

Profits and Wages Survey Proves Need to --

SMASH THE WAGE FREEZE!

In Light of the Wage Freeze--

How Can Labor Tolerate This?

Here is still another list of big business men's salaries. These are the same gentlemen who hail the wage freeze while they denounce any attempt to curb salaries. They're a curious breed, these business men. Gorging themselves with enormous salaries, they never let up yelling for free enterprise and against inflation.

Every effort on the part of the workers to increase their wages is met with the sharpest resistance from these capitalists. You will note that many of these representatives of the bosses are in "enterprises" employing thousands of white-collar workers, among the lowest paid in the country. They are the ones who keep the white-collar workers, as well as industrial workers, on the low rungs of the economic ladder.

As a matter of fact, they are all on a par, industrialists, bankers and merchants. Their one aim in life is profit, high salaries and bonuses for themselves—low wages for their slaves. A classic example is the Johnson & Higgins group. Twelve men "earned" \$1,959,000. At an average of \$2,000 a year, it would take almost a thousand workers to earn this sum!

1942 Salaries

E. J. Churchill, Donahue & Coe	127,625
Raymond H. Folger, W. T. Grant Co.	118,181
W. P. Conway, Guaranty Trust Co.	106,897
E. W. Stetson, Guaranty Trust Co.	107,493
S. R. Hickok, Hickok Mfg. Co.	120,000
George V. Coe, Johnson & Higgins	218,377
W. N. Davey, Johnson & Higgins	206,890
Alexander Field, Johnson & Higgins	114,872
A. Friberg, Johnson & Higgins	80,590
W. E. Hall, Johnson & Higgins	166,785
E. F. Hunt, Johnson & Higgins	161,001
J. S. Keegan, Johnson & Higgins	166,805
W. H. LaBoyteaux, Johnson & Higgins	321,843
H. W. Lowe, Johnson & Higgins	207,010
W. E. Ord, Johnson & Higgins	80,410
H. B. Sexton, Johnson & Higgins	138,107
R. J. Taylor, Johnson & Higgins	92,058

A Program With Plenty of Sock!



By T. R. COBB

Corporations are the big profiteers of the Second World War, and labor, as usual, is taking the rap and paying for it through disproportionately low pay, wage-freezing and tax deductions, the AFL publication, *Labor's Monthly Review*, charges in its current issue.

The same issue warns that unless wages are substantially increased now, both civilian workers and returning servicemen, if they are lucky enough to have jobs, will be unable to make ends meet after the war, when the work-week returns to a forty-hour pace or less.

300 Unions Demand FDR "Free the 18!"

WASHINGTON, D. C.—George Novack, national secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, last week presented to the presidential pardon authorities a demand for unconditional pardon for the eighteen Minneapolis Truck Driver Local 544-CIO and Socialist Workers Party leaders who were imprisoned under the Smith "Gag" Act.

Mr. Novack brought with him resolutions from over 300 union, Negro and fraternal organizations with more than 2,000,000 members, urging President Roosevelt to pardon the eighteen. Together with these resolutions were petitions signed by more than 12,000 individuals and hundreds of letters from outstanding labor and liberal leaders, scores of editorials, articles and comments from the labor and liberal press.

Among the labor organizations urging freedom for the eighteen are the Textile Workers Union of America, United Retail, Wholesale & Department Store Employees, United Transport Service Employees, all CIO, and the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, AFL. Among the local unions supporting the case are over fifty UAW-CIO, twenty steel workers, a dozen ILGWU-AFL locals as well as many councils and joint boards.

The two largest labor fraternal organizations, the Workmen's Circle and the Workmen's Benefit Fund, have protested the convictions and have urged their branches to support the CRDC in its campaign to free the eighteen.

No labor case in many years has aroused so much protest in labor and progressive circles and enlisted so much widespread support as the Minneapolis Labor Case. It has become recognized as the outstanding violation of civil liberties and free speech in the Second World War.

The eighteen were the first to be convicted and imprisoned under the infamous Smith "Gag" Act, the first federal statute in over a hundred years to make the mere expression of opinion a crime. The U. S. Supreme Court three times refused to hear or review the convictions.

The Civil Rights Defense Committee, with national headquarters at 160 Fifth Avenue, New York City, is conducting the national campaign to secure the liberation of the eighteen.

In its survey of how different groups in the country have fared under the war economy, the AFL statistics show that corporations rolled up greater profits after taxes than small business men, farmers or workers were able to show before paying their taxes.

This glaring discrimination against the working class is evidenced by figures showing a fifty-eight per cent increase in workers' earnings, resulting from an increase in numbers of workers, long work-week and overtime, and a 329 per cent increase in corporation profits!

Taking into account sharply increased income taxes, war bond savings and the unaltered rise in the cost of living, the workers' fifty-eight per cent actually dwindles considerably.

After the full payment of taxes and after putting away millions for "contingencies and reserves," corporations were still able to report a net boost of 101 per cent! A graph reproduced elsewhere in this issue, based on U.S. Department of Commerce figures, shows an even higher figure—145 per cent after taxes.

Farmers, whose net income before the war was exceedingly low, registered an increase of 204 per cent in income. How much of this increase went to the small, working farmers was not stated, but it is known that the greatest share went to big farmers, banks and insurance companies owning big farm lands.

Small business men tucked away a neat 94 per cent rise in income, although this group could never claim excessive wealth before the war.

LABOR VICTIMIZED

Only labor, through the iniquitous wage freeze, has been really left holding the bag during the war. While no restrictions have been placed on the other groups, labor still groans under the weight of the Little Steel formula.

Only by working long hours for overtime pay have workers been able to maintain themselves and their families. The straight-time hourly earnings, concealed by the increased "take-home pay" of overtime, have been kept at a rate far below decent minimum standards.

"Actually only 6 per cent of American workers today have straight-time rates high enough to give their families a health and efficiency living standard after the war, at today's price level, when industry returns to the forty-hour week," the AFL report states.

In addition, many workers will (Continued on page 4)

Blood Money and the Fortunes of War

A few days after D Day, the British News of the World carried a description of what happened on the Normandy "beaches of hell." It said:

"The first twenty-four hours on this beach were a vivid nightmare of torn bodies, exploding mines, sinking barges, bursting shells—of blood and filth and death. Whole bodies were blasted through the air by the ferocious German artillery fire. Many men, hurled out of their assault boats by the artillery bursts, died in the water. Some reached the beach and crawled a few yards over the egg-shaped rocks before they were hit... There is plenty of evidence of the intensity of the fight. They still fish an American boy out of the water every now and then... Once in a while you see a little mound of sand with a bayonet stuck at the head, and a helmet hanging on the bayonet. The only way you can tell whether it is a German or an American grave is by the helmet."

And what of the home front? What was happening in the offices of the financiers and profiteers and politicians while the flower of American, British and German youth were blasting each other to smithereens?

In Britain, the bankers in "The City," London's Wall Street, sat and comfortably sipped their tea—and reaped D Day dividends from the blood of the fallen dead!

From Reynolds News of June 11 we glean the following:

"While the warriors of the Free Nations were storming the beaches, dropping perilously from the skies, sweating, bleeding and dying... City gamblers staged a grand celebration of their own. 'German Bonds Rise — French Rails Close Below Best.'"

With each succeeding day after the invasion, the profits of the speculators, who had been buying European stocks and bonds at low figures, skyrocketed. Especially notable were the rakeoffs on German and Japanese securities, French rails and German potash.

D Day caused these vultures to cackle with glee and flap their wings in excited anticipation of an orgy of death and destruction, during the course of which they could swoop down and claim their blood-drenched profits. Here are a few press quotations to illustrate this:

"With the prospects of long war, markets yesterday resumed their excited advance. Wheat, maize, cotton, lard, sugar and cocoa were the chief gains among commodities."—London Times.

During the attack on Sicily this was the reaction:

"The attack on Sicily is bringing substantial profits to stock market gamblers, who bought enemy bonds earlier this year on the prospect that the nearer the Axis came to defeat, the higher would its securities rise. Some of them paid around 17 pounds sterling for 100 pound bonds of the Italian five per cent 1962 loan. Yesterday they could sell those bonds at about thirty pounds sterling, so they have nearly doubled their money... Tokyo bonds, despite the American threat to lay the city flat, have brought buyers nearly fifty per cent profit by soaring from 11 pounds 10 shillings to 16 pounds 10 shillings."—London Daily Express.

And to sum up:

"A prominent broker remarked yesterday, 'Nothing but a piece of really bad news will do the markets any lasting good.'"—City Editor, News Chronicle.

This is a devastating commentary on the "patriotism" of the capitalists and should provide an element of fascination to the American and British soldiers at the fighting fronts, most of whom have propagandized from foxhole to foxhole that labor's wartime strikes in defense of EVERYONE'S living standards have been unnecessarily prolonging war.

