune is rather naive to wonder about the fact that "the communist (Stalinist) platform seemed more moderate than the Action program."

Cramp Ship Union Officers Report Talk with Truman

By Our Philadelphia Reporter

PHILADELPHIA—On Sunday, October 24, over 2,000 Cramp union men jammed into the Kensington Labor Lyceum to learn what results their six-day ultimatum had produced.

On October 18, Cramp men went back to work after their two-day walkout, enthusiastic about their show of strength and confident that at last they had taken the road to getting their numerous grievances settled. The week was an uneventful one. Jiggs Lynch, the shop steward whose discharge had brought things to a head, was reinstated with back pay and a couple of other minor victories were won. A large union committee went to Washington to talk to the Truman Committee. The union delegation was headed by Van Gelder and William Schaffer, president of Local 42.

The report of the delegation was made by Al Meyers, an executive board member. He told how the Truman Committee and members of the Naval Affairs Committee list-

ened sympathetically to their grievances against the Cramp management. It was indicated that they had received assurances that the forthcoming investigation and information already at hand would bring about a change in the Cramp management.

Representative Bradley of Philadelphia addressed the body and urged that the men go back to work and continue working while the Truman Committee was at work on this case. He counseled that any other course would prejudice the case against labor, while at present management was acknowledged to be at fault.

William Schaffer also reported and urged that the men continue working, so that they can settle this management properly. Cries of "How about the contract, Bill?" came from the hall, and Schaffer replied that a meeting would be held again soon, where they would decide on action to get everything settled. But first, he urged, "let's get this damned management taken care of."

Men started leaving the hall shortly after this. Many were disappointed, having expected that at last the long-awaited contract decision would be forced from the WLB. Others felt that the important issues of wages and contract were being sidetracked by this investigation.

Several of the speakers pointed out that the real cause of the trouble at Cramp's and elsewhere was the wage freezing Little Steel formula and the WLB.

Workers everywhere are coming into collision with the WLB. Prices continue rising and only wages are stabilized. The two-day stoppage at Cramp's, the actions of the coal miners, railroad workers and hundreds of other labor groups indicate that a major explosion of labor strength against the "equality of sacrifice" program that has come to mean "equality of poverty for workers only" is here. When shipyard workers everywhere begin the actions that will bring decent working conditions, Cramp union men will be in the forefront.

Los Angeles Railway Workers Fight for Wages

LOS ANGELES—As a direct result of their one hundred per cent effective two-day strike, the workers of the Pacific Electric Railway were finally granted an additional five cents an hour increase, making a total of eight cents an hour reluctantly permitted by the War Labor Board after 15 months of "investigation."

When it became apparent that the workers were dissatisfied and rebellious at this niggardly handling of their demands—they had agreed previously with the company on a thirteen cents an hour increase—supplementary agreements were permitted whereby through overtime pay and other adjustments, the actual increase was hiked to around thirteen cents an hour.

Overtime pay is to start after eight hours, instead of after nine hours, as

heretofore. This adjustment has been sanctioned by the National Railway Labor Panel, and presumably will not be interfered with by the War Labor Board.

Strike talk was common among the men following receipt of the news of the eight-cent hourly increase recommended by the latest of the various investigating bodies appointed by President Roosevelt following the Pacific Electric workers' strike, the latter part of September. Hurried conferences between representatives of the company and local union leaders were called in an endeavor to find some formula to prevent a new transportation tie-up. The agreement on overtime adjustments resulted.

After months of delay and stalling, the workers have eventually been granted, in a left-handed manner,

the greater portion of their very modest demands. In the case of the highest paid workers, the net increase will amount to a trifle over thirteen cents an hour. In the case of the lower paid workers, however, the increase will be less than thirteen cents an hour.

Therefore, no further strike is contemplated at present. But the workers are sore at the manner in which their case was handled, and are well aware of the fact that the gains they did obtain were acquired only as a result of their own militant strike action, coupled with their resolve to continue their militancy if they failed to receive satisfaction of their very just and very modest demands.

LOS ANGELES—Formal notice requesting a strike vote within thirty days has been served on the National Labor Relations Board by officials of the Amalgamated Association of Street Electric Railway & Motor Coach Employees, it is reported. The strike notice is in protest of the action by the War Labor Board, which pared in half the ten cents an hour

wage increase mutually agreed upon by the company and the workers.

Resentment against the War Labor Board and against the White House for what is felt to be its part in bringing about the decision, is running high among the workers.

Henry B. Mann, secretary of the Los Angeles Railway's branch of the Amalgamated, declared in Washington that "after the Administration has messed us up this way" there is nothing for the government to do but "to put its S.S. troops in Los Angeles and force men to work" (Los Angeles Times, October 27).

He further accused Washington of stalling on the case for seven months, forcing the union and the company to spend unnecessary money in sending representatives to Washington, "and if winds up with a decision that frankly is an invitation to strike."

Earlier Mann had asserted that the workers of the Los Angeles Railway were "sorely mistreated in the rawest decision that ever came from anyone" (L. A. Times, Oct. 25).

J. W. Prutsman, business agent for

the Amalgamated, contended that the decision could be traced "straight to the White House," according to Times. Prutsman stated that settlement of the case was determined not on its own merits, but on the "effect it would have on the national railroad situation."

Several months ago the workers of the Los Angeles Street Car & Motor Coach Co. went out on a 24-hour protest strike against the delay in handling their case. Since then the case has dragged on, and only this week was the unsatisfactory decision handed down.

As a result of the low salaries being paid, as compared to wages in other industries in this area, as well as the sharp rise in the cost of living in the past period, workers are leaving the employ of the Los Angeles rail and coach lines. It is estimated that seventy-five men quit last week, and the trend continues. This fact is undoubtedly responsible in part for the concern the company manifests in supporting the higher wage request of the workers.

'Minneapolis Case' Going to Supreme Court for Ruling

The case of the eighteen members of the Socialist Workers Party and officials of the Minneapolis Motor Transport Workers Union, Local 544, CIO, who were indicted under the Smith "Gag" Act, is being appealed to the United States Supreme Court to determine the constitutionality of this law under which a man can be convicted for thinking.

The militant leaders of Local 544, Teamsters Union, AFL, in their effort to carry out an effective policy for the members of their union, to gain wage increases and better conditions, were ordered by their international president, Daniel J. Tobin, right-hand man of Roosevelt, to give up the struggle.

Tobin then tried to remove the elected officials of the union and to institute in their stead a dictatorial regime which would substitute blind, all-out support for Roosevelt, his domestic and foreign policies, against a policy of militant trade unionism. In the face of this threat to their union, the membership of Local 544 voted to leave the Teamsters International, AFL, and to join the CIO.

