Rift in German Ruling Class Shakes Nazis

According to the press, another blood-bath is taking place in Germany. It is reported that there was an attempt on Hitler's life during a meeting of his top staff. Some were killed, the others wounded. Hitler came out of it with a few minor bruises. Thereafter came the "purge," the depth of which is unknown,

except that some high ranking officers were

As to what actually occurred in Germany, nobody can really tell. It may have been another stage play engineered by the Nazi officials who are in a desperate plight. Or, the Junkers and other officers of the army clique may actually have attempted this time to assassinate the butcher of Europe. The plot itself is not too important. What is important is that the affair reveals

a rift in the ruling groups that dominate the economic, political, social and military life of the country. There can be no doubt that as the war has turned from what once appeared as a gigantic and world-shaking victory for the fascist Axis to an unquestioned defeat, the miserable, brutal and flendish German capitalist rulers are falling out among themselves. They are desperate and divided.

Shall they seek a peace and attempt to salvage their power and riches through compromise, or fight on to the end, no matter what the consequences may be? There is not the slightest doubt that a large section of the German capitalists would like to find a way clique would like to find a way out, too. But the Nazi regime and a large section of the German capitalists, who are the power behind Hitler, see no way out but to fight to the end.

For the Nazi Party, which controls the political life of the country, there is no compromise. A defeat in the war for them is the end, for the revenge of the European masses, especially the German workers, will find

Hitler's appointment of Goering and Goebbels as supreme war dictators, Himmler as supreme butcher, and the introduction of the Nazi salute in the army will be unavailing. A bloody and complete dictatorship appointing "dictators" is indeed a play on words. Actually it reveals that the German rulers are mobilizing every last resource for the final military showdown with the Allies.

Evidently this latest affair was only a first indication of the rift in the German ruling class. There will be other conflicts between the German rulers, civilian and military, more purges, more efforts to present the Nazi regime as a confident, powerful and unified ruling group. But this, too, will only emphasize its decline.

We haven't the slightest objection to the murderers who govern Germany taking each other's lives. The more, the better. But that isn't going to solve the problem of the German people. There are many more scoundrels to take the place of those who get the axe. Enough for the German people, the workers, to take care of when the time comes.

The present "revolt" is not the one we're looking for, nor the one that can really accomplish anything fundamental for the peoples of Europe and the whole world. We are looking for the voice of labor and the workers' rebellion to really settle accounts with the fascist scum which now rules the European continent. That will come in time, too, And when the German workers and the workers of the other countries get moving and take things into their own hands, you will see the real rebellion against the German imperialist-capitalist ruling class and their agent,

(Continued on page 4)

LABOR ACTION

JULY 31, 1944

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

CIO-PAC Alliance with Democrats Hits Labor

out of the present situation. There is no doubt that the old-line officer Don't Be a Sucker--Build Your Own Party!





Salaries Boiling Over-Wages Packed On Ice

Last week we published the first part of a long list on salaries of the big business men who have been profiting individually from the war. Here's another. In addition to the fact that their companies have been "earning" enormous war profits, we find that the individual officers have been getting theirs with a vengeance.

The contrast between incomes of business and the capitalists on the one hand, and the workers on the other, is the sharpest indictment of the wage freeze and a clear example of the class system under which

The figures we present show who is cashing in on the war and what "free enterprise" means in practice

ree	enterprise" means in practice.	
- 1		1942 Salaries
	B. Earl Puckett, Allied Stores	\$154,164
	W. H. Lawrie, Allied Stores	95,626
	John S. Burke, B. Altman & Co.	105,110
	Maurice J. Sullivan, American Can Co.	154,300
	Thomas N. Anderson, American Can Co.	84,500
	Dudley W. Figgs, American Can Co.	82,800
	W. B. Bell, American Cyanamid	178,308
	W. C. Dickerman, American Locomotive	113,881
•	D. W. Fraser, American Locomotive	90,882
	George W. Hill, American Tobacco Co.	
	P. M. Hahn, American Tobacco Co.	122,283
	V. A. Riggio, American Tobacco Co.	122,263
	Mortimer Berkowitz, American Weekly, Inc	120,825
	M. Pendleton, American Weolen Co.	125,600
	S. Sloan Colt, Bankers Trust Co.	
	Stanley Phillips, Cannon Mills	108,053
	W. Alton Jones, Cities Service	150,200
dit s	W. S. Paley, Columbia Broadcasting System	
	O. C. Adams, Great A. & P. Tea Co.	100,041
	C. A. Brooks, Great A. & P. Tea Co.	100,025
	W. M. Byrnes, Great A. & P. Tea Co.	100,025
	R. B. Smith, Great A. & P. Tea Co.	
	Arthur O. Dietz, Commercial Investment Trust	100,110
	H. F. Sinclair, Consolidated Oil Corp.	156,100
	E. W. Sinclair, Consolidated Oil Corp.	93,850
	T. J. Hargrave, Eastman Kodak Co.	108,986
	Frank W. Lovejoy, Eastman Kodak Co.	92,490
	H. C. Sievers, Eastman Kodak Co.	77,925
	A. F. Sulzer, Eastman Kodak Co.	108,986
	Richard E. Berlin, Hearst Magazines, Inc.	156,009
	Edgar F. Luckenbach, Luckenbach Steamship Co.	150,000
	Leroy A. Lincoln, Metropolitan Life Insurance Co	
	Louis S. Cates, Phelps Dodge Corp.	

By MICHAEL WYLIE

The CIO Political Action Committee went to the Democratic Party convention in Chicago in order to swing its influence and the bargaining power of six million CIO votes behind a platform "worthy of the man nominated for the presidency."

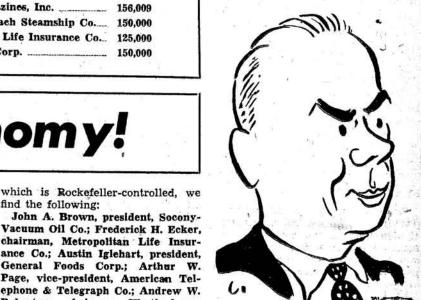
It went there with loud boasts that labor, through the PAC, had finally donned political long pants and was cutting political wisdom teeth at the convention of the Democratic Party of Northern big city bosses and reactionary Southern bourbons. And the fanfare and publicity garnered by its leading spokesmen, Philip Murray and Sidney Hillman, made it appear that labor really had a home in the party, was represented in its highest councils, was a force and influence in the determination of its policies and the selection of its candidates.

THE REAL PICTURE

A picture of what actually occurred at the convention reveals no such optimistic view of the practical results of the Political Action Committee's strategy of operations. An accurate snap-shot of the CIO-PAC at the conclusion of the convention would show a group of capitalist - minded labor politicians sitting in the midst of a group of ward-heelers and billpushers. While labor did not get the bum's rush at FDR's conclave, it wound up in a condition of disjointed and disappointed futility.

Despite its strong efforts, the CIO-PAC had to pick itself up in pieces after machine bosses like Ed Flynn. Ed Kelly, Frank Hague and Robert Hannegan, the Democratic national chairman, got through with it.

It got bumped on the head when its candidate for the vice-presidency, Wallace, was ostensibly "endersed" by their peerless leader in the White House and then overwhelmingly crushed in the final balloting by a vote of 1,110 to 66.



PHILIP MURRAY

It got slapped in the face when the plank on the racial question represented a typical back-room, weaselworded appeasement of the racial bigets of the South.

It asked for endorsement of the principle of the guaranteed annual wage-and got none.

It asked for a government guarantee of full production by government jobs in case private industry falls to do the job-and got none.

It asked full protection of the public interest in the sale of government properties to private business and a guarantee that the purchaser would utilize the entire productive

capacity of the plants-and got none. It asked for a revision of the socalled stabilization program, which makes labor the sole goat of wartime burdens and restrictions-and

The PAC didn't take the full count on only one occasion-that was its reported influence in rejecting the vice-presidential aspirations of James F. Byrnes, War Mobilization Direc-

tor, who, incidentally, is the "assist-(Continued on page 2)

Wall Street Banks Tighten Grip On U. S. Economy!

By T. R. COBB

Financial reports of the nation's leading banks for the first six months of 1944 revealed that resources and profits of these institutions, which own and control the overwhelming proportion of the country's physical and economic assets, have reached a peak unparalleled in the history of the world.

The three leading banks in the country, the Chase National, the National City and the Guaranty Trust, dominated respectively by the Rockefeller, Morgan and Morgan-du Pont interests, together accounted for more than one-third of the total demand deposits of member banks of the Federal Reserve System. They also exercise control over numerous smaller and affiliated banks which would raise the percentage of total resources that the "Big Three" has at its comand to a figure that represents unquestionable domination of the manufacturing and financial operations of the United States.

SHYLOCK TO U. S.

Between them, Chase, National City and Guaranty Trust held \$7,327,553,-693 worth of U. S. government securities out of a total of thirty-seven billions of government guaranteed obligations held by reporting member banks of the Federal Reserve. In short, the "Big Three" not only dominate the economic field, but is "into the government of the United States" for quite a chunk of money on the political front.