And how do the financiers react to "good news," in the literal sense of the phrase? "Good news," or the possible advent of "peace," gives many of them the jitters and they regard

such an eventuality with mixed feelings. Some regard it as a doubly-dyed calamity which will mean a sudden curtailment of their bloated war profits and privileges.

A day after the world learned the news of the attempted assassination of Hitler and the incipient palace coup of the German Junkers clique, the Wall Street stock market came tumbling down from its highest levels in seven years.

The leading "war babies" were hardest hit by the threat of a shorted war. U. S. Steel and Bethlehem Steel went down three points. Chrysler and General Motors, leading producers of war materials, lost five and four points respectively. Rail stocks dropped two points. Price quotations

for International Harvester, Westinghouse, Standard Oil, American Smelting and Consolidated Edison took a dive.

What it all amounts to is this: the Wall Street manipulators of American industry obviously don't believe the hooey their press agents have been handing out about "full production and a higher standard of living" after the war. When the Who's Who of American corporate wealth quote lower figures for their stocks at the approach of peace, then it is clear that the longer the war lasts the bigger their stakes, and they haven't the slightest iota of faith in their ability to provide "prosperity" through high production levels in the post-war period.

But from the sensitive reaction of "The City" and Wall Street to the developments of the military struggle, one fact stands out plainly for all but the blind to see.

PROFITS—and not "patriotism" or "national self-interest" or similar slogans—are the motivating forces that guide the activities of the capitalists and financiers. Profits shapes their policies and pronouncements and provide the reason for their existence.

"PROFITS" is the one-word slogan of the capitalists the world over. The working class of the world, which has poured out its "blood and tears, toil and sweat" to make the rich richer, will one day realize the overwhelming horror of this bloody swindle. And it will have the last word.

We Reply to the Buffalo CIO Council

By ALBERT GATES
Editor, Labor Action

Several weeks ago LABOR ACTION carried a story from its Buffalo correspondent reporting the action of the local CIO Council in attacking LABOR ACTION by resolution and requesting the FBI to investigate its policies and financial backing.

The scabby Daily Worker, official mouthpiece of the American Communist Party, now masquerading as the Communist Political Association, reported the passage of such a resolution on June 24. Accordingly, LABOR ACTION officially communicated with the Buffalo CIO Council and requested two things: (1) To verify or deny these reports and (2) to send LABOR ACTION a copy of the resolution if such a resolution was passed.

It is now more than three weeks since that letter was sent and no reply has yet been received from the Buffalo CIO Council, a fact in itself extremely suspicious. We have no

doubt about the action which was reported to us; we merely wanted confirmation from the Council itself. It is a sad commentary, however, that a body, having passed a resolution of condemnation, fails to notify the person or paper which it condemns.

What motivated the passing of the resolution condemning LABOR ACTION and who are the forces behind it? The answer to these questions will reveal the interesting fact that the inspirers of such an action and those completely concerned with it are the Communists, the American agents of Joe Stalin. The man who pushed the resolution through is Manny Fried, regional director of the United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers Union, completely dominated and bureaucratically controlled by the Stalinists, a union in which all discredited Communists who got dumped from posts in other unions, get their labor-skate jobs.

We do not know the details of the action of the Council, but the pattern is not difficult to trace. The Commu-

nists inspired the resolution against LABOR ACTION and pushed it through the Council. It is quite evident that the other Council members who are not Communists and have nothing in common with their view were imposed upon and convinced to vote by a series of lies and cheap red-baiting engaged in by the Stalinists. If these non-Communists knew what LABOR ACTION was, knew its program, knew its record, they would not have voted for such a resolution, whose origin is in the headquarters of the Communist Party.

LABOR ACTION is not an underground paper. It is published openly and speaks its mind freely. It has a program which appears in its columns. Its source of support is also no secret. It comes from workers who agree with the paper and support it, as is the case with so many other labor and working class political papers. The fact that the resolution asks the FBI to probe into the politics and financial backing of the paper is the least of our worries.

But what is this all about, then? The answer is clear. LABOR ACTION is a militant, working class, political, socialist paper. It is anti-capitalist. As an anti-capitalist paper it is the most consistent and persistent opponent of fascism. It was opposed to fascism when it first raised its head; it opposed Hitler when the Communists were locked arm in arm with him; it is against fascism now, whether abroad or at home.

As a socialist paper, LABOR ACTION stands for a change in the social order. We are opposed to this system of exploitation, of production for profit. We are against a system of unemployment and poverty for the millions and riches for a handful of capitalists. We are for socialism, a system of production for use, in which the means of life, production and distribution are not monopolized by a handful of capitalists for their own enrichment.

Our views on the war are clear, too. We do not believe this is a war for freedom, permanent peace and de-

mocracy and security, for the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms. We do not believe that this is a war against fascism as a political system, but between rival powers. It is a war between different capitalist countries, all of them fighting over territory, markets, raw materials, etc. There is no guarantee that out of this war fascism will cease to exist. Only the workers can destroy that vicious political regime of capitalism which comes into power with the aid of big business!

FOR THE WORKERS AT HOME

At home we fight against placing the burdens of the war on the backs of the workers. That is why we have opposed the wage freeze, the breakdown of union controls, and the collective bargaining system, deterioration of working conditions, destruction of union standards. All of these have resulted from an offensive by the monopoly capitalist industries, the big trusts. Labor's hands are tied

(Continued on page 3)

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

WLB Emasculates Contract of U. E. Local 425

NEW YORK—Once again, the 5,300 workers of Local 425, UERMWA-CIO, have taken the lead in the justified fight of labor against the War Labor Board and its pro-boss actions.

Whether the publication of the ad caused the WLB finally to render a decision on the contract that had been before it for seven months, we do not know, but the contract was approved a very short time after the ad appeared in the daily press.

dozens of contracts of various locals gathering dust in the files of the WLB without any effective action being taken.

LOCAL'S MILITANT PROGRAM The majority of the leadership of Local 425, with the overwhelming support of the shop stewards and the

membership, have for the last year and a half been developing a fighting program for the local. In the recent election for a new negotiating committee and delegates to the coming national convention, the "Face the Facts" group in the union came out against the "do-nothing-ism" of the national officers of the UE with a fighting program which proposes:

1. End Meddling with Agreed Contracts. Stripping the WLB of the power to abrogate collective bargaining agreements in an elementary first step in the battle for justice, Labor cannot permit itself to be deprived of the fruits of collective bargaining.

2. Smash the Little Steel Formula. Limitation of wage increases to fifteen per cent over the scale of January, 1941, an all other wage restrictions of the WLB, must be swept away.

3. Withdraw the Labor Members from the WLB. An effective means for enforcing labor's demands is the withdrawal of the labor members from the WLB—just as three years ago labor withdrew support from the National Defense Mediation Board (forerunner of the WLB) when it favored the employers and failed to meet labor's just demands.

Besides the above they supported the general CIO policy in relation to the guaranteed annual wage, planning reconversion without unemployment, severance pay, and several other planks.

At the coming national convention we can expect to hear more from this local. But unlike the last national convention, this local must not stand alone but must now prepare the other locals that are against the "do-nothing-ism" of the national organization to come together as an organized force at this convention in a fight for progressive unionism.

Local 42 Shipyard Workers Condemn Bridges' Proposal

(Resolution passed by Local 42, Industrial Union of Marine & Shipbuilding Workers, CIO)

Whereas, the CIO in its pamphlet, "The Right to Strike," issued in April, 1941, states, "the right to strike is basic to all workers' rights and to all liberty in the U. S., and is written into the Bill of Rights of the U. S. Constitution," and

Whereas, the CIO also warns that "One of the greatest anti-labor campaigns in history is in the making, all aimed at labor's basic right—the right to withhold work in order to enforce decent standards of living," and

Whereas, the CIO subsequently voluntarily gave up this right through making a "no-strike pledge," and

Whereas, labor through its establishment of the highest production figures in the history of the world; and labor's brothers on the fighting fronts have been and are making great sacrifices in blood and sweat, and

Whereas, the Sewell Averages of industry, not content with making enormous profits, are attempting to weaken and destroy the trade union movement, through provocation and contract and National Labor Act violations, and

Whereas, firings of stewards and active union men, stalling of grievance procedure and other provocative actions, are deliberately calculated to provoke the men and prejudice them against their unions, and

Whereas, these actions, increasing in number and frequency are justified by reactionaries by constantly reminding labor of its "no-strike pledge," and

Whereas, Harry Bridges, a CIO executive board member, proposes a "no-strike pledge" to be incorporated into contracts and extended into the post-war period "and indefinitely thereafter," and

Whereas, this proposal violates a basic principle of CIO policy, and is in effect and actually, a proposal to make company unionism the law of the land,

Therefore, be it resolved, that the June session of the CIO executive board reject and condemn the Bridges proposal.