Tobin then called on President Roosevelt to help him in his fight against this militant local. Stephen Early, Roosevelt's secretary, told the press that "...he (Roosevelt) asked me to immediately have the government departments and agencies in-

terested in the matter notified."

This utterance was soon followed by action, like a raid on the headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party in the Twin Cities. Twenty-nine members of the Socialist Workers Party and the Minneapolis Transport Workers Union, Local 544, CIO, were arrested. After a five-week trial, eighteen of the defendants were indicted for violating the Smith Act.

Thus the Roosevelt Administration lends support to its friends in the labor movement. In the words of the American Civil Liberties Union, "It is reasonable to conclude that the government interjected itself into an inter-union controversy in order to promote the interest of the one side which supported the Administration's foreign and domestic policies."

This is the first major interference with civil liberties during this war. In appealing this case to the Supreme Court, the Civil Rights Defense Committee and the American Civil Liberties Union are defending the basic democratic rights of free speech and free press.

This case deserves your support, and your support is necessary to bring the case to the Supreme Court. Send all contributions to James T. Farrell, chairman, Civil Rights Defense Committee, 160 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

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Report on Successful Convention Held By the Workers Party, Local New York

The New York Local of the Workers Party has just held one of its most successful and fruitful conventions, the outstanding feature of which was the report and discussion around the winning of new members to the party.

The delegates listened first to a report from the Political Committee on resolutions and programs adopted at a recent national plenum, which are now being presented before the entire membership for discussion and decision.

This was followed by reports from the City Committee on the work and activity of the New York Local for the past period and the perspectives for the organization for the next several months.

The two main reports, as well as the reports from each branch, indicated the good progress made as reflected in the substantial gain in membership during the period between the two city conventions. Practically every delegate who spoke indicated that this recruitment was only the beginning in New York, and that the prospect for even larger gains was very good.

It was generally recognized that a large contribution to the work of the party is made by LABOR ACTION,

which is eagerly received and read by thousands of New York workers whose problems are answered by the program of the paper and the Workers Party. The increasing number of subscribers to the paper is testimony of this.

All the discussion centered around the practical work of recruiting new members into the Workers Party and of educating the adherents and friends of the party in the fundamentals of Marxism and the spirit of socialism.

The first step is the organization of the Workers Party School, whose first sessions will start on November 12 and to which all members and friends are invited. Other practical measures included the regular visit-

ing of our friends with Workers Party literature, especially the pamphlet "Plenty for All."

The New York organization has made a very good beginning in the sale of this pamphlet and the convention pledged itself to keep up the pace with the other pamphlets projected by the national office.

The convention ended with the election of the new City Committee which is entrusted with carrying out all the decisions and resolutions adopted and to direct the organization in its most important activity for the coming period—the recruitment of new members. Delegates and members left feeling enthusiastic about the future work of the New York Local.

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A Stalinist House Organ in Disguise

Gathering the Facts About "In Fact"

By GERTRUDE SHAW

The Communist Party, playing Joe Stalin's politics in this country, has many ways of putting over its line. The method of operating through "front" organizations is pretty well known to American labor.

However, it is not so widely understood that the Stalin-liners work hard at molding public opinion through "front" newspapers, magazines and pamphlets seemingly published by non-party people.

The fact is that the Daily Worker, the New Masses, the Morning Freiheit and the other openly Communist Party publications are but a small fraction of its total output. Scores of English and foreign-language publications "front" for the Communist Party.

A case in point is the four-page letterhead-size weekly calling itself "In Fact." And to show how much it thinks of itself, it adds: "An Antidote for Falsehood in the Daily Press." This sheet is—beyond the shadow of a doubt—a Stalinist wolf in sheep's skin.

Who Edits "In Fact"

In the first place, its editor, George Seldes, has been a fellow-traveler since 1936. The why and wherefore of his sudden conversion from an enemy of everything Russian to a supporter of everything Stalinist are not clear. But the fact is indisputable.

Seldes was chairman of the Stalinist Citizens Defense Committee. He supported the American Peace Mobilization, which "fronted" for the Communist Party in the days when the Stalin line was to lighten Hitler's burdens by keeping America out of the war. Frederick Wolfman writes of Seldes in the November issue of the American Mercury: "As a matter of course, his name was prominent in every party-line document whitewashing the Moscow blood purges."

This is the "unbiased" editor of "In Fact." His associate editor is Bruce Minton, editor of the New Masses and a dyed-in-the-wool CPite.

Under Seldes, "In Fact" has been able to reach 100,000 readers. About these readers, Mr. Wolfman writes: "It is read not only by those who like to be referred to as intellectuals, liberals and progressives, but by many well-heeled conservatives. Many thousands of other Americans get slants and alleged facts indirectly, by word of mouth, through 'In Fact' readers. All these people apparently think they are getting fresh ideas and inside information not to be had elsewhere. Most of them would be astonished, even horrified, to learn that they are getting substantially the same ideas and the same 'facts' available at any given period in the Daily Worker and the New Masses, frequently couched in the same familiar party-line phrases."

But not only the above enumerated people fall for the disguise worn by "In Fact." Needless to say, the Stalinist-controlled unions boost this camouflaged sheet. For instance, Curran's International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union passed a convention resolution that "All locals of the ILWU are urged to take advantage of club subscriptions offered by 'In Fact.'" Other unions are also roped in.

At this year's convention of the United Maritime & Shipbuilding Workers Union a resolution was sneaked in by the Communist Party faithfuls by which the whole convention went on record as recommending to all locals that they subscribe to this Stalinist sheet. The delegates, who had just thrown out of the Executive Committee members of the Communist Party, unanimously and without discussion decided to boost a Communist sheet. Apparently the right hand didn't

know what the left hand was doing! There is an infallible test of the Stalinist line: What was the attitude toward the war BEFORE June 22, 1941, and what is it SINCE that day when Hitler so violently ended the honeymoon period of the Stalin-Hitler pact?

"In Fact" Then and Now

During the period when Stalin was on Hitler's side, "In Fact" smeared its pages against the "imperialist war," went in for exposing "war-mongers," lashed "British imperialism," wrote of constipation as "one of the symptoms of fascism."

This was not principled opposition to war based on the interests of the working class. It was simply rooting for Stalin's team. For the exact opposite line was taken by "In Fact" after Hitler got off Stalin's team. Today "In Fact," Roosevelt is a democratic demi-god. During the Hitler-Stalin pact period, "In Fact" flayed the President's "campaign to abridge democracy at home, his wish to force dollar imperialism down the throats of hemisphere nations."

Today "In Fact" cannot find words bad enough to describe the Chicago Tribune and the New York Daily News and the other isolationist papers. But before June 22, 1941, these same papers were patting on the back by "In Fact" for being "anti-war" and "critical of British policy."

