

Profits Keep Rising, Living Costs Are Up, But--

WLB REFUSES TO UNFREEZE WAGES!

Steel Profits Increase 390%--But Wages Remain Stationary

By V. F. JENSEN

While the Steel Workers fought a losing fight with the War Labor Board for a pay raise to meet the rising costs of living, a sensational report leaked out from the OPA disclosing that steel profits were up 370 per cent.

The steel industry, not satisfied with this, was asking OPA for a ten per cent price increase. While its representatives at the WLB hearings made sad, choking noises like poor little girls going broke, the OPA report revealed that the steel industry was doing so well that it could cut production to twenty-six per cent of capacity and still break even.

The study reports on the profit position of the industry:

- 1. Profit position of the industry is extremely favorable, with 1943 profits before taxes equal to 3.7 times the average profits before taxes of the base period of 1936-39. (The industry squawks about using profits before taxes as a basis, but if post-war prices should be based on profits after taxes, they would be even more out of line after the war, when corporation taxes probably will be cut drastically.)

In post-war perspectives of the steel industry, the report shows:

- 1. If the price rise is granted, the industry will be able to sit back after the war, cut production and create widespread unemployment while it enjoys good profits.

The report bluntly contradicts the steel industry's claim that labor costs have increased:

- 1. Since 1939, output per man-hour has increased more than hourly average earnings. Consequently labor costs are four per cent below 1939 levels and eight and a half per cent below the average level for 1935-39.

This is the report that the WLB knew about when it refused to recommend a pay raise for those steel workers whose increased productivity was responsible for the industry's increased profits!

Equally as sensational as the OPA report figures on steel profits is the story of the behind-the-scenes machinations to keep this report a secret.

The first time it came to the attention of the general public is when Philip Murray, arguing before the WLB to life the Little Steel formula, quoted the figures on the increased labor productivity and the ability of the industry to absorb the seventeen-cent raise asked by the union.

Immediately there was a flurry of protest and imprecations against the dastardly New Dealers who showed labor a "confidential report." Big business protested that it wasn't in on all the secrets that the CIO was. Actually, of course, the industry was all too well aware of the report and its contents. Murray made his statement on October 27 or 28. A week before, in its issue of October 23, Iron Age, a big business magazine, published a story saying that steel big shots were hounding OPA Administrator Chester Bowles in an effort to make him disown the report.

Bowles may be able to draw no conclusions from this sensational report, but labor must. Labor more than ever must fight for higher wages to meet the rising cost of living. It must fight the WLB and its Little Steel formula, which holds wages down, while big business profits enormously from labor's increased productivity. It must fight a rise in prices. And it must prepare for the post-war fight against the steel and other big industries who will be content to sit back and enjoy their profits while mill fires are banked and unemployment stalks the country.

National Labor Secretary of the Workers Party on--

Workers and the Elections

By DAVID COOLIDGE

The working class in the United States is once again confronted with national elections. We are face to face with the coming elections and the tremendous international and domestic problems involved, with no political and organizational preparations for using the elections in the class interests of organized labor and the whole working class.

There was the Atlantic Charter, with its scribbles on the Four Freedoms for the peoples of the world. There were Casablanca, Teheran and Dumbarton Oaks. In all of these conferences the imperialist powers, the United Nations, under the leadership of Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin, not only plan the military defeat of the Axis powers but at the same time conspire together against the collective interests of the masses of the people. They each sought to enhance the economic interests of the particular national ruling class which they spoke for and represented.

To each of the Allies this is known as the establishment of foreign policy -- what will be done with this, that or the other country after the war. They talk words and more words; millions of words, just as they did during and after the First Imperialist World War. Words and agreements and documents about "democracy," "peace," "security," freedom from want and "freedom from fear."

Of course, these political chieftains and imperialist warlords talk also (but not so openly) about "trade routes," "world airways," "exports," "sources of raw materials" and "the colonies" (the colonial slaves are never included in the Four Freedoms).

WHAT LABOR GOT ALREADY

In our own country, where we toil for our existence, we are chained to a no-strike pledge, bludgeoned by a Smith-Connally Act, harassed by a War Manpower Commission and stripped of our earnings by exorbitant taxes and the stranglehold of capitalist profiteering prices. Not only this, but there is the Little Steel formula, the cutbacks and the specter of post-war mass unemployment.