"The company signed a labor contract with Local 425.

"This contract was agreed to by the company after extensive negotiations.

"This contract strives towards decent standards of wages and working conditions.

"This contract went to the War Labor Board as an AGREED CASE, NOT A LABOR DISPUTE."

The ad further charged that:

"The War Labor Board has frozen wages despite the rise in living costs!

"The War Labor Board has frozen wages despite mounting taxes!

"The War Labor Board has frozen wages in face of increasing industrial profits!

"The War Labor Board has created industrial turmoil by abrogating collective bargaining agreements!

"The War Labor Board is being used by industry in an offensive against Labor."

The newspaper advertisement also emphasized the need for the abolition of the Little Steel formula and called upon all unions to join them in this fight.

The vacation clause in the contract was improved from two weeks' vacation pay at forty hours per pay week to two weeks vacation pay at 57 1/2 hours pay per week, or a gain of 35 hours' pay. A clause was written into the contract providing for the upgrading into skilled positions of the unskilled workers in the plant. Various other improvements also were gained, including contract provisions for recently organized sections of the plant.

The wage increases given by the WLB actually cut to almost half the wage levels which were contained in the already agreed upon contract negotiated between the union and the company. Basing their rulings on the vicious Little Steel formula, the WLB pushed the contract "from committee to committee, from department to department, from division to division, to be reviewed, analyzed, screened, discussed," and when it was finally agreed upon it proved to be a complete emasculation.

But at least Local 425 was aggressive and stood up and fought until it obtained some action and that is more than the leadership in District No. 4 of the UE did, where there are

What Makes Sperry Gyroscope Company Spin?

NEW YORK—A few weeks ago the N. Y. Times reported on its financial pages that shares in the Sperry Corp., of which Sperry Gyroscope is the largest subsidiary, have gone up one dollar per share. This is a very interesting announcement, considering the fact that Sperry workers are among the lowest paid workers in the New York area, and at present are having a hard time proving to the War Labor Board the legitimacy of their job re-evaluation program, which would call for five, ten and fifteen-cent raises through the plant.

expanding plant. They used every method in the book intended to lull its employees into the belief that they did not need a fighting union. Then, on the eve of an NLRB election in the plant, the company made a last effort to buy off its recently hired inexperienced female repetitive workers with raises, thinking they would be content and vote against the union. But Sperry was unsuccessful and the UERMWA, which had been working on the plant for several years, won the election by a four-thousand vote majority and established the new Sperry local, No. 450.

been officially reclassified or having received leaders' pay. And any worker who protested this treatment was quietly but efficiently "terminated" on the lightest provocation.

that could be found for an extra blow against the union was utilized by the Sperry company and for every one case of gross inequality or a blatant grievance which was brought up, negotiated and settled in favor of an employee, a hundred more went unnoticed and unsettled in the shop.

come a farce by which Sperry turns one worker against another and seeks to split the union's solidarity. While Sperry Corporation continues to roll in war profits, Sperry workers have received a measly nickel raise since the war started.

Another weapon Sperry has used against the union is lay-offs. Every year Sperry has socked away huge amounts "to prepare for adjustments necessary when government contracts are cancelled." But last fall, when Sperry had trouble renegotiating contracts, the company lost no time in laying off hundreds of people, and the union had a difficult time forcing Sperry to conduct the layoffs according to a quickly negotiated seniority contract. Sperry had an idea it could lay off its highest paid, first-class men, hanging on to employees who could do good work but who had never been reclassified into higher wage rates.

And not only have Sperry shares gone up one dollar, but for the first half of 1943 alone Sperry announced profits totaling \$4,242,813 after deductions for all taxes. This figure was also taken after special, unannounced amounts had been set aside in post-war reserves and after \$2,500,000 was set aside to prepare for adjustments necessary when government contracts are cancelled. Thus, we have a company whose profits jumped from \$2,394,237 to \$4,242,813 pure profits in 1943.

The company wasted no time in switching its anti-union campaign to an expertly planned effort to break the back of the struggling new local. It broke every rule in the book of labor-management relations. It refused to allow shop stewards time to negotiate grievances; departmental foremen refused even to recognize the new standards; the union president was fired for organizing on his lunch hour; and the company continued to practice flagrantly its old discriminatory treatment of Negro and Jewish workers, as well as refusing to allow women training, job, and wage opportunities equal with the men in the shop.

Chrysler Strike Leaders in Big Sweep of Local Union Elections

By MARTIN HARVEY DETROIT—The support given by the executive board of Chrysler Local 490, UAW-CIO, to the workers in the Highland Park and other plants of the Chrysler Corporation in their recent strike was vindicated in the election just held by the union for local officers.

local, Thomas removed the entire executive board and placed an administrator over the local—the infamous Leo Lamotte, Chrysler director of the union.

LAYOFFS AND REHIRINGS

Sperry profits did not diminish one whit, but hundreds of Sperry workers were thrown out of jobs at a time when other companies were also laying off employees, and jobs were not too easy to find. A few weeks later Sperry began rehiring, into different departments and at reduced rates of pay. Could the company have foreseen this turn of events and transferred employees, by seniority, instead of laying off? Of course! But in this "unavoidable" turnover Local 450 lost a goodly amount of union members, and a very effective lowering of the average wage-rate in the plant was accomplished.

Most blatant example of how Sperry, like all corporations, operates for the bosses with little regard for the people who do their work for them is the new, streamlined Long Island plant built in the last few years. This beautiful piece of modern planning and architecture proves a veritable hell-hole for thousands of workers who have been transferred there from the old Brooklyn plants. Equipped with the latest in Defense Plant Corporation paraphernalia, the Long Island plant is characterized as a concentration camp by workers who travel as much as four hours a day to reach it.

It is not without effort and plan that Sperry has socked away these millions in war profits. And it is at the direct expense of the workers Sperry employs to make their high-priced instruments which have proved so invaluable to the Army and Navy.

ANTI-UNION CAMPAIGN Worst of all, the company withdrew every vestige of its old seemingly benevolent treatment of its employees. Christmas bonuses were stopped; raises, which had previously come through often, began to be delayed months at a time. Leaders and set-up men were made and broken again overnight, without ever having

The old executive board, led by President William Jenkins, was swept into office by better than two to one majorities despite the high-powered campaign of the international officers of the UAW to get support for their high-handed removal of this same board six days ago.

DRUB "NO-STRIKE" SUPPORTERS During the two months that the administrator controlled the local, every attempt was made to discredit the old local officers. In the election, three slates were in the field against the Jenkins slate—but the local members demonstrated their good sense by snuffing them all under. With the exception of two trustees who did not run, the former officers were returned to office without the need of a single run-off election.

The Chrysler election clearly indicates that the no-strike policy of the UAW leaders and their dictatorial actions in forcing this policy upon the membership does not have the support of the rank and file. It is time other locals followed suit and elected officials who represent the real wishes of the workers in the shops.

After four years of continuous struggle and cut-throat tactics against union organization, Sperry Gyro still holds the record for being one of the most viciously anti-union shops in the country. Up until two years ago Sperry succeeded in resisting every attempt to organize its rapidly

WORLD EVENTS

By Europacus

Allies in Italy Afraid of Anti-Fascist Partisans

The AMG authorities in Italy have a new tough problem. Not that they bother much about the fascists who are still well entrenched in all branches of the Italian administration. But there is a much more urgent problem. There are too many armed antifascists around. A tough problem indeed!

have been fighting because—so they imagined in their innocence—this would bring nearer the day of liberation for the Italian people—and people who have weapons—who want liberation and begin to see that Allied occupation brings forth only new servitude. The New York Times correspondent in a dispatch of July 22 makes a very candid admission:

For months the Allied radios have asked Italians in the still Nazi-occupied parts of Italy to rise against the Nazis. Italian workers and farmers, heeding this advice, have risen with arms. According to reliable reports, there are now some 80,000 guerrilla troops concentrated in the Northern provinces. But what to do with the partisans once the Allies have moved in? AMG officials scratch their heads.

"To smooth over the bitterness that follows the immediate demand to give up their arms, it is stated that such arms will be used to support other partisans in the North. They are not told the main reason for disarmament, which is that neither the Allies nor the Italian government wants to see arms remain in the hands of young hooligans, some of whom would remain a potential source of civic disturbances."

In Southern Italy they simply disarmed the partisans after the Germans were cleared out, but in Northern Italy the task is much more difficult. It is not to be expected that the 80,000 partisans in the North will passively oblige the AMG and turn over their arms. As a correspondent in the Christian Science Monitor says: "The disarming of masses of patriots will raise a special problem."