No wonder the bankers and their representatives in the halls of Congress, and through their connections abroad, are invariably plumping for "preparedness" and big armies and navies and armaments races. Eventually all these, combined with the

capitalists' necessity to seek markets and export capital abroad in search of bigger profits, lead to the kind of war the nations are fighting now. And when that happens the governments have to borrow billions of dollars from the bankers—at heavy interest. The bankers in this war, as in the last, will be the biggest profiteers of all, reaping billions of dollars from the destruction of men and materials.

CAPITAL CONCENTRATED

This tremendous concentration of banking capital is directly linked to the concentration and control of corporate enterprise by a minute number of individuals either directly or in interlocking directorships.

The studies of the Temporary National Economic Committee revealed that in 1935 a mere five per cent of the corporations reporting incomes to the government owned nearly eighty per cent of the total assets, while less than four per cent of the manufacturing corporations reporting made eight-four per cent of the net profits. Furthermore, it discovered that the two hundred largest non-financial and the fifty largest financial corporations controlled over sixty billion dollars' worth of physical assets. Out of these 250 corporations, 151 were interlocked with at least three others in the group.

The war has done much to intensify this concentration of economic power. The necessity of mass production of war materials has thrown the bulk of orders to the giant corporations with the greatest plant capacity. Thus, corporations like General Motors. United States Steel. Glenn L. Martin and a few others roughly account for about eighty per

cent of all U. S. war production. What makes this knowledge espe-

Report Shows World War II A Mint To Morgan, Rockefeller, DuPont Interests

REPORT FOR FIRST SIX MONTHS OF 1944 Undivided Resources. **Profits** Chase (Rockefeller) \$4,990,182.843 \$43,209,132 27,956,460 National City (Morgan) 4,410,418,160 Guaranty Trust (Morgan-du Pont) 3,601,236,269 36,054,427 13,001,837,272 107,220,019 First National (Morgan) 1,139,258,110 16,468,085 Central Hanover 1,732,713,132 28,948,930 Bankers Trust 1,867,126,227 28,429,970 Manufacturers Trust 1,797,641,066 50,048,133 (incl. surpl.) Bank of Manhattan 1,158,292,426 11,057,805 J. P. Morgan & Co. 854,733,998 3,782,306 New York Trust (Morgan) 833,420,179 7,138,292 First National of Boston 1,495,400,230 12,422,878 Continental Illinois 2,483,461,115 14,219,601 First National, Chicago 2,085,760,771 1,192,920 Chemical Bank & Trust 1,408,349,505 8,558,020 794,030,392 Philadelphia National 8,893,002 First National (St. Louis) 415,659,481 5,941,142 1,279,313,741 57,413,562 Irving Trust (Morgan)

the position of the leading banks in the country was summed up by the. TNEC as follows: "We know that most of the wealth and income of the country is owned by a few large corporations, that these corporations in turn are owned by an infinitesimally small number of people, and

these corporations go to a very small

WHO OWNS THE WEALTH?

"The very small group" referred to, as any glance at the directorships of the wealthy banks will reveal, are the Morgan, Rockefeller, du Pont and

cially important in connection with that the profits from the operation of Mellon interests and their select group of satellites.

Let us glance at the boards of di-

rectors of some of these banks in order to establish the close relationship between them and the domain of industrial and economic overlordship. On the board of the Chase National Bank, the richest bank in the world,

ance Co.; Austin Iglehart, president,

find the following:

John A. Brown, president, Socony-Vacuum Oil Co.; Frederick H. Ecker, chairman, Metropolitan Life Insur-General Foods Corp.; Arthur W. Page, vice-president, American Telephone & Telegraph Co.; Andrew W. Robertson, chairman, Westinghouse Electric & Manufacturing Co.: Lynde Selden, vice-chairman, American Express Co.

On the board of J. P. Morgan & Co. we find:

Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., chairman, General Motors Corp.; E. Tappan Stannard, president, Kennecott Copper Corp.; James L. Thompson chairman of finances, Hartford Fire Insurance

On the board of New York Trust Co., Morgan dominated, we find: Graham H. Anthoney, president Colt's Patent Fire Arms Co.; Francis B. Davis, Jr., chairman, U. S. Rubber Co.; Russell H. Dunham, chairman, Hercules Powder Co. (du Pont). On the board of Guaranty Trust Co., Morgan - dominated, but with

represented, we find: William B. Bell, president, American Cyanamid Corp.; F. W. Charske, chairman, Union Pacific Railroad; Cornelius F. Kelly, chairman, Anaconda Copper Mining Co.; Thomas J. Watson, president, International Business Machines Corp.; John A.

Rockefeller and du Pont interests

All the way down the line we find that the directors of the country's leading banks are one and the same with the directors of the monopoly corporations. Together they shape the policies not only of American

Hartford, president, Great Atlantic &

Pacific Tea Co.

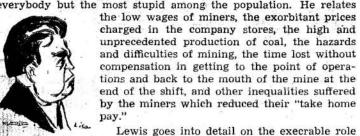
(Continued on page 4)

Lewis in the Dark on Real Significance of the Miners' Strikes

By DAVID COOLIDGE

In an article in Collier's for July 15, which he calls "Not Guilty," John L. Lewis has written what to him is the miners' side of the case in connection with the 1943 strikes.

The article sets forth the facts as they were already known to everybody but the most stupid among the population. He relates



of the government in the handling of the miners' demands for a wage increase. He pillories the WLB for its bungling, meddling, its pettiness and arrogance, and its slimy efforts at wrecking the miners' union. Lewis gives the details as they occurred from week to week, month to month and strike to strike. In all this he does an excellent job which is all to the good. But, as was said above, these facts were already known. They were so clear that the real situation was apparent to the rank and file of labor. The action of the miners was of such portent that the leadership of the CIO and other organizations were continually taking to the platform and the press to warn their membership that Lewis was a scoundrel and that labor should not be influenced by what was taking place

However, aside from a restatement of the facts in the case. "Not Guilty" is sorely inadequate. It is difficult to discover from a reading of the article just what it is that Lewis is attempting to prove himself "not guilty" of.

And is he talking about Lewis as leader of the UMWA or is he talking about the UMWA? He says the record gives the lie to the charge that the miners are not patriotic. He says that despite the 1943 strikes, the union mined nine million more tons of soft coal than in 1942 and that for the first four months of 1944 ten million more tons of anthracite were mined than in a like period in 1943. Also the UMWA is the only labor organization which enters into agreements for a two-year period. SHORT ON UNDERSTANDING

Lewis writes that "no other labor executive or union has been subjected to any such bitter, cruel and sustained attack." This is true, but Lewis does not get beneath the surface in his article. He doesn't enter into the history of the case. Nothing is said about his break with Roosevelt and his support of Willkike in 1940. He emphasizes that if the miners do not get a contract they lay down their tools. "This is our historic and automatic procedure.... No contract, no work.... Nevertheless we were not careless of the national interest, for we knew that there were seventy-nine million tons of bituminous coal in storage." We think that this last observation about the coal in storage is beside the point, really. Suppose there had been only five million tons in storage. Would the

miners have worked without a contract? We don't think so.

In his article Lewis ignores the real reasons for the "cruel and sustained attack" on the UMWA. He doesn't explain that at first the capitalist press, the government and all other anti-labor forces centered their fire on him alone. They did not attack the union as such. It was only after the miners had exhibited such indomitable courage, loyalty to their union and union discipline that the capitalists and the government changed their tune and began to attack the union. It was because we knew that the attack right from the start was an assault on the UMWA that LABOR ACTION took the position it did in connection with the mine strikes. In fact, LABOR ACTION was the only paper in the country which

from the very beginning devoted its columns to full and unqualified support of the UMWA in this important struggle. LABOR AC-TION and the Workers Party took this position because we understood immediately that the attack was levelled at the miners' union. And we knew why. It was because the miners' actions were prompted by their economic needs. The strikes were a revolt against the notorious no-strike pledge that had been given by all the labor leaders, including Lewis. The miners were in revolt against the infamous maneuvering and conniving of the WLB and the Little Steel formula.

Not only were the miners writhing under these injustices, but all of organized labor. It so happens that the miners are the toughest, the best organized and the most disciplined union in the country. They only expressed in action what millions of workers wanted to do but were held in check by their leadership. The capitalist employers and their government knew that the strike action of the UMWA would act as a spark which would set off an explosion throughout the ranks of labor. Lewis had to be branded as a "traitor"; the UMWA must be attacked and driven back or the flames would spread from the coal fields to the aircraft plants, the shipyards, and to all the "arsenals of democracy."

LEWIS' REACTIONARY STAND

Lewis desn't discuss these things but resorts to some very reactionary positions. For instance: "Countless strikes, many for reasons shocking in their essential triviality, have disrupted and are disrupting the nation's war effort, but neither leaders nor strikers have been named and pilloried." The first thing wrong with this statement is that it isn't true. In virtually every strike the workers have been pilloried: by the capitalist press, the government and again and again by the trade union leadership.