These days anybody who comes out for the second front that Stalin is demanding immediately becomes "In Fact's" kindred spirit, regardless of past relationships. Thus when Wendell Willkie returned from his global jaunt with second front ideas, "In Fact" regarded him as a right guy. Its readers are supposed not to know that before that pivotal day when Hitler parted company with Stalin "In Fact" considered Willkie "the closest thing to a native American fascist," because he was trying to

speed up America's entry into the war.

Since it was launched in May, 1940—in order to take on a pro-labor coloration—"In Fact" has been agin' Wall Street and big business. It has always made much of so-called "exclusive" exposures of this or that big business scheme. But there is a difference.

During the Stalin-Hitler alliance, "In Fact" shouted at Wall Street for wanting to push the country into the war. Today it howls because big business doesn't push the war effort hard enough.

During the Stalin-Hitler alliance when Nazism was only a matter of taste in Stalinist policies—"In Fact" sported one labor policy; now it has another.

Then it oh-so-bravely refused to be "panicked into support of wage cuts, strike-breaking and abandonment of the Bill of Rights under the guise of a war for freedom and democracy."

But today there is nothing "In Fact" likes better than the no-strike pledge. Taking away the very essence of labor's Bill of Rights is democratic in "In Fact" when it is for the other party-liners. "In Fact" is among those Stalinist stalwarts who make little distinction between John L. Lewis, union head of the striking coal miners, and Fulton Lewis, Jr., radio spokesman for big business.

Obviously "In Fact" has changed its war line in the same unprincipled way as the Daily Worker, the New Masses and the whole kit and caboodle of the Communist Party—by order of the dictator in the Kremlin. Like the whole CP outfit, "In Fact" too hopes that this chameleon stunt—which brands it for what it is—has been forgotten, and that it can wedge itself into the labor movement to spread there the poison of Stalinism.

On Comptroller Warren's Ruling--

How He Strangled the FEPC

By W. F. CARLTON

Last week LABOR ACTION quoted a statement by a Negro newspaper to the effect that the resignation of Monsignor Haas as chairman of the Fair Employment Practices Committee had stunned official Washington. At the same time we reviewed the history of the FEPC and pointed out that its life had been punctuated by a series of shocks, stunning shocks, directed at it by the Roosevelt Administration. Now the FEPC has received another mighty blow, and from the same source.

Executive Order No. 9346 was issued by the President himself, not by one of his assistants. It stated emphatically that all contracting agencies of the government "shall include in all contracts heretofore negotiated or renegotiated by them a provision obligating the contractor not to discriminate against any employee or applicant for employment because of race, creed, color or national origin."

That is as plain as plain can be. Roosevelt, having written that, however, refused to give the FEPC legal authority to enforce any violations of the order. At any rate, that paragraph sounded good.

Bell Telephone Case

Some days ago, the Southwestern Bell Telephone Co. of Kansas City, Mo., refused to accept a federal contract for telephone service to national war agencies in Kansas City if the anti-discrimination clause remained in the contract. Note that the contract is for the highly important telephone service to national war industry. It involves the actual conduct of the war for which we are supposed to sacrifice our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

The Southwestern Bell Telephone Co. told the government it would not carry out the President's directive. Whereupon, Comptroller - General Warren reread the President's order and discovered that the word "shall" "ordinarily is construed in the imperative or mandatory sense." This means that you have to. But he goes on: "In this particular case, inasmuch as the carrying out of the

law "would do violence to the objects and purpose of the statute" as a whole, he will interpret the word "shall" to mean—if you want to!

In other words, a company can discriminate or not discriminate, as it pleases. It can rest assured that the government will negotiate and renegotiate its contracts.

Now, if you listen carefully, you will hear the howls of wrath going up from PM, the New York Post and the liberal journals, and also from all the Negro "leaders." Once more, all of these people are stunned and shocked. And being stunned and shocked, what do they do? They call urgently upon the President to save the FEPC!

Saving the FEPC

Now what we want to ask here is this: From whom is the President to save the FEPC? From his own appointees? True, he saved the FEPC once before. He saved it from the March on Washington which was prepared and then unfortunately called off by its leaders.

By calling off the march, these Negro misleaders enabled Roosevelt to get away with this powerless committee. The committee never had any power to enforce its regulations. We pointed out in LABOR ACTION not so long ago that when Father Haas was appointed, he said openly that he did not intend to make any attempt to enforce the regulations of the committee. When he resigned, he admitted that nothing could be done.

Yet this latest development is a significant stage in the kicking around which the committee has steadily got from the Roosevelt Administration. The Negro press has recently pointed out that in certain industries mass layoffs have already begun and that Negroes are suffering. To what extent this is true, we do not know. But it is certain that plans are being made by the government and also by employers for re-conversion of war plants, etc., in the post-war period. The great question of unemployment is beginning to occupy all minds as the problem which

will face the United States after the war.

Furthermore, as the war has continued, the Roosevelt government has become increasingly reactionary, striking at labor and the great mass of the working people, surrendering more and more to the claims of big business and the anti-labor Southern Democrats.

The Labor Movement Can Help

This blow against the FEPC is merely another stage in this development. The FEPC, we have insisted, never had any REAL power. Therefore, to ask Roosevelt to save the FEPC and to lead the Negro people to expect that this is the way to help themselves is merely to help the President to carry out a deception of the Negro masses.

The Negroes are the persons who in the first place forced the President to take note of the vexing problem. They forced him by the mere threat of organized action. This is what caused the President to take note officially of the discrimination. Nothing else will make him end this ridiculous passing of the buck, first to the committee, then to McNutt, then back to himself, and now to Comptroller Warren. As long as the masses of the Negro people do not demonstrate their determination in an organized manner, this tom-foolery will continue.

And finally, we say, as we have said repeatedly during the last few months: The Negro question, and now with it the Jewish question, have become sources of racial tension in the country. The signs of this are everywhere. Organized labor must recognize that the government does not take any serious measures to solve these problems. Yet the problem of racial discrimination has to be solved, not played with or patched up, but solved. There are only two major forces in the country—the capitalists, that is, the bosses and their government, and organized labor. The capitalists will not solve it, and therefore the responsibility falls to the labor movement.

WDL Continues Fight for Alton Levy

Contrasting the court-martials of Sergeant Alton Levy of the Lincoln, Neb., Air Base, who fought for Negro rights, and Colonel William T. Colman of Selfridge Field, Mich., who shot a Negro soldier, the Workers Defense League this week reiterated its plea to President Roosevelt that former Sergeant Levy be freed and restored to his rank.