The gentleman from the Times has hit the nail on the head. They will indeed be a source of "civic disturbances," and, to reveal a secret to the Times writer, they will not give up their arms even if they get a personal "certificate of recognition" by Churchill, Stalin and Roosevelt.

One very clever AMG guy found a wonderful solution. The partisans will receive Allied "certificates of recognition" and will be helped to find employment or to join the regular army.

Those who have fought against fascism in the mountains of Northern Italy may have had many illusions about the Allies when they first took arms, but they are losing these illusions fast, much too fast for the AMG officials to feel comfortable. The day may not be far off when these officials will damn the hour when they had the imprudence to put arms in the hands of Italian anti-fascists.

Now, the partisans certainly have not been fighting in the great hope that when all is over they will receive certificates of recognition. They

De Gaulle Maintains Vichy Officials in Office

Only a few weeks ago de Gaulle made fierce statements about the punishment to be meted out to collaborationists and Vichy followers. That was while he still had to fight against Giraud. Now Giraud is writing his memoirs in London. De Gaulle wants desperately to get help and recognition from the Allies. Last week he spoke in Algiers. Here is what he has to say about the problem of Vichy officials: "We by no means intend to sweep away the great majority of the servants of the state, most of whom have done the best that they could."

Practical necessities, expediency, were the justifications brought forward for the deal with Darlan. Then, de Gaulle opposed them over and over, stating that he, as an anti-fascist, could not condone such deals. Now things have changed. From an out, de Gaulle has become an in. And so expediency is the de Gaulle watchword. The Vichy police which was sworn in on the name of Petain will now be sworn in on the name of de Gaulle—but that will be about the only difference.

Harold Callender writes in the New York Times of July 19: "The commissioner of the French Committee in Normandy has purged only two officials. He has left all the rest in the places they had occupied when the area was under the Nazi-Vichy regime. . . . French naval officers and men at Cherbourg were not punished for having obeyed orders of Vichy, but were kept on the job. . . . Allied officers expect that the larger the liberated area becomes, the more the purge impulse will be restrained by practical necessities."

Dispatches from Normandy say already that they are now worse off as far as food is concerned than they were under the Germans. . . . The French are surprised at the slow growth of the de Gaulle movement in Cherbourg. . . . I found considerable caution in the French approach to de Gaulle as a political leader." De Gaulle will indeed need a considerable police force. The French workers will not just stand by and see—as the only change—a marshal replaced by a general. They are many surprises in store for the tall general.

Early Labor Political Action Out of the Past

By RUTH PHILIPS Early in American history, working men found it necessary to take political action to protect their livelihood. In 1828 the first working men's political parties were organized in several New England states. They were to play a decisive part in changing the face of American society. The platforms of these parties reflected the conditions of the workers. Men, women and children worked sixteen hours a day at low wages in the sweat-shop factories. The jails were full of working men who had been imprisoned for debts. There were no laws insuring payment for work, and employers continually defrauded workmen of their wages. Only the children of the rich could get an education, for there were no free public schools. Only the rich could vote or hold office because of the laws restricting these rights to owners of property. The unions which the workers had formed to better their working conditions joined hands with the labor parties to win not only their economic demands but their political demands as well. By 1837, the widespread agitation of the labor movement for economic and political democracy had had a far-reaching effect. Through their trade union strike struggles, the workers had succeeded in winning the ten-hour day in many trades and a general improvement in working conditions and wages. Through political action they had obtained the passage of laws protecting wages against defrauding employers (called the mechanics lien law); laws protecting women and child workers; laws abolishing imprisonment for debt. They had obtained the right to vote for the propertyless majority, and free public schools for their children. This early labor movement was too weak to weather the industrial crisis of 1838. Under the blows of the crisis it all fell apart. But it left behind it the most deep-going democratic reforms in American life. It left, too, the lesson that working men must learn again today—that the workers need, fighting alongside their trade unions, an independent political party of labor. Without that weapon the working man has one hand tied behind him in the fight for his rights. It's a tough fight—he needs both hands.

In the Tenth Anniversary Issue of THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

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THE BOX-SCORE

Last week we received a letter from a subscriber in Montana who asked whether it was possible for us to send him a bundle of 150 papers each week for distribution to members of his union. He added that he felt certain that a few samplings of America's Leading Labor Weekly would induce a high percentage of new subscriptions from his fellow unionists and shopmates. We mailed him the bundle and we are mentioning the contents of his letter because similar requests will be fulfilled in the future for any individual, group or union local that desires to receive a free sample bundle of our paper. So don't hesitate for a moment to send in your order for a quantity of LABOR ACTION, which will be shipped free of charge. Any contribution toward the cost of this service, it goes without saying, would be mighty welcome. Subscriptions received during the month of July increased over the previous month's total and showed indications that agents and friends are becoming increasingly conscious of

The box-score for July: Akron 7 Buffalo 19 Chicago 20 Cleveland 50 Detroit 39 Los Angeles 27 Philadelphia 19 Reading 6 St. Louis 7 Seattle 6 New York 28 National Office 33 Total 261

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CIO Picks the Anti-Labor, Pro-Big Business Democrats; While--

John L. Lewis Chooses the Pro-Big-Business, Anti-Labor Republicans

By DAVID COOLIDGE

Editor Adams of the United Mine Workers Journal and political spokesman for John L. Lewis, is highly pleased with the "labor" planks in the Republican platform and with the nomination of Governor Dewey. We take it that Governor Bricker is also acceptable to Lewis and Adams.

In fact, it is rumored that Lewis and Bill Hutcheson, with Hutcheson in attendance at the convention, helped to formulate the Republican "labor" plank. This is the same Bill

sued from time to time by capitalist politicians for the purpose of catching suckers. As the champion of capitalist business enterprise it is true that the Republican Party "is the historical champion of free labor." Capitalism must have a working class or there can be no capitalist business enterprise. There must be workers for the mines, mills, factories, railroads and offices. There must be production, and it is the workers who are the main force in production.

The Republican Party was against slavery because capitalist industry could not develop with slave labor. For capitalism to develop there must be a supply of "free labor." That is, the workers must be free from the land and free from the ownership of tools, machines, buildings, raw materials, railroads and banks. Under capitalism, all that the workers own is their labor power, that is, the capacity to do work. Since they own nothing but this labor power, they must sell it to the capitalist or they will starve.

This was what the Republican Party was fighting for when it opposed slavery and fought the Civil War. This is the meaning of the statement in the Republican platform that this party is the champion of free labor. It means that the Republican Party was against chattel slavery and for wage slavery. It was opposed to a system in which the employer had to feed, clothe, house and doctor the worker when he was not working or when he got sick. It was against a system in which you owned the worker like you did your horse or cow; you could not fire him when he did not work, or was sick, or was too old to work.

Historically, the Republican Party fought for a system under which the worker could be fired when he was no longer needed; when there was enough coal in storage; when there were more shoes than could be sold; when there wasn't enough money in the workers' pockets to buy the huge quantities of potatoes or beef which had been produced; when a war was over and there was no longer a need for more cannons, guns, ships, tanks and airplanes. This is "free labor" under capitalism and this is what the Republican Party is talking about in its platform.

WHOSE PARTIES ARE THEY? Today, in this same sense, the Democratic Party is also the "champion of free labor." It is also a capitalist party, not one bit different from the Republicans. Roosevelt is a capitalist candidate, Dewey is a capitalist candidate. Both parties are run and controlled by big business men and big bankers. Both conventions were run by big business men and big

bankers operating through their favorite senators, governors. These big business men and bankers don't appear on the convention floor. They don't like to be seen because if they show themselves the little people and the workers will get wise and find out who runs the country. They sit behind the curtain like the man in the control room of a radio station while a broadcast is in progress. Of course, there are some important differences between the two parties, but these are differences over which gang can best run the profit system.

There are the Morgans, Lehmans, Fords, Mellons, du Ponts, Gracess, Wilsons, Vanderbilts, and all the rest. Some are Democrats and some Republicans. They all belong to the Chambers of Commerce, to the same clubs, the NAM and are presidents' families; senators and cabinet officers marry their daughters. They split their votes and donations between the Republican and Democratic Parties. Quite often they don't vote, thousands of them don't even register before elections. They do their voting at their clubs, at the meetings of the NAM and at private conferences with their political deputies in the federal, state and city governments.

The Republican plank says that the

workers attained the most progressive standard of living of any workers in the world under "Republican administration." Was Hoover a Republican? We wonder. Furthermore, what is a "progressive standard of living"? Was the standard of living of the miners, the steel workers, the sharecroppers progressive under Republican administration? Can twenty-five cents an hour give a progressive standard of living?