Secondly, what strikes, since the miners' strikes of last year, would Lewis brand as "shocking in their essential triviality." We would like for Lewis to name the strikes that have taken place for trivial reasons during the past two years. Not even the cowardly leaders of the CIO nor the traitorous scoundrels of Stalin's Communist Party Political Association claimed that the situation behind the miners' strikes was trivial. They only said that the UMWA should not strike, even though they had just grievances. We don't care for the very reactionary John L. Lewis who assumes such a pious air of shock and patriotic fervor over strikes that have taken place. Lewis has a word of praise for Secretary

Ickes. "Let me say that there was no time that Mr. Ickes did not exhibit good faith, but at every turn his hands were tied by the petty vanity of the War Labor Board." This is either a piece of Lewis obtuseness or just seizing on any opportunity to take another crack at the WLB. We do not say that Ickes would not have come to agreement with the UMWA and that it would not have been a good agreement. But Ickes' hands were not tied by the "petty vanity of the War Labor Board." If they were tied, they were tied by the same people who untied the hands of the WLB: Roosevelt, the coal operators and the whole capitalist pack.

Lewis closes "Not Guilty" by saying that the miners carry on, faithfully observing a contract which is not fair while "other industries are disrupted and bedevilled by walkouts and work stoppages in insolent disregard of contractual obligations. But they are not stoned and execrated as were the United Mine Workers." Aside from its essentially reactionary character, this statement is just so much tripe. What industries are disrupted? What stoppages have taken place in "insolent disregard of contractual obligations"? Lewis here sounds like the New York Times, Henry Ford or a Republican congressman.

We are glad that the UMWA is a militant union; that it has a long tradition of fighting for the rights of labor, that it has a tradition of "no contract-no work." These are the things that make a union great. The leadership may come and go but these militant traditions go on forever.

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Steward Fired, Bethlehem Burners Walk Out

Street shipyard, Brooklyn, all memshowed their caliber as union brothers last week when they "rolled up" and walked out, protesting the suspension of their shop steward, Al Novack.

On Wednesday, the management, which, in the words of one burner, "would like to liquidate the union." suspended the shop steward, charging him with "insubordination" and "interfering with the functions of management." On Thursday, when the shop grievance committee demanded more detailed charges, Leonard Starrick, management's representative, high-handedly refused to discuss the matter and indicated that any investigation into the charges would take some time. "As much as a year," he said.

FRESH AIR-FRESH ACTION

It was at this time that the burners some fresh air - outside the gate. Some night shift workers followed suit.

Friday found the burners still out and the management still stubbornly refusing to discuss the case. The burners issued a leaflet stating their side of the case and distributed it to other yard employees at lunch time. Because of the "unofficial nature" of during the many months of suspendthe strike and the unorganized method in which it was carried out, many of the men remaining in the yard still were either unaware of the strike or in the dark as to what union discipline demanded of them. When these men received the burners' leaflet they started "acting like good union men" and many joined the burners in their protest. Men from practically every department in the yard "voted with their feet" and Friday evening found about half the

yard outside. This same evening the company's representatives agreed to meet with the union men the next morning.

This was done partially under pressure of the WLB, which had been contacted by union leaders and as a tactic to get the men back into the yard on the assumption that once

The burners of Bethlehem's 27th feeling that they had won a partial victory by the company's agreement bers of Local 13, IUMSWA-CIO, to meet with them, ordered the workers to return.

GOOD STEWARD-GETS GATE

Saturday morning's meeting proved that the management had no intention of attempting to settle the grievance and they provoked the union more by stating that Novack was no longer suspended but had been fired. When pressed for reasons, the management stated that his "interference," etc., consisted of telling the men that if they carried their "rigs" to and from the ship before and after 7:30 a.m. and 6:30 p.m. they were doing so on their own time. When

they realized that Novack had been fired for being a good shop steward and they started out again. Union officials persuaded the men to return to work and called a meeting for the burners for that evening.

Although the burners were sore that the rest of the yard hadn't been called out to support them, they indicated their fighting spirit at the members of the grievance committee spoke and reported that a federal "conciliator" would appear Monday

the burners heard this flimsy tale were sure that Novack would be reinstated with back pay, those present voted to return to work.

FIGHT FOR UNION!

The burners, backbone of the local, showed by their conversations that they fully realized the company has embarked on a policy aimed at breaking the union and that it will take a meeting Saturday evening by ap- lot of fighting action to show the plauding several militant speakers well fed, well rested gentlemen in who were for continuing the fight in the front office that it won't work. a vigorous fashion. However, when The men on strike also showed their contempt for the no-strike "pledge" which THEY never gave by urging all workers still on the job to fight to hear the case and said that they for their union by strike action.

well if they are going to build a strong union revolves around this nostrike pledge. They must attend all meetings and vote for officials who are against the pledge, especially those men who run for delegates to the coming national convention, where policy for the entire membership is decided. Just so long as organized labor is tied with the nostrike pledge, just that long will the unions continue to be weakened by management's attacks without being able to fight back effectively. The strike weapon is labor's only weapon of any consequence. Without it the workers face sure defeat and disin-

A lesson which the men must learn

Local 9 Rank & File Still Lacks Authority

voted their displeasure by getting SAN PEDRO-With complete autonomy still to be achieved, the recently elected administrative board of Local 9, CIO Shipyard Workers Union, has gained the right to conduct the union's affairs, subject only to a twothirds vote by the elected executive

board, or a veto by the national office. The removal of Walter S. Pollard, administrative director of the union ed autonomy, requested by the administrative board and concurred in by the executive board and the general membership, was denied by the General Executive Board at Camden, but his power was severely limited by a ruling that gave him only the right to act as chairman of the eightman administrative board, with neither vote nor veto power. Furthermore, verbal promises were given that he would be withdrawn on the return of complete autonomy, scheduled for the early part of September.

MEMBERSHIP NOT AUTHORITY

These rulings, interpretations of the Green plan for return of partial selfrule to Local 9, were made at the last meeting of the GEB at Camden, N. J., where a representative of the eightman board, Lee Bailey, presented the back they wouldn't walk out again. case for Local 9. While they succeed-Union leaders, handcuffed by the in- ed fairly well in establishing the ternational's no-strike pledge and power and authority of the elected

representatives of the rank and file, merely by an adverse WLB decision. Pollard has gone to Washington to nothing was accomplished in restoring the authority of the general mem-

Under this plan, as now interpreted, the membership does not have the final authority on decisions. This means that the rank and file, pending the complete restoration of autonomy, can act only as an "advisor" to their elected officials, and does not have the power to countermand actions of its own representatives. It is ironic that the eight-man board refused to accept such a role in relation to Pollard, and demanded and got the authority to act on their own and not as an "advisor" to Pollard.

NEW LEADERSHIP LUKEWARM

With many serious and pressing problems before the union it is unfortunate that with lack of complete autonomy, and the consequent threat of veto by the national office hanging over their heads, the new leadership of the local seems wary and reluctant to press for vigorous solutions of the union's problems. On the question of the 11.6 repair differential, now denied by the WLB, the correct step of involving the rank and file by calling special meetings of repair workers has been taken. This important issue must not be shelved

The long-standing question of nonenforcement of the contract at Los Angeles Ship has taken a new turn with the Navy virtually making a gift

which is now no longer "managing operator for the Navy" but an "independent contractor." It is a matter them and their elected representatives. But the latest news is that must rely

"fix things up."

The vital job of building the organization, especially in the yards, and the education and arousing of the of the yard to Todd Shipyard Corp., membership, is a task that is everpresent before the new leadership. Vigorous steps toward the solution of these and similar tasks will gain the that vitally concerns every member enthusiastic support of the memberof Local 9 and should be handled by ship. It is this support upon which any genuine progressive leadership

Detroit Attention SUNDAY EVENING FORUMS

AUGUST 6

"LABOR IN POLITICS: THE MFC"

AUGUST 13

"PEACE PLANS OF THE WARRING POWERS"

ALL MEETINGS TO BE HELD SUNDAY EVENINGS AT 8:15 O'CLOCK AT

LABOR ACTION HALL, 2650 Arndt (at Gratiot and Chene)

WORLD EVENTS

By Europacus

Nazi Thieves Fall Out Among Themselves

The day after the report of the attempted assassination of Hitler was announced, the financial section of the New York Times carried the following headline: "Stock Prices Snap on Unrest in Reich. Drop 1 to 3 Points on Theory That the Reported Revolt Might Shorten the War." Well, it seems that this time the gentlemen from Wall Street got away with a bad scare. It's not yet the end of the Nazi regime—the war goes on—and there is still plenty of profit in it. Nevertheless, Wall Street is right in one respect: the open clashes between a great part of the German high command and the Junkers on the one hand and Hitler and the Nazi Party on the other hand, indicate that the situation of Nazi Germany has be-

come critical. When the thieves begin to fall out among themselves, the end of the gang is in sight. No matter what the immediate cause of the clashes, no matter whether Hitler staged another "Reichstag fire" in order to have a convenient pretext for eliminating the old Junkers officers, or whether these officers (following the shining example of Italy's Badoglio) really

staged a palace revolution, hoping to be able then to come to some sort of agreement with the Allies, one thing is certain, one fact stands out: there is a very significant rift inside the once so rigid structure. Another fact seems also certain:

the German masses are not yet in motion. They feel no desire to follow the lead of an army clique which in a desperate attempt to save its own skin is trying to throw the Nazi Party overboard. They know very well that these generals, just as much as the Nazi Party, have been pushing the German people into this war. The masses are not yet in motion. But slowly the conditions for more deepgoing events than this palace revolution are now created in Germany.