The League, a national organization which has on its board Negro and white union, church and liberal leaders, told President Roosevelt that the failure to really punish Colonel Colman, who merely was restored to his regular rank of captain from a temporary colonelcy, when contrasted with the treatment of Sergeant Levy, who fought so vigorously for Negro rights that Southerners labeled him "nigger lover," emphasized the functional anti-Negro attitude of high Army officers, including Secretary Stimson himself.

At the same time the League secretary, Morris Milgram, declared "a

great victory for democracy" had been won when Brigadier General Earl E. Duncan, Southerner in charge of the Army Air Base at Lincoln, Neb., where Levy is serving four months at hard labor for protesting discrimination against Negro soldiers, had reversed himself after ordering that Levy was to have no more visitors, as a result of widespread press and public protests.

"Friends of Levy informed us that he was not receiving his mail lately, even mail from his family, which normally reached him easily at the guardhouse," Milgram declared, "and that General Duncan, angry that I had visited Levy, had ordered that Levy have no more visitors. On October 25 we reported to the White House that Levy was being held 'virtually incommunicado' and on October 26 the press carried the news. Then things began to happen.

The Value of Public Protests
"For the first time in our knowl-

edge, a high Army officer reversed himself after public protest: Ignoring his own order that Levy was to have no more visitors, General Duncan wired Levy's sister, Miss Harriet Levy, thirty-six hours after protests reached the White House: 'Permission granted to visit Private Alton Levy. Contact headquarters on arrival.'

WDL national headquarters at 112 East 19th Street, New York 3, N. Y., revealed that Miss Levy was due to see Levy in Nebraska on November 2.

At the same time the League charged that R. E. Kunkel, lieutenant-colonel in the judge advocate general division of the Army and chief of the military justice division, was writing to persons who wrote to President Roosevelt asking freedom for Levy, that Levy had had a fair trial and that the Negro issue was not involved in the case.

Answering Colonel Kunkel, Layle Lane, vice-chairman of the League,

declared: "Levy's trial was a legal lynching, and even worse. He was found innocent and then declared guilty. On August 14, the president of the court-martial trying Levy made the following announcement: 'The Court does not believe that the accused is guilty of any of the specifications as drawn, but desires to find out if he could be charged with an offense based on Exhibit C.'"

"The answer of the trial judge advocate was: 'It is the opinion of the prosecution that no other evidence has been introduced which would warrant any further charges.' The court then adjourned until Monday, August 16, and returned a verdict of guilty on all counts, without any new evidence having been introduced.

"If that is a fair trial, then words have lost their meaning.

"If the Army and its Commander-in-Chief feel that the trial was fair, then they have no basis for refusing, as they do, to make public the records of the court-martial."

Earl Browder Champions Incentive Pay

The following is a chapter taken from the pamphlet, "Incentive Pay—the Speed-Up, New Style," by Albert Gates. It is the answer of the Workers Party to the newly inspired campaign of big business to put over the piecework speed-up system against which the labor movement has fought for so many years.

By far the most dangerous element in this situation is the Stalinist Communist Party and the unions it controls. These wreckers of the union movement concern themselves primarily with the second front and other questions of interest to Stalin's foreign policy. Keeping labor docile and tied to the war machine and to the production of profits for big business is the chief activity of unions under Stalinist leadership. The vital issues which concern the welfare of the American working class are cast aside because they conflict with the interests of the Russian bureaucracy.

Earl Browder, leader of the American Stalinists, is the outstanding propagandist for the bosses on the incentive pay issue. When he intervened

directly in the UAW dispute on this subject he was soundly rebuked by that organization for his union-wrecking role.

Browder argues that incentive pay will increase the wages of the workers and that only the bosses are opposed to the scheme. Knowing full well what incentive pay really means, but pretending that big business is opposed to it because it might have to pay a little more for a great deal more profit, Browder says it is the duty of the workers "to force better profits on the unwilling employers." One would think that the employers have only to wait for word from Browder that the pickings on the incentive pay scheme are good. But really, they are not so shy as Browder would have the workers believe—and, it goes without saying, a thousands times more honest than this new lackey of Wall Street!

Why, then, do the Stalinists fight so vigorously for incentive pay? Are they concerned with the desire of the workers to get more money? This is nonsense. The American Stalinists, acting for the Kremlin tyranny, are Russian nationalist agents. Their sole interest is the preservation of the rule of Stalin and the new bureaucratic class which lives off the exploitation of the Russian workers.

When Stalin was allied with Hitler, Browder and his cohorts were on the side of the Axis in the war. They were not in the least concerned with production. On the contrary, they were interested in keeping production at a minimum. Incentive pay was farthest from the minds of these American representatives of Stalin.

But when the two dictators broke their friendship, when Hitler's legions invaded Russia and that country became the ally of England and later of the United States, the American Stalinists became super-patriots. Now, nothing that the workers do is enough. No sacrifice of American labor is great enough.

Are American workers producing vast quantities of goods? It is not enough. Is the American ruling class sending more aid to Stalin? No matter, it must send more.

Are Browder and his party concerned with the lot of the American workers? Not at all. According to their views, the American working class and the working class of the entire world must sacrifice everything for Stalin's rule over Russia. Doesn't this sound contradictory? Not at all. What Browder demands of the American workers, Stalin takes from the Russian. Russia, under Stalin, has become a vast prison for the Russian working class.

The Russian workers have lost their independence, their free trade unions, their other organizations, and their rights. They are driven like a herd under a vicious speed-up system. There have been no wage increases for them since the war

broke out, and they work a twelve-hour day seven days a week. Stalin has borrowed the worst from the American efficiency experts and applied it to the Russian workers.

Russia has its own variation of the piecework system and incentive pay. It is called "Stakhanovism." Those participating are "Stakhanovites." They are special workers who set the pace for all other workers. They are the finks in the factories, the type of men whom American workers would drive out of the shops and the unions.

Even so friendly an observer of Russian affairs as Wendell L. Willkie was compelled to write, on his return from a visit to Russia:

"The Stakhanovites, strange as it may seem to us, are actually pieceworkers, paid at a progressively increasing rate on a speed-up system which is like an accelerated Bedaux system. The Russian industrial system is a strange paradox to an American. The method of employing and paying labor would satisfy our most unsocial industrialist."

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Fighting Labor Conscription

(Reprinted from "Labor")

Charges were renewed in labor circles this week that certain forces in the Administration are trying to put organized labor in shackles through compulsory control of manpower.

One of the strongest attacks on these controls came from the Electrical Workers. In a statement published in the November issue of the Electrical Workers' Journal, the union blasted the so-called "voluntary" regulations over labor laid down by the War Manpower Commission.

"By a series of blundering efforts, the Manpower Commission has finally adopted policies that look very much like coercive and dictatorial control of the working force in this country," the union declared.