The Democrats, not to be outdone by the Republicans, make the same claims for their twelve years of rule. But the workers live in shacks under both regimes. Under both they pay high taxes out of their low incomes. Under both parties, the workers grub for food. Under either administration in wartime, before and after, from Lincoln to Roosevelt II, the nation's crop of millionaires has steadily increased.

"STANDARD OF LIVING"

Suppose the standard of living of the worker in the United States is higher than in any other country. Does this prove that our standard of living is what it should be? A standard of living must be judged by what is possible, based on actual and potential production in a certain country and in the world.

There is no need in the world to-

day for hunger and misery in any country and among any of the world's populations. The capitalist countries of the world are equipped or can be equipped to feed, clothe and house the whole world in comfort and plenty. Capitalism has demonstrated that there is no need for want and misery. When they wanted guns, ships, tanks and planes for their imperialist war they produced them. When they wanted food for war purposes the food came forth. When money was needed to finance their imperialist war the money was found—billions and billions of dollars of it. There is no difference between the Republicans on this point, even in their platforms.

The Republicans "condemn the freezing of wage rates at arbitrary levels and the binding of men to their jobs as destructive to the advancement of a free people." This was too much even for a solid Republican paper like the New York Herald Tribune. The Tribune and the Democratic New York Times attacked this plank in identical language. Both of these organs of big business know that the Republicans in power would never carry this condemnation into action. What these papers are afraid of is that workers will take this lie seriously and begin making demands for the unfreezing

of wages. There is an important aspect to this statement of the Republicans. Some part of labor, including Lewis or a simpaton like Hutcheson, may believe that the Republican wage statement means that the GOP is for wage increases. Aside from the purely vote-catching aspect of this plank, it is true that the big business men for whom the GOP speaks, is against government control of wages today. They are opposed for two reasons: first, they don't want government interference right now and secondly they believe that wages are too high. They want to unfreeze wages so that wages can be lowered and hours increased.

WORDS, WORDS, WORDS

The Republicans "condemn the gradual but effective creation of a labor front, as but one of the New Deal's steps toward a totalitarian state." And further: "The American labor movement and the Republican Party... reject the communistic and New Deal concept that a single group can benefit while the general economy suffers."

The working class should certainly be on the alert for any "labor front" tendencies and be always vigilant against any effort either to curtail the democratic rights of labor or to hinder our advance. The Democratic Party, following practices laid down by the Republican Party in its years of domination, certainly cannot be trusted to maintain or fight for workers' rights. It would be sheer stupidity to go to the Republican Party for such protection. When they talk about a "labor front" they are only using campaign agitation, for the winning of votes. They are not against the control of labor by the Democrats. A Republican "labor front" would be wholly acceptable to them.

The Republican Party and the labor movement will strive to better labor's status, says the Republican platform. That means that U. S. Steel, Morgan, Mellon, Taft and Vandenberg will strive with Green and Murray for the improvement of the condition of the working class! The Democrats make the same claims. That means that the big capitalists who vote for Roosevelt, Howard Smith, Bilbo and Hague will strive for the betterment of labor.

It is notable that the Republican platform did not call for the repeal of the Smith-Connally Act, the blow at labor hatched by the Democratic administration of Roosevelt and supported by the Republicans. Even the senile and mentally decrepit Bill Green called the platform "disappointing," and felt that the Repub-

licans had "missed a great opportunity."

EMPTY HEADS AT WORK

At the 1940 convention of the CIO, John L. Lewis remarked that he had looked into Green's head and found nothing there. We have an idea that there are a few empty compartments in Lewis's head also. Politically he has the mind of a serf. This means that in these important questions of the political welfare of the working class he is as naive and thick-headed as Phil Murray, Bill Green or R. J. Thomas. Faced with what he holds



THOMAS E. DEWEY

Hutcheson that Lewis knocked under his seat at an AFL convention in Atlantic City over the issue of industrial unionism. It was also noised around among political scandal-mongers that Hutcheson was being considered as the Republican choice for vice-president. While we know that there was no real possibility of this happening, it does tickle one's funnybone to contemplate Hutcheson in any position, outside the Carpenters Union, requiring even the most elementary and primitive intelligence. To hoist this 300 pound hulk of ignorance and stupidity into any position requiring any brains at all would be as ludicrous as expecting modern intelligence from a resurrected and mummified caveman.

GOP CHARMS, LABOR

"At any rate, John L. and Big Bill got together with Republican platform fixers to hurl a few brickbats at the Democrats and throw fools' gold into the camp of labor. Here is a choice bit from the GOP "labor" plank. "The Republican Party is the historical champion of free labor. Under Republican administration American manufacturing developed, and American workers attained the most progressive standards of living of any workers in the world." This is one of those statements is-

Reply to Buffalo CIO: "We Fight for Labor--"

(Continued from page 1) by the no-strike pledge and we have fought against it. The no-strike pledge is crippling the union movement and making it an easy prey of the bosses' drive against unionism. For these things and many others, the American Communists have organized a nation-wide campaign against LABOR ACTION.

ditions and union controls in the shops. They fight with us for higher wages NOW, in the midst of the war, when big business is profiteering from their labor and production!

But that isn't all. LABOR ACTION says that the workers must be organized independently on the political field as well. LABOR ACTION says that the workers have been sold down the river too many times by the boss political parties; the Republicans and Democrats. LABOR ACTION says that what the workers in this country need is a party of their own, AN INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY! And many thousands of workers agree with us. LABOR ACTION supports those

workers who go out on strike to fight for their very lives, their standard of living, their families. We understand that the fight the workers now make is most important for the future. It is a fight against the dreary prospects of the post-war period. Any fight the workers engage in now is a fight to maintain the standard of living of the workers in the coming days. It is also a fight for the soldier who is coming back. LABOR ACTION does not want these soldiers to come back to unemployment, low wages, long hours and poor working conditions. The only thing that can guarantee the soldiers a more decent standard of living is the union movement, but a union movement that defends its gains and fights for its life, a militant and powerful union movement.

AMERICAN COMMUNIST POLICY

For these and many other reasons the reactionaries hate us, the bosses hate us, misleaders of labor hate us, and, of course, the American Communists hate us. But there is an even more pressing reason so far as the Stalinists are concerned. As agents of Stalin they are interested in only one thing: to support Russia, defend its policies and make a general nuisance of themselves in the American labor movement, to confuse the workers and sell them down the river.

They support a bureaucratic regime that lives off the backs of the workers in Russia. We tell the truth about that regime and fight for the freedom of the Russian workers. They don't like that.

They helped put Hitler in power in Germany! We told the truth about that.

They made a pact with Hitler in 1939 which opened up the Second World War. We told the truth about that and they didn't like that, either.

They denounced Roosevelt as a fascist, then hailed him as a democrat, then denounced him as a warmonger and then again hailed him as a liberator. All of this followed the line of Russian diplomacy and Russian interests.

They defended Germany, Italy and Japan before the United States got into the war and said the war was imperialist. They denounced Great Britain and the United States, Churchill and Roosevelt as warmongers before Hitler attacked Russia. They

said Germany was innocently attacked by the Allies! They lied about the war then; they lie about it now. And we told the truth about them.

But most important of all, since Stalin has become an ally of Roosevelt and Churchill they have switched their line again. From their slogan, "The Yanks Are Not Coming," there are now not enough Yanks to go! From their opposition to, war production, now there can never be enough war production. On the home front they fight every attempt of the workers to improve their living standards and their working conditions.

NEW FRIENDS OF BIG BUSINESS

The American Communists are now the advocates of "free enterprise," that system which brings so much misery to the workers and their families. They defend the profit system and hail the achievement of the blood-thirsty monopolies that gouge the people. The American Communists are now the chief advocates of policies which cannot but lead to the destruction of the labor movement. Bridges, their mouthpiece in the CIO, is the open advocate of a no-strike policy even after the war. What they want to do is effectively hogtie the labor movement and make way for its destruction.

The American Communists act as the office boys for big business in this country. Browder has become the great friend of the National Association of Manufacturers and the United States Chamber of Commerce.

Because LABOR ACTION has effectively exposed their role, because LABOR ACTION wages an incessant struggle in defense of the best interests of the labor movement, the Communists inside of the union movement have been organizing a nation-wide attack against it, as well as the Workers Party, whose views it represents.

But they won't get away with it. The workers will see through this bosses' scheme. They are quickly recognizing where these brethren stand.

Our only advice to the unionists who supported the Buffalo CIO Council action is to get a copy of LABOR ACTION, read it, study its program and you will find more than ample reason to reverse your decision. You cannot but find our program an excellent fighting weapon in the interests of the whole labor movement. And you will then come to understand why we say that the Communists are the greatest enemies inside of the union organizations, calculated to do the greatest harm to the workers in this country.