The Nazis kill the generals. The Gestapo is now working inside the army, which used to be more or less taboo. The firing squads work overtime but the result can only be a further weakening of the structure of the Nazi state. A rift in the ruling class does not yet mean revolution, but it creates the conditions for revolutionary action: the demoralization of the class enemy.

Workers Not Yet in Motion

Another reason for the seeming inactivity of the masses in these events (there have been reports of mutinies at the great naval base of Kiel and in some other spots, but they are so far unsubstantiated) is that the German masses are afraid of their fate in the event of an Allied victory. The same New York papers which last Friday carried the news of the attempted assassination of Hitler also carried reviews of the last book of former Under Secretary of State Sumner Welles-the one who in 1940 saw Hitler and Mussolini in order to win them over to some negotiated peace compromise cooked up in Washington. Welles now advocates the splitting up of Germany into three different states along completely arbitrary lines. This would mean cutting the whole of German industry into pieces and would

bring untold suffering and misery to the German workers, unemployment compared to which our apple-selling days would look like boom times. Is one to wonder, then, under these conditions, that the German masses are bewildered, afraid of each and every step? "What," they ask themselves, "if a successful revolt would only mean new and further oppression this time under foreign gauleiters? What if the only result would be occupation by Russia in the East and by Anglo-American-French troops in the West?" And those who think of revolution will also remember the recent words of Winston Churchill-this old hand in counter-revolutionary intervention: "If Germany should turn communist this would be no sufficient reason for us to change our policy." (In other words, "we" would occupy, destroy and "punish" just as much.)

Local 719-UAW Resolution Democrats Drub CIO-PAC... Raps WLB as 'Stooge Agency'

Whereas, labor, in lending its representatives to the War Labor Board, and agreeing to allow this board to settle employer-employee disputes for the duration of the war, did so with the mistaken understanding that this would be an impartial board which would decide

disputes according to their merits; and Whereas, the experiences of the last few years have given us abundant proof that the War Labor Board is merely a stooge agency of big business as is evidenced by its adoption and maintenance of the Little Steel formula which limits wage raises of workers to fifteen per cent of what they were in January, 1941, while prices have gone up at least 45.3 per cent and profits have gone sky-high; and

Whereas, the War Labor Board acts for the most part only in the interests of the employers by serving as a strike-breaking agency and buries labor's grievances in a maze of legal proceedings which enable the employers, with their unlimited financial resources, to prolong disputes indefinitely; and

Whereas this board is dangerous to the labor movement in that it not only prevents labor from gaining its just demands, but also attempts to abrogate those gains for which labor has fought many decades, such as its retroactive pay decision in the steel workers case, which was only changed by the spontaneous strikes of steel workers throughout the country; and

Whereas, the participation of labor representatives on the War Labor Board only adds prestige to this disreputable agency and serves to make its reactionary decisions more palatable to labor; and Whereas, labor has only to withdraw its representatives from the

War Labor Board to destroy it and its Little Steel formula; Therefore be it resolved, that Local 719 hereby goes on record as favoring the immediate removal of any UAW representatives from the War Labor Board and so recommends to the national convention of the

(Continued from page 1) ant president" of the United States, appointed to that mythical position by the President himself. On all basic questions of program the PAC was generally given a po-

lite hearing and then given an equally polite heave-ho. Then exactly what DID the CIO-PAC get out of the Democratic Party? The answer is-NOTHING!

"FELLOW DEMOCRATS"

It got the small comfort of being allowed to spend time and vast sums of money for the buttressing of the corrupt political machines of the party bosses, who function and exist with the blessings of their "matchless and beloved leader," Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

It lay down in the same political bed with the industrialists whom it would not be caught smiling to in a collective bargaining conference.

We find it hard to believe that Philip Murray and Sidney Hillman and R. J. Thomas do not realize the full extent of their misrepresentation and betrayal of labor's real interests by providing a labor window-dressing for the party of the Southern racists and similar reactionaries. They

nothing but cogs in the Roosevelt machine. Their function in the labor movement is to cover up and apologize for an Administration that has foisted upon labor such monstrous things as the War Labor Board, the wage freeze, the job freeze, the Little Steel formula and class taxation.

WHY LABOR GETS NOTHING

Roosevelt has them in his pocket, and knowing them as he does, is able to heap insult after insult on the heads of his hapless but faithful servants. Thus Roosevelt turns a deaf ear to the ceaseless pleading of Phil Murray to allow a revision of the Little Steel formula. Thus he allows R. J. Thomas to regale him with tales of woe about the high cost of living and imminent layoffs, and proceeds to hand the textile manufacturers millions more in profits through higher prices, and the Brewster workers the dirty end of the cutback stick.

To Hillman, FDR need show neither tolerance nor respect. Hillman has been nothing but a ward-heeler, and he gets treatment befitting a small-time politician.

Just as we have exposed the role

are and have been for some time of the labor zombies on the War Labor Board and appealed to the rank and file of labor to force its leaders to get off that body, we now appeal to the rank and file to stay away from the boss political parties!

Labor had no economic bargaining power and no force to protect its standard of living before it organized into craft and industrial unions of its own choosing. Labor can have no political bar-

gaining power to defend its interests and no representation in the places where the laws governing it are made until labor has a political party of its own - an independent Labor

And finally, labor can have no voice in the determination of the conditions of its life until it takes over control of the means of production and distribution, until labor itself is the power that decides how many mines, mills and factories shall operate and what kind of wars it

LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party stand for the immediate creation of the elementary political instrument for that emancipation-an independent Labor Party NOW!

Nazi Slaughter Will Go On

In the next week or even months not much probably will be heard from inside Germany. The firing squad will be working and the Gestapo will rule even more harshly than before. This is the last stage of the totalitarian state, the stage where the terror appears in its most brutal form. But in the long run one cannot keep up morale with the firing squad. At the end, terror and again terror as the only answer de-

feats its own purpose. The rift between the German people and a small layer of fanatical Nazis will only be accentuated. The beast is already mortally wounded, but even in the throes of death it might yet do untold harm and bring untold sufferings in the next period.

P.S.—Washington and London must be worried about the killing of all the blue-blooded generals. After all, if Hitler kills them all, there will remain nobody to deal with



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City Bosses and Southern Bourbons Rule Democratic Party

By V. JENSEN

The tumult and the shouting die. The captains (of the precincts) and the kings (of good fellows) depart. The Democratic national convention is over. This is the anti-climactical lull after the nomination of the candidates and before the political campaign goes into full swing. The dull interim where the newspaper must make small items out of the gloomy statistics of how many men are needed to sweep out the Chicago Stadium of how many bottles of beer, pop and ham sandwiches and frankfurters were consumed by the voracious Democrats. Perhaps in this lull there may even be some slight analysis of the Democratic platform, But that's not very likely-for everyone knows how unimportant platforms are.

The outstanding factors of interest at the convention were the strained attempts of the Democrats to present their party as the liberal party of the "peepul" and the yeoman service of the CIO in helping spread this illusion, in spite of its conflict with the party machines.

FDR NOT ONLY "INDISPENSA-BLE," BUT INEVITABLE

The renomination of Roosevelt was, of course, a foregone conclusion. There was no other possible candidate to put up against the Republicans. In spite of the intraparty disputes, irritations and discontent with Roosevelt, all sectors of the party, with the exception of a few Southern diehards making a petulant gesture of warning to FDR, bowed to the inevitable. They are aware that this year's election is no cinch-that they will have to work hard to get a disillusioned and discontented electorate to go down the line with the party again.

That is why the main line of election propaganda will be twofold: to stress Roosevelt's experience and success as a "military leader" and to impress upon the people that the Democrats are their representatives. fighting for the liberal program of economic and social security for now and the post-war period. The speeches of Kerr, the keynoter, Quentin Reynolds, the war correspondent, and Helen Gahagan Douglas, the Democratic glamor girl, were all chockfull of the old New Deal platitudes, dusted off for the holiday occasion. To hear them speak one would hardly remember that the party's stand-

ard bearer, FDR, himself had long since declared the New Deal dead. They and the CIO Political Action Committee and the demagogy of the platform went all-out in their effort to present to the ever more skeptical voters the idea that the Democratic Party was the party defending the democratic rights and the social and economic progress of the people.

How far from the truth this is, is best exhibited in an examination of the vice-presidential fight and through an examination of the platform and performance of the party.

The fight over the nomination of the vice-presidential candidate was unquestionably a fight between the Democratic Party machines and the CIO Political Action Committee. The



RICHARD FRANKENSTEEN

regular machine came to the convention in an embarrassing and ambiguous position. It came determined to remind Roosevelt that it was after all still in control and that he had better stay in line and mind his p's and q's. Since it was obviously impossible to nominate anyone else for the presidency, it was determined to nominate the vice-president. On this score, Roosevelt, somewhat battered by inter-party congressional disputes of the last period, made a graceful retreat from the beginning. His letter of "support" for Wallace was actually the kiss of death for the Vice-President and a "go" signal for the party regulars.

chine found itself in the embarrassing position of needing the labor vote and needing it bad. There is no question but that the election of the ticket in '44 depends on rallying the labor vote behind the ticket, which was so dangerously apathetic in 1940. Running up against this cold and unmistakable fact, evinced in the determined activity of the CIO-PAC on behalf of Wallace, made the machine abandon its attempt to put over some discredited Southern reactionary such as the "Assistant President," War Mobilization Director Byrnes, who incidentally is a favorite of

Still it was determined to give the upstart CIO-PAC an unmistakable lesson and remind it who was boss and in control of the party, at the same time assuring its continued support for the ticket. The candidate of the Democratic Party machines, the machines of Kelly, Flynn, Hague and Hannegan, and now the vice-presidential candidate of the Democratic Party, is Senator Harry S. Truman.