These are gifts to labor from the Roosevelt Administration and the Democratic Party. This is what Roosevelt and the Democratic Party offer now. This is the kind of regime they enforce now. They will not and cannot offer more after the war is over. But this man and this party have taken care of business.

Aside from the billions which have been distributed in salaries, dividends and interest, the corporations have stored away forty billion dollars in cash reserves from the support of the "war effort." Not satisfied with this, the Roosevelt Administration and the Democratic Party have made arrangements by which corporations may have their post-war profits guaranteed and protected from impairment by tax reductions.

The Republican Party, with its rocking-horse darling of the Wall Street nursery, comes before the

working class as the "historic champion of free labor." They have a "foreign policy" and also a "domestic policy," too. Dripping at the mouth and panting to get at the public treasury and to ride on the backs of labor for at least four years more, they enter the arena against, the three-time winner. They can adequately be described in the way John Randolph spoke of a famous "statesman" of his day: they are "like a dead mackerel in moonlight; they shine and stink."

TWEEDLEDEE & TWEEDLEDUM

And so, there they are. The successor of "Bloody Thursday" Hoover. Franklin Delano Roosevelt: savior of capitalism. Roosevelt of the Little Steel formula, of wage stabilization. The same Roosevelt who tied us on the job like serfs, who made the employers a present of the no-strike pledge and aided them to strike blow after blow at our unions.

And then Dewey with his Republican Party, no better and no worse. After the same thing and with the same basic ideas, aims and goals.

Where is the choice for labor and the working class between these two men and these two parties? There is no choice. Hundreds of thousands of workers know this. Millions in the ranks of labor at least have a vague feeling that all is not well, and only hope that somehow they will escape the miseries of another ten-year depression. It is our opinion that the overwhelming majority of workers will vote for Roosevelt and the Democratic Party. They will vote for what they call the "lesser evil." They say that Dewey and the Republicans are worse than Roosevelt and the Democrats. Furthermore, millions of workers have been beguiled with the propaganda of the capitalist bosses and their government deputies to get out the vote.

Another argument made is that since there are only two parties and two sets of candidates, one of them will be sure to win. Therefore in order not to be left out in the cold, the workers must be in on the victory. And since there is no Labor Party, then the only thing to do is vote for the candidates of the two capitalist parties.

None of this is true except the statements that someone will be elected and that there is no Labor Party. We do not have to vote for capitalist candidates. We have been left out in the cold after Republican victories and after Democratic victories. This will continue so long as we cling to the propaganda of the politicians who do the dirty work of our employers and the capitalist class.

WHAT KIND OF LABOR POLITICS?

The CIO leaders organized a Political Action Committee and told us that it was time for labor to get into politics. But under Hillman, Murray and the rest of them, the only politics the PAC has engaged in is political activity for the re-election of Roosevelt: champion of the Little Steel formula, the no-strike pledge,

the WLB and the savior of capitalism. They have taken our money and used it exclusively in the interest of Roosevelt, the Democratic Party and the capitalist bosses.

While this is a most brazen betrayal of the interests of the working class, (Continued on page 2)

By MARY BELL

The latest round in the epic battle of labor to obtain a wage increase goes to the employers. The National War Labor Board, with the usual gang-up of industry and "public" members against the labor members, refused, eight to four, to ask Roosevelt to end the wage freeze by modifying the Little Steel formula. The majority stated it was not within its province to say what effect a wage increase would have on the price structure of the country as their excuse. This does not incapacitate them, however, to make recommendations on wages for the reconversion period.

LABOR ACTION does not

need to labor the point further which has so often been stressed in its columns, of the validity of the demands of the ten millions of organized workers in the AFL and the CIO. The daily strain of making ends meet on the part of workers and their families is more damning evidence of the justice of their demands than a table of figures, although the figures prove their case too.

This latest reprehensible blow delivered to workers is one more proof of what we have said about the WLB since its inception. It is not an impartial body, mediating fairly between right and wrong, between labor and the employer. It is a tool of the capitalist administration, designed to stave off the demands of labor and keep wages down. Roosevelt, too, has stood pat on the wage freeze, and it is therefore unthinkable that the WLB should reverse his policy. He is so certain that the labor leaders can deliver the vote of union and labor supporters through the PAC that he can afford to be arrogant and hold the line on wages.