Ads Offer Quack Cure for "Little Steel" Headache

By WALTER WEISS

CIO leaders are learning the tricks of the capitalists, are adopting "streamlined" methods. Early in the week of the democratic convention, ads appears in about a hundred newspapers throughout the country setting forth the CIO case against the Little Steel formula. Lacking were the "cut-and-dried factual statements" so common in labor advertisements of the past. A big Pittsburgh advertising agency was hired to do the job. So announces the magazine Business Week, obviously pleased that even labor leaders are going American.

About sixty per cent of the space of the advertisement is given over to the picture of a worried young wife who has been working away at her bills. An obvious candidate for a good headache powder (see other ads in your local paper), she states that she tries hard but just can't make ends meet. Her husband lays a comforting hand on her shoulder. He means well, he tries hard too—but what can he do to help her?

Yes, it's a streamlined technique. Burensome statistics have been done away with. Millions of families will recognize the truth of the picture, will agree without argument to its accuracy. They will then ask: "What's the cure for this headache?" The answer given in the text of the ad amounts to this: "Use good old Dr. Win-the-War (it used to be Dr. New Deal, but the Doc himself changed his first name a few months ago) Roosevelt's seven-point headache powder.

This powder, known as SP or Stabilization Powder, was first advertised by the doctor over two years ago in April, 1942. A monopolist drug firm known as Congress, run by two partners known as Doc Democrat and Doc Republican, claimed that only one of the ingredients, called wage freeze dope, was any good. Patients CIO and AFL complained that this dope was making them sicker and sicker. They tried to see Dr. Roosevelt personally, but he refused them appointments, saying he had other patients and also some headaches (of other types) of his own.

FDR'S NEW DISCOVERY

Finally early in 1944 he announced a new discovery—a five-point powder

with some of the old ingredients and a powerful new one, called labor draft dope. The patients howled in terror on hearing of this new stuff, saying it had already been used in Europe by Docs Hitler and Stalin with fatal results.

Patient CIO Murray, in a burst of energy, suggested that Doc Roosevelt was a quack, then quickly regretted those harsh words. Congress Drug Co. announced that the old dope was torturing the patients sufficiently. On July 1, 1944, Dr. Win-the-War generously ordered one of his assistants, Dr. McNutt, to issue the labor draft dope from the drugs in his own White House supply cabinet. The patients groaned in resignation, then decided to rally "public opinion" by advertising for the release of that old seven-point powder.

That's enough of the medical story. It was necessary to tell you the lingo, because you can't understand the condition of the patients without knowing the case history.

Now, we ask again, what does the CIO propose to do about the situation? Millions of people, not only CIO and AFL members, but also unorganized workers, including the much-publicized white-collar group, are waiting for an answer. Anybody should be able to see by now that Roosevelt and Congress, despite occasional quarrels, are in cahoots. The whole record proves it. Dr. Roosevelt figures he has the labor leaders so well doped that he doesn't even have to make any more promises. He said in his most recent speech that people don't pay much attention to promises but look at the record instead. He's perfectly satisfied with the record. How many workers are?

The truth is that the CIO isn't using any new method at all but an old method with a little new trimming. The union leaders have previously appealed to the President, to all his agents, especially the War Labor Board, and to Congress by private confabs, public letters, postcard barages and delegations of the rank and file. Yes, and advertisements too.

All this has been going on for fully

two years. As far back as that, the United Automobile Workers, CIO, advertised their elaborate Victory-Through-Equality-of-Sacrifice program. Remember it? The workers sacrificed overtime rates for Saturdays and Sundays, when these were not the sixth and seventh consecutive days of work, and begged the capitalists to make some sacrifices too. You know how much effect that had on the capitalists and on "public opinion."

The lady-with-the-headache advertisement appeals for "fairness to all." Does Philip Murray think that this will correct "public opinion" and that public opinion will then somehow influence Congress and the President? Not quite. A few days later his National Citizens Political Action Committee (formerly the CIO Political Action Committee) advertised for funds to elect Roosevelt and a progressive Congress.

In other words, he is really counting on the quack doctor of the slave-labor proposal, Roosevelt, and on "progressive" congressmen like Senator Pepper of Florida, supporter of the Smith-Connally anti-strike law and of white supremacy. He has enlarged his Political Action Committee so that labor will be outnumbered (in the top councils) by "liberal public opinion"—people like Freda Kirchwey, whose magazine, The Nation, has been extremely loud in demanding measures like the labor draft and in warning labor not to be too persistent in fighting for its rights lest servicemen and even labor's friends at home desert the workers.

LABOR ACTION has said through the war years and says now: Labor can win its demands only by ending the no-strike pledge and by forming its own political party, fully independent of the two parties of the monopoly capitalists. As in the days of the great sitdown strikes, the public opinion that matters—white-collar workers and the unorganized generally—will flock to a movement that means business and gets results. If the steel workers are suffering from the wage freeze, these people are suffering even more. They will respond to a positive program—not to a sad ad.



JOHN L. LEWIS

NEWS SERVICE of Industrial Organizations. July 14, 1944. CIO 100% for Wallace: Hillman Heads New PAC. July 29, 1944. CIO 100% For Truman: Murray, Hillman, Thomas.

Attention! Los Angeles Readers-- LABOR ACTION FORUM "The Meaning of the German Events" What Was Behind the Military Revolt Against Hitler? Will the German Revolution Come from the People or from the Top? What Are the Lessons of the German Revolution of November, 1918? Do Roosevelt and Churchill Want Revolt in Germany? Shall the German People as a Whole Be Punished for Hitler's Crimes? LECTURE AND DISCUSSION Admission Free--All Invited to Participate in the Discussion Embassy Auditorium 843 So. Grand Street Near Ninth ROOM 201 Friday Evening AUGUST 11 8:00 p. m.

Editorials

The Murder of Matteotti --20 Years After the Event

Twenty years after the event, the New York Times published Herbert Matthews' dispatch from Italy proving that Mussolini was the man who ordered the murder of Giacomo Matteotti, the socialist deputy. The story was written in the form of a great discovery and featured as an exposé! Facts are printed which have long been known by the revolutionary socialists and the labor movement all over the world. Okay, let us accept its publication now as added information. But the New York Times intends that its readers believe the paper's feeling about the case is one of horror that such an act could possibly have been committed by a nation's ruler.

The whole manner in which this Matteotti story was carried reveals the stinking hypocrisy of the New York Times and world capitalist opinion. The murder of Matteotti was indeed a foul act. It was one of the important events in Italy and undoubtedly had much to do with solidifying the power of

the bloody-handed Mussolini and his band of murderous thieves. But this is only half the story. There is another part that needs to be told.

Mussolini and his black-shirted band were summoned to power by the royal family and the Italian capitalists, the industrialists, financiers and merchants. The immediate cause for bringing Mussolini into power was fear of the Italian workers and peasants, who, living in great poverty and suffering unemployment and hunger, sought to take over the government and set up the power of the people, the workers and the peasants, to the end that the profit system would be abolished and replaced by a workers' government and a workers' society, producing for the needs of the people. That this grave danger did not set well with the Italian profiteers, living off the blood and sweat of the people, is only too clear. It happens in every country where the capitalist power is threatened by the will of the people.

They All Hailed Mussolini, the Butcher

Mussolini's job was to preserve the decayed monarchy as a figure-head ruler, and to take over the actual reins of government in Italy. In the interests of the Italian profiteers he destroyed the workers' organizations, wiped out the trade union movement, cut wages, lengthened working hours, guaranteed profits for big business. The regime was ruthless and brutal—all of it in the interest of re-establishing the profits of the Italian rulers.

And so Mussolini was hailed by the capitalists of all countries. The press of the world, capitalist itself, joined in the cries of joy at the coming of this new Messiah. He not only destroyed the labor movement, cut wages and enslaved the people in the interests of capitalist profits, but he made the trains run on time! The fact that the overwhelming majority of workers and peasants in Italy never had an opportunity to ride trains was un-

important. After all, trains had to run on time for the great industrialists, merchants, financiers and government officials. They had to run on time for the fascist officials so that they could quickly get to the seashore with their concubines.

This Mussolini was praised by the great papers in this country, especially the Hearst press and the New York Times. They wrote up his biography. They printed propaganda pieces about this "great" (but syphilis-iseased) egomaniac. And even while his regime was tottering in the early days, when all his torture chambers could not keep the Italian masses passive, he received the greatest aid of his career in the form of huge loans from British and American bankers, in particular from the House of Morgan. These loans were all given with the express approval of the respective governments of their countries and with the approval of the press, the New York Times included.

Labor Will Get Its Revenge in Due Time

At that time the Matteotti case was treated as a sensational event. But even then you could trace the sigh of relief which came from the same kind of newspapers which pretend now to be horrified at the death of the socialist leader. They were happy at the destruction of the labor movement and its leaders. They were happy that socialism was defeated. Their miserable system of profits, war, unemployment, hunger and poverty was saved again by Mussolini.