TRUMAN'S RECORD: PRO-PENDERGAST, ANTI-NEGRO

Truman is a party hack-a product of the notorious Pendergast machine of St. Louis, who has established a record for himself in Congress as a supporter of Roosevelt measures and as the chairman of an investigating committee that has made some sensational exposures of malpractices in war plant contracts. It is on the basis of the undoubtedly useful work of this committee that the attempt to present Truman as an outstanding liberal will be made. Actually Truman of Missouri is a loyal follower of the machine. When Pendergast was under indictment for corruption. Truman refused to vote for measures against this notorious boss who put him in Congress. As a matter of fact, he got up in the Senate and made a speech in defense of Pendergast. In addition, Truman has a bad record on the Negro question. He has been silent on the poll-tax and anti-lynch issues, refusing to act against the Southern machines. The president of the National Negro Council has accused him of having consistently refused action that would have helped Negroes get a square deal in war

The role of the CIO Political Action Committee, headed by the politically very ambitious Sidney Hillman,

At the same time, the party ma- has been a sensational and unique one at this Democratic convention. Never has a labor lobby played so prominent and important a role at a convention of a capitalist party. Its press conferences were eagerly attended and fully covered. Its campaign for Wallace was the most vociferous and outspoken of the campaigns. Its lobbying was consistent. It packed the galleries. It would be foolish to deny that the PAC was a factor that the party bosses reckoned with, cursed but reckoned with, conquered but reckoned with and, to a very limited extent, compromised

> And yet, precisely because of the strength that the PAC displayed, what it did at the convention was a great disservice to and betrayal of labor. The PAC sold labor's birthright-its potential independent political strength - for a mess. That was the role of the PAC. That was why it was organized.

junct to the Roosevelt machine in the labor movement. Its role is to line labor up behind Roosevelt and the Democratic Party-to keep the faltering labor sentiment, disillusioned by the anti-labor policy of the Administration, from leaving the Roosevelt-Democratic ranks. Its role is to keep labor from organizing its own independent Labor Party.

Yes-the PAC made a prominent show at the Democratic national convention. BUT WHAT DID IT GET? It is obvious that holding the labor vote is of the utmost and primary importance to the Democrats. What return did the PAC get for its important yeoman service to the Democratic Party bosses?

PAC THWARTED IN ITS AIMS First-it did NOT even get its candidate. The machines that rule the party, contemptuous of the upstart

"Eminently Qualified"--For What? How did Harry S. Truman, vice-presidential candidate of the Demo-

The New York Times, in a biography of the machine-man from Missouri, gives the following account, which might be applied to more than a few of the honorable hacks now in the House and Senate.

cratic Party, whom Sidney Hillman, chairman of the CIO Political

Action Committee, now describes as "eminently qualified," get to be a

In 1934 Truman was the presiding judge of a Missouri county court and definitely a small-potatoes politician. One day he went to Kansas City to see Boss Tom Pendergast, fuehrer of Missouri politics with a record as pure as Boss Hague's of New Jersey. Truman contended that his faithfulness to the corrupt machine was deserving of recognition

and asked for the job of collector of internal revenue. Pendergast readily agreed that Truman was the kind of man that makes any political boss content, but told him that the job was promised to someone else. Then he made this offer to Truman: "The best I can do now, Harry, is a United States senatorship, how's

Truman accepted, of course, and never forgot his debt to the boss. When the Pendergast machine was being opposed by "reform" elements in Kansas City, he stuck to the machine to the last. And when the Treasury Department finally nailed "Big Tom" for income tax evasion, Truman was solid for his benefactor.

Truman also opposed the renomination of a Missouri district attorney who had obtained the conviction of thirty-five Pendergast "ward leaders" in a vote-fraud investigation.

The Senate Truman Investigating Committee's report on the conspiracy and sabotage of the Curtiss-Wright Company, when that company passed off defective motors to the Army, declined to publish the full truth of the scandal on the ground that "it would shock and arouse

"Eminently qualified" for what, Mr. Hillman?

quietly ignored the howling of the galleries and went about their business in the smoke-filled backrooms Party. where the real fate of this "party of the peepul" is settled. They made sure that their candidate was nominated. What had they to fear? They knew that labor support of the ticket was assured. And they were right, Richard (Flip-Flop) Frankensteen of the UAW, who was chairman of the Michigan delegation, made a brave speech seconding the nomination of Wallace. It was the bravest speech of

Second-the PAC certainly did not get its program adopted by the Democratic Party. The platform committee politely heard the CIO representatives and politely ignored them. The CIO is against the Little Steel formula-the Democratic platform does not come out against this. The CIO is in favor of repealing the Connally anti-strike bill. The Democratic platform says nothing about repealing this. Why should it? Was it not a Democratic legislature that passed it?

the afternoon - he outspokenly ac-

cused the machines of Kelly, Flynn

and Hannegan of attempting to run

the convention. A very brave speech

-but when it was clear that the Tru-

man bandwagon was rolling in, he

hastened to give Truman the Michi-

gan votes. And the CIO hastened to

give support to the candidates of the

machines. It is giving-surprise!-full

support to the Roosevelt-Truman

CIO REBUFFED ON ANTI-JIM CROW PLANK

The CIO is against racial discrimination, for equality for the Negro, against the poll-tax, for anti-lynching legislation. The Democratic Party is the classic party of Jim Crow and white supremacy whose Solid South political power is dependent on the poll-tax. Even in its meaningless, demagogic platform it is not permitted to offend such peerless "democrats" of the South as Rankin and Byrd. The Democratic Party needs the Southern machines and its platform could not even afford the demagogy of the Republican platform-it would not, even for votes, promise a permanent FEPC, an anti-poll-tax law, an anti-lynching law.

The CIO-PAC did not get its candidate nor its platform at the Democratic convention. It got only the dubious privilege of being permitted

The PAC was organized as an ad- labor men and their public support, to tie a ring through labor's nose and tieing the string to the corrupt capitalist machines of the Democratic

> The Democratic Party has declared its intention of running on its record



SIDNEY HILLMAN

of past performance. Let labor remember well that past performance. The Democrats and Roosevelt were not able to get the country out of the depression until they started operating on a wasteful war economy. This war "prosperity" is illusory and inflationary-labor's standard of living goes down constantly while bloody war profits rise. A post-war depression looms ahead-in spite of fine words and promises-no provisions have been made for labor in the post-war period. Plants are shutting down and workers are being thrown out into the streets. The platform promises the moon-but does not produce the rocket with which to

The Democratic and Roosevelt performance has been one of constant attack on labor's standard of living and democratic rights.

Labor has no more to gain from support of Roosevelt and the Democrats than it has from support of Dewey and the Republicans. It must bring its leaders back from the convention halls of the capitalist parties. Its political action committees must be committees for independent labor political action-for labor's platform, with labor's candidates, through la-

Why Negroes Should Give G. O. P. and Democrats The Brushoff

cratic rights for Negroes in the United States, the Republicans and the Democrats both reveal themselves as two bands of scoundrels, liars and common, every-day vote-snatchers.

The Democrats, having gorged themselves on twelve years at the public trough during the fattest period of the republic, want to remain in office and in power. This oversized bureaucracy is bloated and power-struck. It lives in a haze of self-adulation. It treads the radio air waves with messianic verve and demands for itself preferred and permanent place as the apostolic succession.

This is partially to be accounted for by three successive terms for the man in the White House: twelve fat years of power and plenty for a party which over a period of eight years before the reign of Roosevelt the Second had had control of the public treasury for a bare sixteen years.

The Republicans, however, who up to the time of the second Roosevelt had grown accustomed to ruling the country, want to restore that rule. They want to get back at the pork barrel. As is always true with the outs, they are prepared to make any promises, to anybody, lavishly and with utter abandon. They want votes. That's what wins elections. They want women's votes, workers' votes, bankers' votes (and dollars), Negro votes. They "condemn the injection into American life of appeals to racial or religious prejudice."

This is strange fruit from the Republican tree of life. Of course they don't call names or say anything specific. But how about all the reactionary, Ku Klux and semi-fascist baggage the Republicans are carrying on their train? A greater part of the fascist and semi-fascists in the country are in the Republican camp. They or their representatives who are not in jail or in court were as thick as flies around the Republican national convention at Chicago.

WHERE WAS GOP BEFORE?

The Republicans "pledge an immediate congressional inquiry to ascertain the extent to which mistreatment, segregation and discrimination against Negroes who are in our armed forces are impairing morale and efficiency and the adoption of corrective legislation." Why have they waited so long to institute such an investigation? What is their position on segregation and Jim Crow? Let them tell us where and when they crusaded against segregation and Jim Crow in civil life or in the military service. They made no such crusade during the First World War. Jim Crow was instituted in the government offices in Washington by the Wilson Administration and continued during that great crusade to make the

world safe for democracy.