Under the commission's regulations, severe restraints are placed on the exercise by workers of their free

choice of jobs. The rules are labeled "voluntary" and the commission contends that they have the approval of labor-management committees, but the Electrical Workers maintained "there is little evidence that labor's advice has ever been taken."

Principal blame for the situation was placed on Lawrence A. Appleby, executive director of the commission and a former Standard Oil executive. The union asserted that Appleby rather than Paul V. McNutt, the nominal director, runs the commission, and that he "fronts" for forces that are hostile to labor.

"The present crisis is nothing more than a culmination of a long series of maneuverings which labor believes are prompted not by the war emergency, but by the angling of anti-labor people in the Army to get control of the labor force," the union said.

Edicts and mandates put out by the commission have gone so far that the framework of a "national service act" for conscription of labor already exists, "without any safeguards for labor, save for the specious committees somewhere along the administrative line," the Electrical Workers contended.

A similar denunciation was voiced by Richard J. Gray, acting president of the AFL Building Trades Department. He charged that some of the controls over labor which the government has sought to put into effect, particularly on the West Coast, would strip unions of most of the influence they have over hiring in union plants and restore the "open shop."

"Further, it is my considered opinion," Gray said, "that these ideas did not originate in the minds of certain government administrators."

Boston, Montreal and Washington

Anti-Semitism on the March

By WILLIAM GORMAN

The latest wave of anti-Semitism has occurred in the suburbs of Boston. Name-calling, Jew-baiting and finally brutal physical attacks have been experienced by many Jews and in some cases, helpless women and children.

The local police have been indifferent to the pleas of the Jewish victims for action against the attackers. Indeed, in one case the Boston police beat up Jewish boys for trying to defend themselves against the attacking hoodlums! These same boys were arrested and then convicted by a prejudiced judge.

The pattern is the same everywhere: In Detroit and Harlem the police acted provocatively against the Negro minority. Whenever any trouble occurred, the Negroes not only failed to receive protection against attacks but were themselves mercilessly beaten and manhandled by the Jim Crow-minded police force.

An investigation into the New York police force before the war disclosed that a large number of them were members and sympathizers of the anti-Semitic Christian Front. There is no question that the same situation exists in Boston, that the police force is a stronghold of anti-Semitic prejudice!

When Governor Saltonstall of Massachusetts was asked at a press conference about the anti-Semitic attacks, he threw the reporter out of the State House! With an amazing glibness he denied everything! But less than twenty-four hours later, the extent of anti-Semitic pogromism in Boston was confirmed by the Jewish press, Jewish leaders, the CIO Council of Boston and the CIO Ladies Auxiliary!

Once the truth came out, the Governor became absent-minded about his vehement denial and "took action." He ordered an investigation and organized a committee of Jewish, Protestant and Catholic clergy.

This will in no way frighten the pogrom makers. The Christian Front

is a power in Boston, and the Jews have always been a political football in all elections. This explains the Governor's strong denial of any anti-Semitism existing at all.

Jewish members of the City Council correctly charged that no investigation would have any effect unless it fully unearthed the power of organized anti-Semitism in the political parties.

And to top it off, a dinner was given in Boston last week-end to "honor" the arch anti-Semite, Father Coughlin. The anti-Semitic elements are arrogantly showing off their strength!

The Affairs in Montreal

Across the border to the North there lives a large Jewish community in the city of Montreal. The social and political atmosphere is dominated by the Jew-hating French clergy. During the plebiscite on conscription a year and a half ago, organized gangs terrorized Jewish neighborhoods to keep the Jews from voting.

In the summer, an anti-Semitic riot broke out in a dance hall in the resort city of Plage Laval, near Montreal. If there is any question about what the police were doing at the time, we need only mention that the leader of the anti-Semitic outbreak was the son of the police chief!

The police chief thereafter refused to arrest his own son, saying he could not be found. When the anti-Semitic hoodlum was found, he was promptly acquitted. A Jewish victim of the attack (boxing champion of the Canadian Air Corps) has lost the sight of one eye. The attacker is going around scot-free!

Anti-Semitism in Congress

It is equally important to note that anti-Semitism of an "official" character is increasing steadily. That doesn't mean that all capitalist politicians have thrown caution to the winds to engage in anti-Jewish phraseology. But members of the State Department and the Southern

poll-taxers who do not have to rely on public elections have of late let their anti-Jewish prejudices be heard.

Secretary of State Hull parried a question of a reporter by pointing out that the reporter's real name was once "Feinstone."

When an Army commission was given to a former deputy OPA administrator, congressional halls rang with the anti-Semitic cry, "I don't want my son to serve under any Goldberg."

Congressmen Rankin, Schaeffer and Hoffman, enemies of the Negro and enemies of the labor movement, keep up an endless ranting about "Jewish Communists."

Poll-tax Senator Eugene Cox has had anti-Semitic testimony in his investigation of a government agency. (How it must have worried the heart of all bigoted reactionaries to hear the city of Washington described as a "ghetto" and "without being a Jew, you could hardly get a job there.")

And now we have the latest addition to this anti-Semitic crew, Representative Elmer, a "Democrat" from Missouri, who explained that "if all the European countries drove out the Jews... there must have been a good reason." While the heart-breaking murder of Jews goes on in Europe, Hitler's unhired apologists open up their mouths here!

The stubborn refusal of the State Department and Congress to do anything substantial for the refugees merely reveals their EXTERNAL anti-Semitism. All the promises about "freedom from want" made by the capitalist politicians on one day are forgotten the next, when they have "start explaining" why homeless Jews shouldn't be allowed into this country. It will bring depression and unemployment, they say.

The decrepit private enterprise system which these gentlemen so adore will not be able to provide mass employment after this war. So the "Jewish foreigners" are already being set up as a scapegoat!

Editorials

Restore Collective Bargaining!

Slowly, but surely, the labor movement is beginning to understand the true nature of the WLB as an anti-labor body. Operating under the infamous Little Steel formula and Roosevelt's wage stabilization program, the WLB has, in one case after another, rejected the legitimate wage demands of the workers.

Aside from the case of the United Mine Workers, we have had the demands of the workers in the auto, shipbuilding, packing-house, aircraft and other industries tucked aside by this "impartial" body.

The case of the mine workers is, of course, the most flagrant of all. The miners, operating under old contracts, doing the most dangerous of all jobs under unfavorable conditions, have watched the cost of living steadily rising without receiving a substantial wage increase to meet their lowering standard of living.

Four times the miners have had their demands before the WLB; four times the WLB has rejected them. The latest decision of this employer-packed outfit is the most shameful of all: it pretends to have given the miners a wage increase when, in fact, the miners were given a wage cut!