But the thing which really exposes their hypocrisy is that the facts now disclosed by Matthews were known all the time! The revolutionary socialists the world over printed the facts, the names, dates and places involved, that are disclosed by the New York Times twenty years after these facts were known. Why the disclosure now?

Well, there is a war going on. Mussolini chose the wrong side in this war—he chose the losing side. The anti-war attitude of the Italian workers,

their activities against a regime fighting a losing war, finally brought about Mussolini's collapse and his hasty departure from the capital of Italy. Since Mussolini is now an "enemy" it is a good thing to bring out some of his foul deeds. But, suppose Mussolini had been weaned away from Hitler? Suppose he had supported the Allies? Would the New York Times have printed the disclosures of his murder of Matteotti? The question answers itself.

Mussolini will pay for his deeds. So will the whole gang of cut-throats who made up his regime. They will pay for it, not through the kind of disclosures which the New York Times finds it fit to print twenty years after the event, when a fascist scoundrel and the fascist scum which surrounded him were forced to flee. They will pay for it through the mass action of the Italian workers and peasants, who will take their due revenge upon these agents of big business and pay them back for the twenty years of murder, beatings and enslavement.

A System of Destruction!

The defenders of the so-called "free enterprise system," which is the polite camouflage for the rapacious economic system of capitalism, are wont to describe its operation in terms of constructive benefits to the people. This might have been true years before the turn of the twentieth century, before the solidification of giant monopolies and trusts and the envelopment of American industry by the Morgan and Rockefeller banks. But the logic of

the capitalist profit system moves according to well defined laws, laws that even the capitalists themselves cannot always control.

Today we see capitalism, not as the "creator of wealth" (this is a popular falsehood fostered by its educators, for in reality labor is the creator of all wealth), but as the greatest destroyer of all time, as the scourge and cancer of our modern civilization.

Plowing Them Under in War and Peace

In peacetime, capitalism destroys cotton, corn, meat, milk, tomatoes, cabbages, potatoes and wheat rather than disturb the system of profiteering. Making money is the motive power of capitalism—not supplying the needs of the people. Thus when no profits can be made because the mass of people are too poor to buy, they shut down the factories and plow under the crops and destroy the goods.

During wartime, however, capitalism reveals itself in a most bestial and naked form. It diverts all of society into a program of mad destruction of economic resources and human energy. It devotes the largest proportion of its economic activity to the production of waste and wasteful debt. It destroys irreplaceable resources and useful wealth and, most of all, destroys the labor power of millions of workers through mass destruction.

Destroy Capitalism Before It Destroys Us!

As a system of "creation" capitalism has long outlived itself. As a system of destruction it is still virulent, powerful and insane. "Capitalism must be destroyed before it destroys us all!" That has been the cry of revolutionary socialists for a long time. It embodies the age-old yearning

of man for justice, freedom and brotherhood.

We are revolutionary optimists of the first order, because we have faith that the working class has sufficient intelligence to comprehend the real nature of the capitalist beast. That more and more workers are learning the truth is evidenced by the tremendous world-wide cynicism of the working class concerning the aims of the present war and the imperialist armed truce to come.

The first duty of the enlightened and class-conscious worker is to help channelize these sentiments into the constructive fight for a new society, the fight for a socialist world of brotherhood, peace and plenty for all.

No Alternative for Negroes But to Fight for Labor Party

By W. F. CARLTON

Two weeks ago I wrote of the theoretical mess in which Walter White found himself. He called the platform of the Republican Party "dishonest and stupid." But all he could say about the Democratic Party amounts to this: that if they gave way to the Southern pressure, then the Negroes would be in a bad way indeed. What he really should have said was that Walter White and all the Negro politicians of that stripe would be in a bad way. They are.

First of all, the members of the NAACP, and the Negro people generally, reacted violently against White's policy, of which his speech was only a special example. They accused him of dragging the NAACP into politics, of trying to sell out this civil rights organization, lock stock and barrel, to the Democratic Party.

The NAACP, said many members, even New Dealers, is a non-political organization. This, in some respects, is a nonsensical statement. When the disabilities of a minority like the Negroes have the deep economic and social roots and the political repercussions which accompany them, the struggle for civil rights becomes a serious political struggle. But let us leave that for the moment.

WHAT THE POLITICIANS DID

The members mean that if the NAACP becomes attached to any political party, e.g., the Democratic Party, then Negro Republicans will not be able to join it. They understand further that once you become tangled up with either of the two major political parties, then you are its prisoner and it takes you for granted and goes its way, careless of what you think. This is profoundly true.

Unfortunately, it is also true that although the Negroes have NOT tied themselves up with any of the political parties, but carefully warned them by a manifesto that their policy toward Negroes would be carefully scrutinized, both the Republican Party and the Democratic Party have as good as told them: "Do what you like." If the Republican Party platform is "dishonest and stupid," the Democratic platform practically ignores the Negroes. The choice is bitter.

Now once more we ask the Negroes: What are you doing and where are you going politically? If today there is an FEPC, miserable as it is, it was formed only because the Negroes threatened to march on Washington. If a Republican administration had been in Washington, it too would have recognized even the threat of mass action and would have formed some sort of organization to appease and fool the Negro people.

The proof is that the Republican Party has endorsed the proposal for a permanent FEPC. That means nothing.

For Negro emancipation, both these parties are the same big zero. The Chicago Defender recognizes this and says so:

"THERE IS LITTLE TO CHOOSE" "As of now, there is little to choose between Democrats and Republicans." That is exactly what the average Ne-

gro thinks. And what to do? The Defender says that Negroes "must take a 'wait and see' attitude of complete independence."

That is just a lot of words. Complete independence for what? Going where? There is a legend which describes how St. Simeon Stylites sat for a number of years on the top of a tall pole, doing nothing. He too was completely independent—and got nowhere.

Neither party means to do anything serious for the Negroes. That is now a proved reality.

Then the Negroes have to do something for themselves. First of all, no more threats to march or threats to do this or that, but actual action is needed. Secondly, however, in the strictly political field, it is necessary for Negroes to seek another political organization. They have done it in the past. When the Whigs and Democrats were pussy-footing about slavery, both of them, militant Negroes joined the abolition movement and worked for the formation of the Republican Party, which abolished slavery.

This was the life-work of Frederick Douglass. He didn't say "Now we must be completely independent" and go fishing or read the papers.

In 1892 the Negroes of the South, organized in their Southern Farmers' Association, joined the Populist movement and battled for a third party. Isn't the time ripe for Negroes of energy and ability to join in the agitation and organization of a Labor Party? Must Negroes always stand aside and wait for others to begin?

The Southern bourgeois hate the CIO Political Action Committee only a little less than they hate the Negro organizations which preach equality. However, the Negroes have gotten the boot first. Isn't it time for the NAACP and for all the Negroes to say to the CIO committee: "The time has come for a change. If you are ready to form a Labor Party, we are

with you. Let us work on a program and with the poor farmers, the youth and the old people we shall be the political power in the land."

But do you know one reason why Walter White and his type wouldn't do it? The reason is very simple. For twelve years White in particular has been a member of Roosevelt's "Black Cabinet." He has been a Minister Without Portfolio. He and his friends have been active in building up a fine fat nest of \$4,000-a-year jobs for a few hundred Negroes in the Roosevelt Administration.

SERVANTS OF ONE GROUP

These jobs are all children of the New Deal. If the Republicans win a victory, there will of course be another "Black Cabinet," but a Republican one this time, equally subservient, equally useless, equally humiliating and degrading to the great masses of the Negro People. While White and his bunch hold on to the Democratic Party, we can be sure that another bunch (Powell of the Amsterdam News is one) are getting ready to get their crumbs from the Dewey table if Dewey gets into the White House. That is one good reason why, although they all wall about the brush-off the Negroes got from both parties, each group of Negro politicians hangs on to one.

MUST MARCH WITH LABOR

The Negroes, once they recognize that nothing is to be gained from either of these two capitalist parties, must face the situation resolutely and act accordingly. "A plague on both of you. We are for a new party."

Today such a party must be a Labor Party. I shall return to this subject again. But meanwhile I have to insist to my Negro readers in particular: If you agree that neither party has any program or policy for the Negro people as a whole, then don't you agree that some radical departure is necessary?

Akron CIO Council Sec'y Railroaded Into Army!

Backing up the charge of the Akron Industrial Union Council, CIO, that Paul M. Fessenden, executive secretary of the council, is being "railroaded into the Army because of his militant union activities," Rev. Aron S. Gilmartin, Workers Defense League national chairman, sent a telegram to Secretary of War Stimson asking that "Fessenden be allowed to remain at his union post."