When the Republicans took over the White House and the Treasury, they continued this segregation right through the Hoover regime. The first anti-lynching bill was defeated when the Republicans had a majority of twenty-two in the Senate. There has been no outcry from the Republican Party over the gross disinet Negrope in industry, against the brutality accorded Negro servicemen in the South or against the framed-up charges of rape made against Negro soldiers overseas.

THEY VOTED WITH BOURBONS

Furthermore, are the Republicans only interested in "corrective legislation" against segregation because this is necessary to make Negroes more efficient soldiers? That's what the resolution quoted above says. How about full democratic rights for Negroes whether in or out of the military service? How about full social, political and economic rights for all Negroes, North and South? The Republican platform is silent. It pledges the establishment of a permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission. That is already on the way and the money has been appropriated. But the question to ask is, do the Republicans believe the commission should have real power to enforce its decisions? Do they believe in the complete elimination of discrimination against Negroes in industry? Do they believe that discrimination should be made a federal crime? Of course, they don't! If they did they would put such measures in their platform.

The Republicans "favor legislation against lynching and pledge our sincere efforts in behalf of its early enactment." Who believes this? What Negro will be so silly as to swallow this choice bit of Republican Party trickery? Why didn't they pass the anti-lynching bill when it first came up after World War I? It was they who defeated it under threat from the South that they would filibuster and block other legislation the Republicans wanted passed. Why didn't they pass it in the present Congress,

where they had the needed votes? It is all vote-catching hokum. They don't mean a word or a line they have written. On every point here their record is as black as that of the worst Southern bourbon. They only want to get back to the trough. Their candidate, the wonder boy of gang-buster fame, can be counted on, if elected, to "listen to reason," to heed the voice of his master. And that master will not be the Negroes

or any section of the working class. The Democratic Party pronouncement on the question of democratic rights and equality for the Negro is no less filthy than the Republican

there is less of the filth and lies. The Democrats only believe "that racial and religious minorities have the right to live, develop and vote equally with all citizens and share the rights that are guaranteed by our Constitution. Congress should exert its full constitutional powers to protect those rights."

Which Democrats does this platform speak for? Surely not for Roosevelt, the fourth term candidate. What has Roosevelt said or done to hasten the day of the exercise by Negroes of those rights "guaranteed by our Constitution." We would like to know. He was silent on the anti-lynching bill. He has been silent on the shameful practice of Jim Crow in the military service and the violence against Negro civilians and uniformed men. He allowed the FEPC to be pushed into a corner and bottled up. Does this Democratic platform

speak for Bilbo, Eastland and the

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rest of the rabidly anti-Negro, anti- and condescension to Negro dele- stars and any part of the population does. They forced the platformmakers to bow the knee to their extremist reactionary demands. They were all there: the lynchers from Mississippi, the slave-drivers of Georgia, the raucous and ignorant blood brothers of Tillman from South Carolina before, feel nevertheless that there and the boasting, swaggering, guntoting mobsters from Texas. It was their party's day, their platform and their triumph.

CATCHING VOTES

It is only fools, innocents, political culprits, bootlickers and job-holders among Negroes and their white friends who will render support to either of these parties or give any support to these platforms or candidates. They are equally putrid, conniving and mendacious. Behind all the frippery, the oratory, the patriotic outbursts from both conventions, the platform promises, the prayers

labor Southern leadership? Yes, it gates and spokesmen, lay one desire and one desire only, to catch Negro out trying to get in they had to offer more. The Democrats, being the ins and also believing that even though they get a smaller Negro vote than will be enough, along with the solid

Both conventions were dominated by big business: the bankers manufacturers, cotton planters, coal operators and bondholders. The politicians, Republican and Democratic, were there to dance before the little people, to conduct the circus, to promise the loaves and the fishes. They hurled harsh words at each other. They ranted and raved and called on Jehovah. They invoked the spirits of Washington, Lincoln, Jefferson and Wilson.

Both groups solidified themselves on the war. Both wooed the service men, the women, motion picture

that had a vote or could rake up one. But we say again, behind the curtain votes. Because the Republicans are lurked the big men of "free enterprise," the men of profits, dividends and huge salaries. They pay the piper and they will call the tune-the tune for the Negro and all the ranks of labor.

NEGROES HAVE A CHOICE

As Negroes approach the November election, in relation to the Democratic or Republican Parties, they, with all the rest of the little people, have only the choice between capitalism in Republican garb or capitalism in Democratic vestments. Either road guarantees continued Jim Crow, segregation, lynching, exploitation and debasement.

The labor movement, the only worth-while movement of the common people today, could have provided the way out for the Negro masses and the white masses together. The working class could have had its own party, its own Labor Party, an

workers, for black and write. Such a party was not built but it is certainly not too late to begin. The argument that we must get into the political campaigns of one of the two capitalist parties and support one of the two capitalist candidates is pure nonsense. The only worker, black or white, who really throws away his vote is the worker who votes for the Republican and Democratic capitalist parties. His vote is thrown away, even though the capitalist candidate for whom he or she votes is a victor.

independent political party of the

A Negro worker remarked to the writer recently that "these capitalists keep the workers busy electing their presidents for them." It's time we stopped this. What shall we do on election day in November? What we should be doing today and after election day: working with all our might and ability to form and organize our own political party, our own Labor Party of the white and Negro masses.

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More Pap From NACCP

CHICAGO-Once again the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People presented America's Negro masses with a paradox instead of a program at its second wartime conference in Chicago, July 12 to 16. "We must take our freedom" were

Delaney of New York City. How? By political action within the old two-party framework! How the Negro is going to "take" his freedom from Republicans or Democrats

when neither party is offering him

the bold words of Keynoter Rubert

any, was not explained. Speaker after speaker endorsed Administration measures (such as OPA, price control, FEPC, social security legislation) and other New Deal proposals (anti-poll-tax bill and antilynching bill). The pro-Administration attitude of the conference was clearly shown by the presence as principal speakers of James Carey of the CIO and PAC, and Marshall Field,

This attitude resulted in a series of bitter attacks against the conference from the Chicago Tribune. Col. Mc-Mormick's sheet correctly diagnosed the general trend of the conference as toward a watered-down PACism.

ardent Rooseveltite.

LABOR ACTION has pointed out many times why the Negro people can never expect their emancipation from the Republican or Democratic politicians, who are the stooges of big business.

Neither of the old parties offers freedom-or any part of it-to the

Negroes. They don't offer to abolish discrimination in the armed forcesone of the most flagrant outrages of the day. They don't even promise (and promises are cheap at election time!) to fight to secure ordinary citizenship rights for the disfranchised Negroes south of the Mason-Dixon line. And these two points, important as they are, are only partial measures. For freedom is indivisible. Either you have complete social, economic and political freedom, or you aren't free.

There is only one kind of party that will enable America's Negro millions to take (and that means fight for) their freedom. That is a work-

ing class party whose program is based on a belief in complete freedom and emancipation of ALL workers, black or write. Only an independent Labor Party, with the kind of program LABOR ACTION advocates, will carry on the fight for Negro freedom that the NAACP so glibly entrusts to the old-time boss politicians.

NAACP membership is at a new high. The NAACP leaders have found some new friends among the CIO labor bureaucrats. But PAC politics won't emancipate the Negroes any more tha it will stop the coming offensive against labor. Only independent labor politics can do that.

Last week the United Mine Workers Journal, through its editor, K. C. Adams, jumped on the Dewey-Bricker bandwagon with the kind of reckless abandon that matched the most disgusting efforts of the CIO-PAC for FDR and Truman. David Coolidge, labor editor of LABOR ACTION, will review the "reasoning" behind the endorsement of the GOP by the UMW bureaucrats in next week's issue of this paper.

Editorials

Playing the Game of Boss Politics-III

The United Mine Workers Journal has announced that it was following the dictates of John L. Lewis in supporting Thomas E. Dewey and the Republican Party in the present election campaign. Reports have it that the so-called labor plank in the GOP platform was inspired, or written, by Lewis. The action of the head of the strongest and most militant industrial union in the country is indeed a commentary on the sorry political mess in which the labor movement finds itself at present.

There is nothing in the Republican Party, its candidates or its platform which recommends itself to labor. We know also that the same is true of the Democratic Party, its candidates and its platform. Yet the officialdoms of the two great labor organizations fall all over themselves in a disgusting attempt to ally themselveswith one or another of the capitalist parties and their assortment of candidates for various offices.

How do the boss politicians receive this aid from labor leaders? They accept their voting support but spit in their faces when it comes to making important concessions to the demands of the labor unions. Take us as we are, say the capitalist parties and their platform makers.

Instead of telling these agents of big business to go fly their collective kite, instead of drawing the logical political lessons of this situation by organizing an independent party of labor with a labor program, the union leaders beg for crumbs off the tables of the politicians, and proceed to support them anyway. No better proof of this is found than in the rebuff which the AFL received from the GOP and the slap in the face the CIO received from Roosevelt and the Democrats on the Wallace dispute.

In Lewis' case, you have a labor leader with great imagination and courage on purely trade union questions, who, despite that, is a hopeless reactionary politically. When the Republicans give labor the works, he goes over to the Democrats. When the Democrats give labor the works, he goes back to the Republicans. Thus he plays the same game as Green, Murray, Hillman and Thomas. And thus the labor movement is on a political merry-go-round in which its energies, organization and finances are expended to aid its enemies.