Where have the labor representatives on the board been when all these blows were struck against the workers? They have been sitting on the board and dissenting! They voted as a minority!

It is possible to say: At least, this is worth something. The decision were never unanimous!

But this is poor consolation, indeed. It is poor consolation for the labor movement, but it is especially poor consolation for the thousands upon thousands of workers who have been waiting for a wage increase.

The truth of the matter is that the labor members of the WLB have been the captives of the employer-public majority. The labor minority bloc has demonstrated, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that the WLB is stacked against the workers.

That is only one side of the story. The presence of the labor members on the WLB gives this body the APPEARANCE of impartiality, an appearance which is belied by its actual decisions. By remaining on the board, the labor members continue to enforce the propaganda of the Administration that the WLB is not an anti-labor body because labor is represented by both its national union organizations, the AFL and the CIO.

Thus, the Administration and the bosses have plenty of use for the labor members on the board. It gives it this aforementioned appearance of impartiality. It loses nothing by the fact that the labor minority votes against its decisions since—nothing can be changed by the unanimous opposing labor vote.

The presence of labor members on the WLB is a great detriment to the labor movement. It helps to foster illusions about the so-called impartiality of the WLB.

There is one inescapable conclusion: The record of the WLB demands that the labor members resign from this body!

But even that is not enough. The resignation of the labor members from the WLB must be accompanied by the demand: For the restoration of collective bargaining!

And these two things must be accompanied by a rejection by the labor movement

of the wage freeze and the Little Steel formula. They have hurt the workers in a situation where price control is a farce and the cost of living remains uncontrolled. A trick has been played on American labor: It is said that we have genuine "equality of sacrifice."

This is not true in any important sense. What is true is that the workers have been making most of the sacrifices, while the bosses have been getting their profits (the greatest in history) at the expense of labor's toil.

'Cowardice in Moral Duty'

To say that the conduct of the United Nations with respect to the Jews of Europe and of anti-fascist refugees in general has been outrageous, immoral and cowardly, while expressing proper indignation, is hardly the whole answer to the question.

There is no doubt whatever that these things are all true. They were emphasized again only a few days ago by Leon Henderson, former OPA administrator and for a long time a New Dealer. In commenting on the absolute failure of the United Nations, with vast territories at its disposal, to do anything to save the European Jews, Henderson said:

"The Allied governments, in the face of a clear call of moral duty, have been guilty of cowardice."

What is behind this so-called cowardice? Many things, we think. But the first thing is to understand that this war is not fought just to save the Jews, the anti-fascist refugees, Catholics, Protestants, socialists, or any other persecuted political, national or religious group.

Nor is it fought to save world democracy, for the right of self-determination of small nations, against fascism and totalitarianism, as is so clearly revealed in the Moscow meeting on Russian territorial claims.

This is a war between imperialist powers to determine which nation, or which group of nations, shall dominate the peoples and the wealth of the world. Military expediency determines Allied strategy, and not the massacre of millions of Jews or anti-fascists.

LABOR ACTION once before pointed out that the Allies, first at the Evian Conference, later at Bermuda, and in their present refusal to do anything for the Jews, merely practiced their own form of cowardly anti-Semitism.

Watch the conduct of the war and you will know why and for what it is being fought.

Some Final Observations on The Auto Workers Convention

By DAVID COOLIDGE

At least one unusual event took place at the UAW convention this year. A resolution was brought in by the Resolutions Committee on the question of racial discrimination, which demanded the same social as well as economic and political rights for Negroes as for white workers. This was the first unusual aspect of the question. Next came the debate, where, for the first time, those who oppose Negro equality, took the floor and spoke.

When this resolution was presented, President Thomas remarked that if there were any delegates in opposition they should be honest enough to get up and say so. He said that he had been accused of railroading such resolutions through UAW conventions, and he wanted everyone to express his convictions on the matter if they were in opposition.

Anti-Negro Remarks

A delegate from Local 174, Detroit, took the floor to speak against the resolution. He said that he did not believe in "social equality" and that there is a natural barrier between the two races. The delegate went on to say that he would never go to a convention and take his wife and daughter where they are to mingle socially with Negro delegates.

The delegate went on in this vein for his full speaking time. It was an interesting instance of the same old story: ignorance, stupidity and arrogance combined to produce the familiar and nauseating pattern of race

prejudice—race prejudice practiced by the poor, the exploited and the oppressed white worker.

It probably has never occurred to this delegate that Negroes attending a social affair might never become aware of the presence of his wife and daughter. It is also pertinent to point out that his wife and daughter might not agree with him on this question.

A delegate from Dodge Local 3 also had some remarks on the question. He was also against the resolution but was not so plainspoken and candid as the Briggs delegate. This delegate used the familiar and insulting "Some of my best friends are Negroes" formula. He said: "I ate in public places with Negroes and am proud of it." He wanted to know if the delegates had the guts to go back to their locals and tell the members that they voted for the colored people to have the same social rights as white people.

It seems that the overwhelming majority were not afraid of the consequences of voting for such a resolution. It carried with only about two hundred of the two thousand delegates voting against it.

Ex-Servicemen and Assessments

Another progressive resolution passed by the convention was for the formation by the CIO of an ex-servicemen's organization after the war. The resolution pointed out the reactionary character of the American Legion and resolved "to explore the possibilities of contacting all pro-

gressive sections of existing servicemen's organizations with the objective of creating a bona fide progressive servicemen's organization."

For the third successive year, the convention voted down a proposal of the leadership to increase the dues. The proposal was for an assessment of fifty cents a month for the duration of the war. The proposal was in the form of an amendment to the constitution providing that thirty cents shall be retained by the local, and twenty cents be forwarded to the international treasurer to be placed in a special post-war fund.

Many good arguments can be made for the establishment of such a fund. However, the delegates evidently felt that this was just another attempt on the part of their officers to increase the income of the international board. And, too, this may be a way the delegates had of voicing resentment and real feelings about such things as the no-strike pledge. If there are no strikes and no strike benefits to be paid, then, in their opinion, there is no need for large sums of money in the international treasury.

The last observation we wish to make in connection with this convention is on the general democratic character of the UAW and the pronounced democratic procedure in UAW conventions. This is a refreshing departure from the usual methods in the organized labor movement and is to be found in no other international in the CIO and, of course, not in the AFL.

AIR-POWER

A Struggle Over Who Will Control the Air

By STANLEY GREY

The development of aircraft during this war is no doubt the most amazing and important technological consequence of the conflict. It is no longer a wild vision to depict a future with aircraft carrying cargo and passengers to all parts of the globe. As one aircraft company recently advertised, "no man on earth lives more than sixty hours from your local airport."