Fessenden was ordered to report for military service at Fort Benjamin Harrison in Indiana, July 24, though he is thirty-nine years old and the father of three children. The order was issued after Fessenden refused to order CIO union elevator operators to pass through a picket line at the Mayflower Hotel in Akron to give elevator service to Lieut.-Gen. William Knudsen, who was a guest at the hotel.

Fessenden, CIO Council members charged, was called by telephone at his home by an Army major, who inferred that if Fessenden did not provide elevator service for the general, he would be ordered to report for military service.

He had been originally inducted into the Army last fall when he was only a few months under the thirty-eight-year-old age limit. After induction, he was granted a six-months deferment as an important union official. Since the deferment was granted after induction, his position as a member of the U. S. Army Reserve was used to influence his action as Akron CIO secretary. In May, 1944, when he refused to ask steel workers to work ten hours a day, he was again ordered to report for military service. That order was rescinded, but the Army refused to give him a discharge for being over age.

Smash Wage-Freeze Now ---

(Continued from page 1)

have to shift to lower paying civilian jobs after the war and the picture may be considerably blackened by the further ditching of presently inadequate price controls, forcing living standards to go down even more.

PRODUCTION VS. WAGE FREEZE
Substantiating the AFL's prediction of a serious "shortage of workers' buying power" in the post-war period, a report by the Federal Reserve System's ace economist, Alvin Hansen, bluntly warns that a continuation of the wage freeze will produce a terrific economic crisis in the nation.

Pointing out that the worker's productivity has increased by leaps and bounds since the 1920's and has reached unprecedented heights during the current war, Hansen predicts the following:

"Increases in man-hour productivity are continuing at an unabated pace. Unless our income continues to rise with every increase in productivity, unemployment on a vast scale will quickly develop, even though we start off at the end of the war with a full employment income."

While the reports of economists and the research departments of the national labor bodies cannot be tabbed as over-gloomy or pessimistic, none of these groups has advanced as completely a constructive post-war program as that put forward by the Workers Party and LABOR ACTION.

Thoroughly realistic, that program

includes the following:

1. Restore full and unrestricted collective bargaining rights of the unions! Rescind the no-strike pledge! Repeat the Smith-Connelly anti-strike law!
2. A higher, not a lower, standard of living! For a \$1.00-an-hour minimum wage law, with time and a half for overtime, double time for Sunday and holiday work, and equal pay for equal work for all industrial and agricultural workers! An "escalator clause" in all wage contracts, hitching wages to the rising cost of living, plus a margin for comforts—a "cost-plus" wage!
3. Government planning to guarantee the highest national production and income, a year-around job and a minimum annual wage to all, and a rising standard of living!
4. Conscript all war industries! Nationalize the banks, big industrial monopolies and transportation systems. No handing over of govern-

ment-built and owned plants and facilities to private ownership!

5. For a two hundred and fifty billion dollar five-year program to provide decent housing for all, extensive public works, rural electrification and modernization!
6. For a guaranteed \$5,000 annual income to all workers' families, made possible by a planned rise in the total national income and a thirty-hour maximum work-week.
7. For a break with bankrupt and reactionary capitalist politics and politicians and complete independence of labor from them! No political support to the Roosevelt government!

For a party that is labor's own, an independent Labor Party, based on the unions and controlled by them!

(For the complete thirty-two-point program of the Workers Party and more information about the Workers Party, we urge you to write to that organization at 114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y.)

Detroit Attention

SUNDAY EVENING FORUMS

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)

PALESTINE...

Political Divisions; The Coming Elections

By WILLIAM GORMAN

During this present month of August there will be an election in Palestine for representation in the Asepheth Hanivcharim. The Asepheth Hanivcharim merely carried out Britain's orders, sometimes protestingly, among the Jews of Palestine. Its most successful activity, for instance, has been recruitment of Jewish youth for the British army and the war.

Yet the elections have importance because they will allow a show of strength for the various classes of the Jewish population. Particularly important will be the relationship of forces within the organized Jewish working class, which now numbers 136,000, or more than one-fifth of all the Jews of Palestine.

The Mapai is the largest political tendency among the Jewish workers. It is a reformist party and controls most of the bureaucratic jobs within the General Confederation of Labor, or the Histadrut.

The revolt against the Mapai leadership is coming from Group B, a more leftist group which claims one-third of the party membership. Group B accuses the leadership of betraying the cause of socialism. Yet Group B is not a revolutionary tendency. It is more like the left wing of the British Labor Party.

The largest opposition force is the Kibbutz Artzi. It suffers from Stalinist illusions and supports the war. Yet it is closer to a revolutionary program than any other party in Palestine. Close to the Kibbutz Artzi is the Left Poalei Zion. This group once applied for admission into the Stalinist Comintern but was rejected.

The Mapai is threatening to expel Group B for running its own ticket in the election. Group B, however, refuses to join the amalgamated Left Poalei Zion-Kibbutz Artzi ticket in opposition to Mapai.

[This is the political lineup in Palestine at the present time.]

SWING TO THE LEFT

The first real break in the working class political scene occurred in 1940. The Jewish population of Palestine was startled and pained by Britain's brutal actions toward the Jewish refugees. At the same time the uncontrolled cost of living and burdensome taxes weighed most heavily on the Jewish working class. The Mapai, whose leaders were actively supporting the capitalist-imperialist status quo, was attacked and deserted by thousands of Jewish workers.

At the elections for the general council of the Histadrut in 1940 the combined left opposition collected one-third of all the workers' votes. Within Mapai, a left wing fraction, reflecting the more radical tendencies of the masses, began a political civil war which is as yet unfinished.

In the last five years the Jewish position in Palestine has deteriorated. Jewish refugees have been manhandled, drowned and exported from Palestine. Hitler's war against the Jews of Europe has been complemented by Britain's war against the Jews of Palestine.

In 1941, Dr. Chaim Weizman, meek and mild leader of the World Zionist Organization, was shuffled from one British office to another. At the end of the year he let out an exasperated howl at the way he was treated. David Ben-Gurion, head of the Jewish Agency, shuttled to England, America and back without result. Moshe Shertok, socialist-reformist and would-be diplomat, then took up the Jewish pleas. Dr. Israel Goldstein, head of the Zionist Organization of America, flew to England, came back and promised great news, but has kept quiet since.

Six months ago, Ben-Gurion resigned as head of the Jewish Agency, the first resignation in the history of that institution. Even he couldn't swallow the complete servility of the Jewish leadership to British imperialism. Ben-Gurion is now back but the real crisis is just beginning. These lessons of the impotency of official Zionism will not be lost upon the Jewish masses of Palestine.

The Jewish masses fight in their own way. In the face of a British anti-strike law there were 132 strikes during 1943. For years the British colonial bureaucrats have used every legal and illegal trick to keep the Jewish and Arab workers apart. Yet today almost 11,000 Arab workers are organized into unions, where five years ago there were less than 1,000 Arab unionists. Two thousand five hundred of the 11,000 belong to the Jewish Histadrut. In the five Jewish-Arab strikes last year as many man-hours were lost as in EIGHTY-SEVEN strikes led by the Histadrut. This is an excellent gauge of class solidarity.

Also, there have been countless demonstrations, a general strike, at least one street battle and the burning of the British press. Caching of arms has been persistently reported. The imperialist terror has recently been confronted with a Jewish terror. Although carried out by a small illegal organization, it is a symptom and expression of Jewish chafing in the imperialist chains.

AFTER THE ELECTIONS

The British are attempting to make the Jewish existence in Palestine impossible. In self-defense, the Jewish masses must put an end to British rule. The success of imperialist repression or anti-imperialist struggle depends upon the role of the Arabs. If the British impress the Arab masses that their anti-Jewish actions are really pro-Arab favors, if the Jews are isolated from their natural allies, then the Jewish struggle, no matter how desperately fought, is doomed to failure. The liberation of Palestine demands the unity of the Jewish and Arab peoples, of the advanced Jewish working class and the backward, enslaved Arab peasantry.

If the Jewish workers vote for the left Poalei-Zion-Kibbutz Artzi coalition, it will be because Mapai is so obviously bankrupt while the opposition at least uses revolutionary phraseology. It will be because Mapai has a patronizing attitude toward the Arab question while Kibbutz Artzi has always made verbal declarations for Jewish-Arab unity and for a bi-national state. The British overlords, the Jewish bourgeoisie and Arab feudal taskmasters have each in their own way contributed to the partition, provocation and antagonism between the two peoples. That is all the more reason why unity represents the most natural and instructive answer to the problem of both the Jewish and Arab toiling masses.

Against the background of inevitable struggles, the elections grow in importance. Their results will indicate the mind of the Jewish masses and hint of events to come.

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