The lesson is clear: break with capitalist politics! Organize a party of labor with a labor program to fight for the real interests of the American workers!

The Holy See and the Unholy C. P.

The first direct contact ever made between the Communist Party and the Holy See should be no occasion for raised eyebrows, save where the Pope is concerned. The meeting occurred between Palmiro Togliatti, well trained in the Stalin school of counter-revolution, which expelled or DRENCHED WITH THE BLOOD OF destroyed the best militants in the Italian THE COAL MINERS. communist movement, and Mgr. Montini, the Vatican's acting Secretary of State.

Although last year the Pope issued statements against the spread of "communism and materialism," he is wising up. He is recognizing now what the world labor movement has known for years, that the one statement of communists to be taken at face value as a literal truth is that they are opposed to the spread of communism. When Signor Togliatti says: "We aren't even thinking in those terms," he means it. "Our problem is to create a democratic Italy and somehow live as best we can. We communists believe in small land owners and in private property here in Italy. Can you imagine an Italy without them?" And we sincerely believe Togliatti can't.

On the monarchy, "We say leave the monarchial question aside until the war ends and then let the people decide," he stated. "For the present, as I said in my recent speech, so long as there are good monarchists, let us accept their collaboration."

These are the same monarchists, let it be said, who collaborated with Mussolini in the dark days of fascism and then supported the ex-fascist Badoglio (as did also Stalin). When it was pointed out to Togliatti what he well knows, that all monarchists are anti-communists and most are reactionary, he said nothing but his eyes

If one could assess the responsibility of

the Holy See and the Unholy CP in the rise of fascism, the latter would come out ahead, we think. Although the Pope was nominally "non - interventionist" in temporal affairs, he has never spoken against fascism when Catholics aided fascist movements, as in Spain, Germany, South America, etc. But then the role of the Catholic church was never too much in doubt, since it did not pretend to be a movement for the benefit of the working people and was avowedly opposed to com-

The Communists, on the other hand, professing the aims of communism, have stifled and strangled the attempts of working people to liberate themselves for a dozen years in more than a dozen countries. The crimes have ranged all the way from passivity before the onslaught of fascism, as in Germany when Hitler rose to power, to active collaboration with Hitler in the joint partition of Poland at the beginning of this war.

There is one thing to be thankful for in the overtures being made between the Vatican and the Kremlin. It will help in stripping some of the illusions the Italian workers have about the progressiveness of Communists and in making them more conscious that they will have to depend upon themselves for their freedom and independence.

Trotskyist Victims Of Tory Reaction

His Majesty's government, acting through its courts, has just sentenced to jail four of the leading members of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist) of Great Britain. The case was an unquestioned frame-up against these revolutionary socialists and the organization which they represent. Their crime was supporting the coal miners in the strike for an improvement of their miserable living conditions and against the vicious legislation of the government, aimed at keeping the miners in servitude.

In answer to the growing dissatisfaction of the British workers, the government continued the passage of acts, under the leadership of British labor fakers like Bevin and Morrison, which were designed to destroy the effective organization and militancy of unionized workers.

British labor bears the heaviest burdens of the war while the ruling capitalist class enjoys the profits from their labor. In the case of the miners, we observed the government passing coercive legislation drafting young people into the mines to serve the profiteering mine owners. The British mines are notoriously poor ones to work in. There has been little or no modernizaition of those caves. The workers are harassed by the abominable working conditions. They face death every day of their lives. But the mine operators in that country are interested only in one thing-PROFIT, EVEN IF THAT PROFIT IS

There was no testimony at the trial to show that the Revolutionary Communist Party, completely anti-Stalinist, the Socialist Appeal, its newspaper, or the four people. Jock Haston, Heaton Lee, Ann Keen and Rawling Tearse, had anyhing to do with the calling of the strike, which was the affair of the miners themselves. All that was proved at the trial was that they supported the coal miners in their struggle. And for that they were sentenced to six months, twelve months, thirteen days and twelve months' imprisonment respectively.

A broad, united front defense committee is heading the appeal against this foul decision. These fellow workers and comrades deserve the support of every worker, whether in Great Britain or the United

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Churchill Threatens Bloodbath in 'No Freedom for India' Edict

By REVA CRAINE

One of the points of difference between the United States and Great Britain is the problem of India. The former prefers that the British adopt more liberal policy toward India for two reasons: First, to arouse

greater interest and participation by the Indian masses in the war by giving them, or more accurately. by promising to give them something to fight for. The second reason is more important and far - reaching. The United States would like to break England's monopoly on In-

dia so that American business can enter and compete on equal terms with British business. Given the loss of British political control, American usiness could easily gain the upper

On numerous occasions, however, when Roosevelt tried to discuss the Indian problem with Churchill, he got a cold shoulder, according to a statement by Drew Pearson, newspaper columnist. Pearson reports further that when U.S. Ambassador Phillips returned from India and talked with Churchill, the latter banged the table and declared:

"I have always been right about Europe. I'm also right about India. Any change in policy now will mean a blood bath.'

Now this statement of Churchill may be interpreted in several ways. Undoubtedly the apologists for British imperialism will state that what the Prime Minister had in mind was the threat of "civil war" inside India between Hindus and Moslems should the British withdraw. Actually, this is the old hypocritical contention of the British imperialists that England's role in India is primarily an altruistic one. India is divided up into a number of religious groups and races, they maintain, and would be at each other's throats were it not for the British armed forces which keep the peace in that country. England is preventing a "blood bath," they

BRITAIN FOSTERS DIVISION

This is one of the great frauds invented for the purpose of concealing the real motives for British retention of India. In the first place, the differences between Hindus and Moslems are based on religious and not racial or national differences. These could easily be resolved on the basis of democratic government which guarantees to everyone freedom of worship. When clashes occur between the two groups in India, the cause is almost exclusively economic and

Secondly, it has been the ate policy of the British to magnify these differences and to encourage political divisions along religious lines. As far back as 1858, Lord Elphinstone, British Governor General, outlined the policy when he declared:

(Continued from page 1)

finance and industry, but, because of

their size and wealth, the dominant

phases of the nation's political poli-

Through its main pressure organ-

izations, the National Association of

Manufacturers and the United States

Chamber of Commerce, it has sub-

verted the Congress of the United

States to a group that legislates al-

most exclusively in the interests of

big business. Now, as for many dec-

ades previously, patent laws, mone-

tary policy, tax measures, labor laws,

etc., have borne the imprint of busi-

(Continued from page 1)

for a palace revolt to help end the

war. They would like to see it also

because they fear a workers' revolu-

tion may destroy the power of Ger-

man industrialists and financiers, lay

the foundation for a new world. But

no lasting solution to the problem of

the European masses can come until

the whole gang of capitalist blood

suckers are thrown off the backs of

(See article by Europacus on page 2)

India in Revolt

By Henry Judd

25 Cents Postpaid

WORKERS PARTY

114 W. 14, New York 11, N. Y.

ABOR ACTION

the peoples they exploit for profit.

The Allied powers may be looking

Hitler Faces

Army Rift --

"Our endeavor should be to uphold in full force the fortunate separation which exists between the different religions and races: not to endeavor

to amalgamate them."

And thirdly, the overwhelming majority of both Hindus and Moslems see their common enemy in British imperialism and are ready to unite in a struggle for national independence. It is precisely for this reason that the British look with favor upon Mohammed Ali Jinnah and his Moslem League, who have been demanding the establishment of a Moslem Federation within India ("Pakistan") and who threaten "civil war" should the British withdraw from India. Actually, the Moslem League represents only a small minority of Indian Moslems, the majority of whom are making common cause with the Hindu Indians for freedom from English domination.

GANDHI'S PROPOSALS

Recently Gandhi released a set of proposals which he had made to the Moslem League for the settlement of the differences between the League and the Congress Party, which is opposed to any sort of division of India. These proposals constitute a compromise of the Congress Party principle of a united India. The proposals can be summed up as follows:

1. The Moslem League must cooperate with the All-India Congress the formation of a transitional vernment.

2. At the end of the war, a plebiscite on the basis of adult franchise will be held in the areas where the Moslem population is in an absolute majority. If the verdict favors a sovereign Moslem state, border districts will obtain the right to choose whether they will join the new Moslem India or the new Hindu India.

3. It must be open to all parties to advocate their points of view before the plebiscite is held.

4. Any transfer of population must be on an absolutely voluntary basis. 5. The terms shall be binding only in case of a transfer by Great Britain full power and responsibility of government to India.

Jinnah's only reply thus far has been that he will present these proposals to the Working Committee of the Moslem League if Gandhi makes them directly. The British, who are supposedly interested in getting the Hindu-Moslem problem settled, have refused to allow Gandhi and the other leaders of the Congress Party to confer with each other for the burposes of working out their plans.

Returning to Churchill's reference to a blood-bath, we firmly believe that he was talking about something quite different than the outbreak of warfare between Hindu and Moslem in India. He has in mind a repetition of the events of August and September of 1942, when hundreds of Indian workers and students were mowed down by British machine guns.

THE BRITISH RECORD

Banks Hit New High--

Chief Executive.