What about the labor members on the WLB--George Meany, Matthew Woll, R. J. Thomas and Emil Rieve? They castigated the majority report. The board's statement that it could not go beyond presenting data on the relationship of wages to living costs they called "tantamount to an admission by the public members of the board that they are not competent to perform their duties." The labor members, you can see, were plainly very bitter about the decision.

What the labor members did not say, but what is as transparent as a plate glass window, is that the WLB carried out, as usual, not the wishes of labor, nor of the "public," but of industry. The industry members issued a statement saying that the board was not the correct administrative body to investigate whether the wage freeze should be changed and "that the matter is one for Congress to consider."

The industry members know whereof they speak. They realize that the WLB is their show, and furthermore, that passing the buck to Congress means that Congress will pass a few more bucks to the capitalist magnates of industry. This has been amply demonstrated by the solicitude of Congress for industry during the reconversion period and after, to take care of its losses and guarantee its profits. Our story in this issue on steel profits shows how industry is faring. As far as labor is concerned, Congress does not wish to destroy its individual initiative and pamper it by guaranteeing substantial unemployment compensation or jobs.

The labor members were reported as saying they would not resign from the board, even though they will make their own recommendations to the President.

"Hit me again, I love it!" is their credo.

For labor to achieve a wage increase two things are necessary. First, no fiddling around with the WLB. Labor members should withdraw. Second: rescind the no-strike pledge. This is the lever necessary to pry open the lid on wages.

The Big Money Behind the Republican Candidate

Here is the big money behind the little man--Thomas Dewey. Among his contributors are the reactionary publishers, the magnates of industry, employers of thugs to smash the organized labor movement, and pro-fascists. Among them are:

Table listing contributors to Dewey's campaign fund, including R. E. McCormick (\$3,000), J. M. Patterson (\$3,000), Tom M. Girdler (\$1,000), Ernest T. Weir (\$3,000), J. N. Pew (\$3,000), Miss Ethel Pew (\$3,000), Irene and Lamont du Pont (\$4,000), W. S. Carpenter (\$2,000), Henry Janssen (\$2,750), Ferdinand Thun (\$2,750), Mrs. Edith H. Timken (\$2,000), Donaldson Brown (\$3,000), Walter H. Annenberg (\$1,000), M. Robert Guggenheim (\$1,000), Mrs. Simon Guggenheim (\$1,000), Mrs. Andrew Carnegie (\$1,000), Lieut. David R. Rockefeller (\$2,500).

The extent of the backing of the National Association of Manufacturers, which is spending half of its \$3,000,000 this year on "educational" activities, has not yet been revealed. Nor the sources of the Dewey campaign fund of Senator W. Lee (Pappy) O'Daniel from the Jim Crow state of Texas. Nor the contributions of the semi-fascist Constitutional Educational League of Joe Kamp and Frank Gannett's Committee for Constitutional Government. Likewise the records are not yet available for the American Democratic National Committee, which is linked to the old Christian Front and Coughlin groups. But there is adequate information here for us to see what makes Dewey tick.

Big Steel Corporation Supports the Little Steel Formula

Last week the voice of J. P. Morgan was heard on the subject of the Little Steel formula. His mouthpiece was John A. Stephens, vice-president of the United States Steel Corporation, who testified before the War Labor Board that the proper time to discuss wage and other demands is not now but later, when "industry gets over the hump of reconversion."

We will translate Mr. Stephens' statement for our readers. His boss, Mr. Morgan, would like to do his bargaining after the big cutbacks have come. Unemployment will then make it easier to beat wages down. This will make it possible for Mr. Morgan and his partners to get workers at bargain rates and to collect big profits. "National welfare" is just another expression for big profits.

In our capitalist society it is a peculiar fact but still a fact that, while Mr. Morgan and good trade unionists

both speak the English language, their dictionaries often differ diametrically as to the meaning of the very same words.

There exist two kinds of English: working class English and capitalist English. To good trade unionists "proper time" means a time when Morgan is hard up for labor. And "normal processes of collective bargaining" means bargaining backed up with the threat of labor's collective refusal to work.

Last December 170,000 steel workers showed, by going on strike, that the war and the so-called no-strike pledge haven't made them forget their trade union English. However, their president, Simple Phil Murray, who has swallowed a Morgan dictionary whole (generously presented to him by the War Labor Board and Roosevelt), tricked the men into returning to work.