Whoever dominates the air will dominate world commerce. The mistress of the seas has been unseated by the mistress of the air. And Britain, time-honored occupier of the former seat, is scared stiff.

E. C. Boyer, chief of information for the Society of Aircraft Constructors in England, said recently: "Aviation has an importance for the British Commonwealth and Empire which is complementary to the admitted vital importance of the mercantile marine."

The problem is recognized in England, but where does English airpower stand, as against America?

England's aircraft production during the war has been concentrated on fighter and bomber planes. They have built no cargo planes. When they need cargo planes they use pre-war models or converted Whitley and Wellington bombers. England is not, at the present time, prepared to engage in air transportation on any scale at all. They have, however, started plans which may put them in the running a few years hence.

But America is now, and will be as soon as the war ends, ready, you may be sure, to take over the world air routes. The U.S. American Aviation Associates, Inc., a publication devoted to aircraft affairs, says:

"British leaders shudder at the thought that when peace comes American airlines will have planes ready and waiting to haul passengers to all points of the globe—including great portions of the British Empire."

A glance at American aircraft production shows that British leaders have reason to shudder. Before Pearl Harbor, America had 361 cargo planes. Now America is producing 15,000 cargo planes a year. American transports are NOW making daily ocean hops with up to fifty-two passengers. Regular flights to India in four and a half days are taking place. American airline pilots are getting invaluable experience in transcontinental flying.

One American airline already has an application in the Civil Aeronautics Board for a passenger route from New York to London. It is predicted that American transports will be making regular trips to London in ten hours at a cost of \$100. United Airlines is already prepared to run a cargo route between New York, Chicago and California.

Over-all American aircraft production is so staggering (total aircraft contracts are now twenty billion dollars; maximum auto production in its best years was 3.7 billion dollars) at 80,000 planes a year, that no country can hope to compete with her on the production end.

England's major weapon in this struggle is the strategic location of the Empire. The British Industrial Committee on the Future of Civil Aviation says: "The British Empire comprises about a quarter of the world's surface. No two territories comprised in it are separated by more than two thousand miles, and consequently it includes convenient stages for the operation of airlines over most of the globe."

Ralph Damon, operating vice-president of the American Airlines, said: "We have the edge in equipment and operating methods; the British have the edge in geography."

America's primary concern now in any international air agreements is a guarantee of freedom of the air. With the right to fly over any land whatsoever, American mastery is assured. Britain, on the other hand, will try to take advantage of its Empire's location by advocating various forms of restricted flying.

A British Empire air conference, with all the dominions and India represented, is now meeting with Lord Beaverbrook in London to work out "a common British policy for post-war commercial aviation before the 'real conference' with the United States and other members of the United Nations."

This fundamental conflict of interests will become sharper as the end of the war approaches. The implication of air control in terms of world trade, penetration of new colonial territories, international air police, are so immense that it may well lead to the fall of the British Empire and America's rise as mistress of the air and world super-power.

They Are Dying by the Thousands--

Famine Widespread in India

(From the British "New Leader")

At last the truth is out. For twelve months it has been obvious that India has been in the grip of a famine for which the British government is criminally responsible. That truth has been denied. Now it can be concealed no longer.

From India the newspaper correspondents have been filing reports of the tragedy. "A hundred starvation casualties have been picked up off the streets of Calcutta every day during the last few weeks," states the News Chronicle of September 9. Four thousand starvation cases have been admitted to Calcutta hospitals in one month, with nearly 1,000 deaths; over 2,000 corpses lying in the streets have demanded the organization of special "corpse disposal squads," states the Manchester Guardian of September 25, quoting the Calcutta Statesman.

Calcutta is but a reflection of many other parts of India. Reuter has reported (September 20) that every day hundreds of "moaning skeletons begging for morsels of food" are arriving at the Bengal-Assam frontier. Bombay is not much better off than Bengal, and even Southern India is severely hit.

Cholera has followed the famine in many areas.

Latest government figures show that rice—staple diet of the Bengalee—has now risen to nearly ten times its normal, pre-war cost. In many towns it is completely unobtainable.

There is no doubt that India has the resources necessary to prevent famine.

Before the war rice was imported from Burma, but the total of India's exports of food grains to the West was always greater than her imports. Year after year, while the people lived upon the very margin of subsistence, India continued to export more food than she imported—a necessity forced upon the country in order that it might pay interest on

its "national debt," and pensions to retired British officials, etc.

When Burma was lost to Japan, a complete cessation of Indian exports would have counter-balanced the lost supplies of rice. But exports continued—principally to feed British armies—"Military necessity" came before the lives of Indians.

In January, 1943, Amery undertook to stop these exports as from March. That pledge was violated. They did not come to an end in March. This has been clear, by implication, in a number of official statements.

Without doubt the grain shortage has been accentuated by hoarding—the work, very largely, of those wealthy Indian landlords and usurers who are the "Quislings" of India, the main supports, among the Indian people, of the British "justice" which, in turn, supports and protects them.

The Bengal government has been accused of complicity with the food hoarders, or at least of not acting vigorously against them. These charges may have some foundation. All popular leaders are now in jail or "on the run." The Indians who remain in authority do so as willing implements of British imperialism. "Tolerated" Indian administrations should no more be expected to act in the popular interest than should Quisling himself be expected to show concern for the welfare of the Norwegian people.

The blame for the famine is clearly and primarily on the British-controlled central government at New Delhi. Only this body has the authority to interfere with the demands of the armed services or to prohibit other exports of grain. Only it has the power to requisition supplies from more fortunate provinces. Only it has the necessary powers to deal drastically with the food hoarders.

Until very recently not a thing has been done by the foreign rulers of India to alleviate the crisis caused by their exploitation of the country. While India has been forced to ex-

port food, luxury goods have been permitted to be imported for the ruling British officials and Indian capitalists.

Now a few inadequate measures are taken. Rationing is likely in all the larger cities of India. It is explained that this will not be possible elsewhere because of "a shortage of trustworthy administrative personnel." The record of Britain's (self-appointed) "stewardship" in India makes it clear that ITS "trustworthiness" needs to be examined. Further, all the trusted leaders of India have been thrown into jail.

Various voluntary organizations—the Bengal Women's Food Committee, a few Congress supporters who have escaped prison, the FAU—have tried to do something to mitigate the horrors of the famine. Eventually even the Bengal government, faced with people dying in hundreds in the streets, had to open feeding centers. And now the British authorities, having continued until now to take grain out of the country, seem likely to return a little of it. It will, no doubt, be done very graciously! The Viceroy and his wife have given personally three hundred and seventy-five pounds sterling to the relief of distress in Bengal. The Viceroy's salary, paid for by the starving people of India, is nineteen thousand pounds sterling a year. No doubt his charitable gesture will win proper gratitude from the Indian people!