The British stake in India is too great for the imperialists to allow the Indian people their freedom without a blood-bath. Here are but a few of the facts:

ness desires, shaped and given sub-

stance by Congress, the courts and the

Concentrated big business runs the

government just as disastrously as it

runs the nation's economic activities

-to the detriment of the majority of

the people—who must suffer and pay

for its rule of unemployment and

One of the first tasks of the inde-

pendent Labor Party which the peo-

ple of the United States must form,

and the workers' and farmers' gov-

ernment which must eventually

emerge in the course of the struggles

Interest on the Indian public debt of \$3,600,000,000 amounts to \$100,000,-000 per year.

Fifty per cent of the capital in industry, mining and transportation is British. Two-thirds of the capital in banking, insurance, plantations and

commerce is British. British hold monopolies in shipping, tea, coffee, rubber, jute. They control fifty per cent of cotton and

milling capital. Grand total of British capital in India-\$7,800,000,000, which yields an

average profit of \$700,000,000. Small wonder that Churchill refuses to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire!

Contrasted to the above, we present the following facts: The average annual income per Indian is \$13.50, as compared with \$369.00 in England and \$680.00 in the United States.

Coal miners' wages: Men, twenty cents a day; women and children, ten cents a day.

Plantation laborers: six to ten cents a day. S. A. Dange, president of the All-

India Trade Union Congress, revealed in a recent interview that:

In Bombay and Ahmedabad, centers of India's large textile industry, twenty per cent of the workers sleep on the pavements, while the leading textile firms are making 100 per cent gross profits.

Skilled textile workers in Bombay, the highest paid center, work fiftyfour hours a week and average thir-



MOHANDAS K. GANDHI

ty-three rupees a month (\$11.00). In the northern part of India, the average wage is about twelve rupees a

Dange stated further, in an interview with Allied Labor News, that any trade union in India which becomes powerful is attacked by the employers and government. Paid union officials are the exception. Indian trade unions take a great interest in politics and almost every union platform puts forward a demand for national independence. Because of this, he added, there is hardly a trade union wherein some members of the executive board have not made a minimum of one trip to jail.

Here is the basis of the bloodbath with which Winston Churchill, coauthor of the Atlantic Charter, threatens the people of India should they dare to reopen their struggle for national independence and democratic rights.

of the working class will be to ex-

propriate the "Sixty Families" - the

plutocratic three per cent of the pop-

ulation who own ninety-six per cent

of the national wealth. It will na-

tionalize the banks and the monopoly

corporations and the transportation

systems in the interest of the people,

in the construction of national plan-

ning for the highest production and

That is the socialist solution for the

evil of plutocratic special privilege

and the stranglehold of massed

income for the majority of us.

wealth on all of our lives.

CHINA...

U. S. Conscripts Coolies; **Political Rivalry Tense**

By L. K. LOW

Ever since the beginning of the war, the American people have been shocked and outraged by the stories of German conscript labor in occupied Europe. But, after all, no American worker believes that Germany is fighting for the liberation of Europe. There are still some people, however, who believe that American imperialism is bringing the benefits of democracy and a higher standard of living to the areas under its control. Recent dispatches from China should go far to dispel this illusion.

In the New York Times of June 17, Brooks Atkinson describes the Chinese forced labor which made possible the Superfortress bombing of Japan. To build the airbases for the B-29s, 300,000 to 500,-000 Chinese coolies were conscripted.

The American government gave an order for half a million men to the Chinese national government. The Chinese national government passed on the orders to the provincial governor. And, in typical feudal fashion, the provincial governor commanded every one hundred households to supply fifty workers-or else. The chief overlord was the United States Army. The chief underdog was the Chinese

On their jobs, these men were harnessed for the heaviest work like beasts of burden and equipped for their tasks with only mattocks, a few picks and some hammers. Paid on a piece-work basis according to the rocks which they broke and the stones which they laid, the wages were so low in relation to the cost of living that their families at home had to help buy their food and pay their traveling expenses

Moreover, as Atkinson points out, "the building of the airfield disorganized the entire social and economic structure of one area of China. Nobody knows how many landlords and tenant farmers were dispossessed by the acquisition of land. On one field alone 2,000 persons were forced to find new places to live and work."

"OUR NOBLE CHINESE ALLIES"

The exploitation of Chinese labor to build the Superfortress bases is not an isolated instance, but is typical of the role which has been assigned to the Chinese masses by America in this war. To supply the Salween River front, for example, "men of all ages, some women, small boys and girls have been straining with heavy loads over the hills during the past month from dawn until well into the evening, stopping twice a day to cook rice beside the trail and huddling into a few shacks or under trees at night." (New York Times, June 17.) A coolie carries two bags weighing thirty-six pounds each; an animal carries four. One thousand animals were used and 100,000 coolies. They climbed "day and night through mud or on hands and knees over a trail that was so narrow the coolies could not balance their loads. Many coolies slipped over precipies to their death." (Times, July 13.) On the same trail, two hundred of the ill-fed and ill-clad Chinese soldiers died of exposure. (Ibid.)

These hardships, accompanied by increasingly eloquent speeches by American spokesmen, have been America's contribution to China's destiny during the past few years. At the same time, the Chinese have been receiving ever more telling defeats from the Japanese. American prestige in China is reputedly at its lowest in many decades. The increasing distrust of American imperialism has brought to a new low the stock of Chiang Kaishek, who has pleaded for continued mass support on the basis of his entree to Washington

For years the Generalissimo's main political asset, both at home and abroad, has been his role as a symbol of Chinese national unity. Today, China is a hotbed of discords and disunity.

First there is the split in the Chinese bourgeoisie, some of whom are protegees of Japanese imperialism at Nanking and Peking, while the others have thrown in their lot with American imperialism at Chungking.

Then there is the split between the Chinese Communists in the Northwest and the Kuomintang in the Southwest. Within the Kuomintang itself there is a three-way conflict between the extreme right-wing Chen brothers-H. H. Kung group, the T. V. Soong supporters in the middle and, on the left, the petty bourgeois democrats, led by Madam Sun Yat-sen and Sun Fo, widow and son of the founder of the Chinese Republic. The Chen brothers-H. H. Kung clique is now in power. The democrats, who are becoming increasingly vocal. express the enormous mass resentment against the oppressive dictatorship of Chiang Kai-shek. with its prohibition of all free speech, press and assembly.

So grave is the domestic and military situation in the Far East that both the President and the Vice-President of the United States have confessed their uneasiness. Rumors and speculations are rife of a negotiated peace with Japan or of American imperialism throwing its support to the Chinese Communists and forsaking Chiang Kai-

In this critical situation, the Chinese Stalinists, in accordance with Stalin's international policy of propping up reaction, are negotiating with Chiang Kai-shek in an effort to achieve "national unity," i.e., the continued rule of Chiang Kai-shek.

THE GENERALISSIMO IS A HATED MAN

The Stalinists may achieve temporary success in this effort to prop up the Generalissimo's shaky status and to keep the Chinese tied to the chariot of American imperialism. So widespread is the sympathy for communism among the Chinese workers, peasants and students, and so low has Chiang's stock fallen, that he has little chance of staying in power without such a deal. But, after seven years of war, the Chinese are sick to death of Chiang Kai-shek's oppression, maneuvers and promises. The continued defeats have refreshed the memory of the Chinese masses regarding Chiang's butchery of the Chinese workers and peasants during and after the Chinese revolution. The "blessings" conferred by American imperialism on the Chinese people since its entrance into the war are bringing to a head the smouldering resentment against Chiang Kai-shek.

On the other hand, if American imperialism were to attempt to relieve itself of the weight of Chiang Kai-shek, the revolutionary energies of the Chinese masses would be unloosed. In this dilemma of the Chinese ruling class and American imperialism, we may anticipate an extraordinarily rapid development of the mass movement of the Chinese workers and peasants,

Phantom Buckley

playing hookey from school? Is he the kind that disappears when there are chores to be done or an errand to be run-the kind that only keeps

Don't spank him, madam, for he has within his homely hide the precious stuff from which congressmen are made. The chances are he will grow up to be another Representative Charles A. Buckley, Tammany Democrat from New York, endorsed by the Hillman-Stalinist American Labor Party for re-election, and known to his colleagues as

Buckley is serving his fifth term in the House, but to this day there

of another, members of those committees have been heard to comment: "We wouldn't know Congressman Buckley if he walked through the

been locked for a long time now. One employee on the same floor created a minor tumult recently when she reported that "the phantom" had been sighted. It turned out to be a false alarm, and only one of Buckley's three employees, for whom the taxpayers shell out \$6,500 a year, carting away the accumulated mail outside the office door.

some wraiths of the Communist Political Association that control it, just one simple question.

Congressman Buckley may be a fine, upstanding, "win the war" us this: HOW IN TARNATION DID YOU FIND QUT?

Madam, does your little son have an uncontrollable penchant for

an appointment for his three squares and the weekly allowance?

"the phantom congressman."

are only a handful of solons who know what he looks like. Although he is chairman of an important committee and a member

Buckley has an office in the House Office Building, but the office has

Now we would like to ask the American Labor Party and the grue-

statesman and meet the rest of the Communist Party's usual high qualification for public office (any old scab will do), but please, please tell