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Readers of LABOR ACTION have always done a good job passing the paper around and getting subscriptions. Here's your chance again. Your appreciation of our paper and our efforts in spreading its ideas have earned for you what might be called an obligation. That obligation is to help us, to cooperate in our subscription drive. You readers know the value of our work and realize the need of giving our ideas the widest possible circulation. The best way is by getting new readers of LABOR ACTION. We want you to help us get those readers. These are the ways:

- Show your copy of LABOR ACTION to your friends; speak to them about it; get a sub. Send to LABOR ACTION (114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y.) for three, four, ten, twenty prepaid sub cards. These cost a quarter each and are good for a six-month sub. Send for extra copies of LABOR ACTION to distribute to your friends. We will be only too glad to fill the request. We're counting on you. Join the Labor Action Minute Men.

We feel the groundswell of our campaign for 4,000 new subscribers here in the office. Not

startling, but powerful, foretelling the increasing flow of subs to the National Office. Two hundred and eighty-nine new subs for the past week and more pouring in, which will be recorded in next week's box score.

Detroit, and once more Detroit, lays it on the line. We quote: "The unusual is becoming the rule here and we're becoming used to our weekly 'surprises.' This week a friend, who had already bought and sold forty-eight prepaid sub cards, came down to our Sunday forum and bought fifty-two more--making it an even hundred. That, of course, could happen to anyone. But not the next item: Where in our movement has a bundle of LABOR ACTIONS (500 copies) been SOLD to a friend who wanted to distribute them to acquaint more workers with our paper and self subscriptions? It happened in Detroit!"

From past accomplishments we feel that only in Detroit could it have happened.

San Francisco has at last crashed through with something substantial--sixty-six subs for the past week, and more coming in. We take back all the criticism cast at San Francisco. Keep up the good work started.

Youngstown-Warren is the only black mark on the scoreboard. What has happened? We don't know what's holding you back. But we'll be forgiving and expect you to redeem yourself in the coming weeks.

Table showing subscription statistics by city: City, Goal, Week, Total, Pct. Includes New York, Akron, Buffalo, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Los Angeles, Louisville, Philadelphia, Reading, St. Louis, San Francisco, Seattle, Streator, Youngstown-Warren, National Office, and Totals.

LAST MINUTE FLASH ON UE LOCAL 425. Over 4,000 workers of the Ford Instrument Co. attended a special general membership meeting of Local 425, UERMWA, on Tuesday, October 17. The meeting was called to plan a course of action for the reinstatement of a shop steward who had been fired by the company for presenting a union grievance against speed-up in her department. In this issue of LABOR ACTION there is an article on the situation leading up to the meeting. Next week there will be a report on the meeting and subsequent developments.

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

American Labor Is Just Rolling in Wealth...

The Textile Workers-- Forty Cents an Hour!

By WALTER WEISS

When will these money-hungry war workers be satisfied? That's what the hard-pressed capitalists, weighed down under the heavy burden of their bloody profits, have been asking themselves and the men in the armed forces.

Now it is the textile workers who are making outrageous demands before the War Labor Board. They want the industry's minimum wage boosted from forty cents, which they brazenly call "sub-standard," to sixty cents—a fifty per cent increase!

As evidence in support of this positively staggering increase, their union has offered as a standard a WPA low emergency (that is, starvation) family budget, which requires earnings of 72.7 cents an hour for a forty-hour week. That would be about \$29 before any deductions were made.

Realizing how angry the boys at the front would be if they heard about civilians who were raking in twenty-nine smackers per week, the union modestly decided to ask for only sixty cents an hour, or \$24 for a forty-hour week.

THE BOSSES' VIEWPOINT

The textile capitalists, who conduct a constant war on their workers, promptly shot the union's case full of holes. For details of their barrage, consult the Journal of Commerce of September 19.

First, they say, it's a crime to suggest that one textile worker, single-handed, should support a family. Among manufacturing enterprises the textile industry is outstanding as one in which customarily more than a single member of the family works, either full or part time. You can readily see, therefore, that, while the individual income may not be impressive, the family income is tremendous and that, as a further advantage, the mill is just like another home. Father, mother and the kids can all be found there, and they are all very, very welcome.

But suppose that the kids are still below the legal age to work and the wife is sick. Or suppose that some stubborn worker gets the un-American idea that his wife has enough to do keeping house. In that case he would have to support the family alone. And that brings you up against a fundamental problem. The problem, as the bosses explained it to the sympathetic ear of the Journal of Commerce, is this: Should a worker have the right to a wage that will meet some damn budget or other, or should his "compensation" depend on his skill and initiative?