The demand must be made that vast supplies should be returned to India. Those who are responsible for the present situation should be impeached. India must be freed from the homicidal grip of imperialism!

See Next Issue

First-hand reports on the CIO convention by David Coolidge and Susan Green.

The Three-Power Conference in Moscow --

(Continued from page 1.)

Before Hitler came to power, the PEOPLES of Germany and Austria were overwhelmingly for a free union of the two countries. Its accomplishment might have been a big progressive step toward a free union of Europe. It was prevented then by France and England. It was later accomplished by Hitler, not as a free union of free peoples, but as a reactionary imperialist rape. Now, Washington, London and Moscow plan to break it up, to prevent its realization on a democratic basis, as part of the Balkanization of Europe.

The declaration further officially divides the United Nations into masters and servants. Thus, England, the United States and Russia "will consult with one another and, as occasion requires, with other members of the United Nations, with a view to joint action on behalf of the community of nations."

The Big Three will decide, and the "other members" will be informed of the decisions affecting them "as occasion requires." Thus is formalized the relationship between masters and servants that has been pretty consistently followed in the past. The three big powers will form the "European Advisory Commission" in London to decide the fate of all peoples and nations of the continent.

divide Europe into respective spheres of imperialist interest, influence and control.

Not one of the five official declarations and communiques of the Moscow Conference has a single word to say about the vital question of the right of self-determination—the democratic right of peoples to self-government, as against rule from abroad like colonies. Without guaranteeing this right to ALL peoples and countries, the war against Hitler in the name of "national sovereignty" remains what it was, imperialist hypocrisy.

The Big Three, however, cannot guarantee this right and will not. For one thing, it would mean abandoning their lusts for new conquests and colonies. For another, it would mean giving up, now, all claims to their imperialist conquests of the past, Puerto Rico for the United States, India and Northern Ireland for England, the Baltic states and other Eastern European countries for Russia. There is as much chance of their doing anything like this as there is of Hitlerism turning into democracy.

Three Conflicts

In addition to the points of agreement, there remain the points of disagreement among the Big Three. And the latter are not unimportant. They are:

1. The Russian revolution must be crushed, but they give no clear evidence yet of full agreement on the way it is to be crushed. Shall it be done in the "Anglo-American" way, which means suppressing labor's aspirations in order to maintain capitalism? Or shall it be done in the Stalinist way, which means no less violent and complete a suppression of labor, a reduction of the working class and peasants to slavery, but also the transfer of capitalist property into the hands of the Russian bureaucracy, at least in the Eastern part of Europe? To what extent the disagreement over the "method" has been composed, remains to be seen.

2. They agree that Europe must be kept divided and weak. They agree that Europe must be partitioned into spheres of influence dominated by the Big Three. But what section of it is to be under Stalin's domination, and what section under England's domination, or that of the United States?

3. That the Anglo-Americans will launch an attack on Germany from the West some time in the coming period seems to be a foregone conclusion, and an evidence that they will confine their major interests to Western Europe. In exchange, it seems that agreement has been more or less reached in favor of Stalin's imperialist demands for Estonia,

Lithuania, Latvia, at least part of Finland, Bessarabia and Moldavia.

Who Gets What? But there is more to Europe? Who is to be dominant along the Danube and in the Balkans? How is Germany to be split up, how will it be ruled by the Big Three, which of them will rule what part of it?

These and similar problems of the division of the booty of the war remain to be settled by the great champions of democracy. It will take a dozen more conferences and declarations before they can compose their differences over the peoples and countries they treat as pawns in the chess game of imperialism.

But the Moscow Conference is already enough to show that to look for a genuinely democratic peace, a peace that solves the agonizing problems of Europe—to say nothing of the rest of the world—under the auspices of the big three, or any other imperialist combination, is to look for miracles. And, as has often been said, the day of miracles is gone.

Only the people, acting by themselves, can bring about a democratic peace and a lasting peace!

Only the people, led by the workers of Europe, who set up their own governments in every country, can bring an end to oppression and suffering, to war and destruction!

Only the people of Europe can rid themselves of Nazi slavery and avoid a new enslavement by their pretended "liberators," by a free union under the banner of a Socialist United States of Europe!

(Other aspects of the Moscow Conference will be dealt with by Max Shachtman in the next issue of LABOR ACTION.)

Georgia City to Enforce Work or Fight Law

MOULTREE, Ga.—A "work or fight" program, bolstered by an ordinance which prohibits "idling or loitering" on Moultrie streets, will be enforced through a card system, beginning on November 1. Cards were distributed to all employees showing by whom they are employed and hours of employment.

The police department has been authorized to make a check of all persons found loitering on the streets. If an individual has no card or is away from his job during normal working hours he will be arrested.

Early Returns Show GOP Sweep in State Elections

As we go to press, enough election returns are in from various parts of the country to indicate definitely the trend of the voting.

The Republicans won again in the New York state election for lieutenant-governor; they won in the important Philadelphia mayoralty contest; their candidate for governor in New Jersey, Walter E. Edge, defeated the Democratic candidate, Vincent J. Murphy, AFL leader. In minor elections, too, the Republicans continued to win over their Democratic rivals.

A more important contest, from the point of view of the labor movement, was the mayoralty campaign in Detroit between two "independents," the incumbent Edward J. Jeffries, and his labor-supported opponent, Frank Fitzgerald. This campaign was featured by "racism" and anti-labor propaganda. Jeffries, the former "liberal," ran on an anti-Negro, anti-labor plank, and although defeated in the primaries, finally won out and will be Detroit's next mayor.

In New York, too, the campaign of Matthew Levy for Supreme Court justice on the ticket of the American Labor Party was of interest from the point of view of independent politi-

cal action of the workers. Levy lost to his gangster-sponsored rival, Thomas A. Aurelio, when the Republicans nominated a third candidate and Tammany politicians knifed Levy, even though he had formal support of the Democratic Party.

In both cases, Detroit and New York, we did not have independent political action by labor. In Detroit, the UAW spent money, time and energy to support a professional Democratic politician who tried to vie with Jeffries in a miserable anti-Negro campaign.

In the absence of a clear-cut, progressive labor candidate, Jeffries really had easy sailing. He could easily prove his "superiority" over Fitzgerald in experience, anti-labor and anti-Negro talk. In spite of the fact that there was little to choose between the candidates and in spite of the fact that the big business interests and the press of the city supported Jeffries, he was only able to win by a small majority.

In New York, the ALP, playing its game of boss politics, made a deal with the democrats, but it availed its candidate nothing.

Next week's issue of LABOR ACTION will review these elections and point to some of its lessons from the point of view of independent labor political action.