Every red-blooded American business man knows the answer to that one.

WHAT THE WORKERS GET

Besides, thousands of textile workers have shown the skill and initiative to earn more than the WPA standards. America is still a land of opportunity which rewards the deserving.

We hate to break in on this American dream by mentioning the fact that for every thousand who do earn seventy-two cents an hour or more, there are almost a hundred thousand who earn less. Of the Southern cotton-rayon workers and the Pennsylvania-New York rayon workers, ninety per cent just lack the necessary "skill and initiative." The same sad failing is found in seventy-five per cent of the New England cotton-rayon workers (New York Times, October 7).

Are you a soft sentimentalist? Arg you still sorry for these obviously undeserving wage slaves? You should really weep for the industry. It is a "sick" industry. A capitalist is always more touched by the sufferings of a sick industry than by the troubles of an underpaid worker.

NEED WORKERS CONTROL

Here is the sad story: The industry is highly competitive, operates on a small margin of profit and has less automatic machinery than most other industries. A great deal of the machinery is over-age and the plants are inefficiently laid out. Periods of prosperity are short, periods of unprofitable operation long. Therefore, new capital is not attracted, nor is there

any surplus available for modernization. The result is inevitable, just as in a mathematical problem: many workers, whole families of them, but unskilled workers with low wage rates.

If the situation is that bad, why don't the owners just toss in the sponge? Why don't they, like LABOR ACTION, demand socialism? Everybody could be happy then, instead of suffering, as now. With America's incredible productive capacity, the workers, who would then be the owners and managers, could modernize the industry and guarantee everybody, including such of the former owners as might be willing to do an honest day's work, a really decent income. The ex-capitalists wouldn't even be required to show any great amount of initiative.

We are afraid that the owners won't agree to give up the profit system and their present unhappy lives. The workers will have to fight for a few extra cents now under capitalism, and in the future for a life of freedom and decency under socialism. The way to start fighting is to fight. That doesn't mean asking for sixty cents an hour, an absolutely disgraceful demand in America in 1944. Nor does it mean depending on the War Labor Board, as every sensible worker knows by now.

Ford Out to Smash UE 425, Fire Steward, Stall Grievances

By RUTH PHILIPS

In the midst of negotiations for a new contract between the Ford Instrument Co. and Local 425 of the United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America, the company has created an explosive situation in the plant by firing the shop steward of the electrical assembly department of building No. 4.

The union, through its negotiating committee, as is reported in the local's paper, The Range Keeper, has been attempting for some time to remedy intolerable working conditions in this department, and to obtain substantial wage increases for the several hundred girls who work there. Several months ago the company introduced a conveyor assembly line into the department, which has been continually speeded up.

A union leaflet which states that the attitude of the company to conditions in the department has been one of "callous indifference" describes the results of "inhumanly" speeded up production as "contusions on the hands of the girls, terrible fatigue, severe internal disorder, nervous exhaustion, frequent absences," and finally crying fits, hysteria and even collapse."

UNION GRIEVANCES

On October 9, the speed on the line was increased again. The steward and several of her co-workers, acting according to approved grievance procedure, went to register their protest. The management's answer was to label the legitimate grievance a "stoppage of work." They refused to discuss the grievances of the workers, and threatened to fire the steward.

The union immediately called a membership meeting, at which unanimous solidarity with the shop steward was expressed. The sentiment at the meeting was that if the shop steward was fired "all 5,400 of us are fired."

It was understood by the workers at the meeting that the company's threat to fire the stewards is a step in the direction of destroying the grievance machinery, weakening the union during this crucial time of contract negotiations and ultimately breaking the union.

The day after the meeting the shop steward was fired by the company.

SHOP STEWARD FIRED

The firing of the steward, important as it is, is merely a part of the

Packing House Workers-- 28 Dollars a Week

By MIKE STEVENS

The final hearings before the War Labor Board on the wage and other demands of the United Packing House Workers of America, CIO, were recently concluded and the union is waiting for a decision.

Despite the rapid rise in the cost of living during the past three years, the packing house workers have not received a wage increase since August, 1941. They are among the lowest paid workers in this country and at the present time the average wage in that industry is \$28 a week.

Packing house work is dangerous, difficult and unpleasant. An intense speed-up, sharp tools and acids produce, according to government figures, more accidents in the packing houses than in almost any other industry. Packing house workers are subject to the diseases inherent in that industry—arthritis, "cattle fever," tuberculosis, pneumonia and Malta fever. They work in blood and muck, and the sickening smells that are almost unbearable. And for all this they receive—\$28 a week!

From this small wage the usual deductions from which all workers suffer are taken out. In addition, packing house workers lose more time than most, due to illness, and last year they lost over a million and

a half hours of pay because of accidents.

Millions of American workers have had hair-raising experiences with the WLB, but the packing house workers have been getting a run-around that is difficult to beat.

In 1942 the UPWA demanded a raise in wages to cover the increase in the cost of living. The packing house monopoly, Swift, Armour, Wilson, Cudahy (the Big Four) and the John Morrel Co. stalled for months until the wage freezing order came through. The companies then insisted that they couldn't give an increase because the government would not permit them to. Almost a year later a WLB panel recommended to the WLB that these workers be given a five and a half cents an hour increase because their wages were so pitifully low. The WLB turned down this recommendation, in January, 1943, and used the occasion to reaffirm the Little Steel formula. The decision was so rotten that the labor members on the WLB filed a strongly worded minority report, realizing that if the poorly-paid packing house workers couldn't get a raise, nobody else could.

The WLB at that time made one "concession." They told the companies to adjust the differences between the rates of pay for workers doing

the same kind of work. The Big Four knew that the union leadership would not fight and was depending only on governmental agencies—so the packers adjusted—nothing. The union leadership, hat in hand, kept pleading with the bosses until the "hold-the-line" directive came through from Roosevelt. From then on the packers would not even bother to talk to these union representatives.

When the union approached the packers with new demands this year, the packers, confident that the time is approaching when they can smash this union, led by a compromising leadership, put in their own counter-demands. The companies demanded that the master agreement be changed to read that no worker shall be granted a leave of absence from his job in order to engage in union business. By this change no worker could take a part or full time position with the union or attend a wage conference or convention without losing his job.

The packers also demanded the elimination of the clauses on maintenance of membership, check-off, arbitration and certain seniority provisions. They also insisted that sections be added to the agreement by which they could automatically discharge a worker for absenteeism, or for participating in a stoppage or strike, and that the union reimburse the companies for any financial loss caused by a stoppage or strike.

The union's demand and these counter-demands by the companies were presented to a WLB panel which handed down its decision this last August.

The union's demands for a ten cents an hour general wage increase were turned down completely by the panel, as were most of the other important demands of the union.

The few demands that the panel accepted to recommend to the WLB were of minor importance which the union could have gotten with only half a fight these past few years. The few concessions of any real value that the panel has accepted are written in such a way that the bosses can interpret them as they see fit, and only a fighting union could have ITS interpretation used in the day-to-day application of the agreement. The panel has left some of the demands of the union open and, what is worse, many of the counter-demands by the companies are open for further negotiation and adjustment, which means that the companies can refuse all of these "open" demands of the union unless their own counter-demands are agreed upon.

The case is now awaiting the decision of the WLB. There will certainly not be any additions by the WLB to the few recommendations that the panel has made in favor of the union. And although it is almost impossible for the WLB to take anything away, for the panel gave the union so little, it will not be a surprise to anyone if it does—except,

arms to fight with. The union must have all its weapons if it wishes to maintain itself against the attacks of the company. Above all, it must rescind the no-strike pledge.

In its leaflet of October 17, calling a general membership meeting for which the day shift quit two hours earlier and the night shift reported to work two hours late, it said:

"The company has refused to reinstate Mary Ellen Swanwick, despite the fact that the union pointed out in two letters that the discharge of the shop steward constituted a flagrant violation of the union contract, and that the union is willing to discuss all problems involved."

"The Executive Board has done everything in its power to adjust this case."

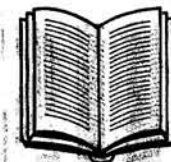
"A single meeting of the entire membership is now imperative—to plan a course of future action!"

perhaps, to the union leadership, which still has some illusions about the WLB.

The salaries of the officials in the packing house corporations range from \$55,000 to \$102,000 a year. War-time food profits have risen over 449 per cent above peacetime levels. But the union demand for a general wage increase of only ten cents an hour has already been thrown out the window.

When it was only a tiny little outfit, the Packinghouse Workers' Union fought the giant packing monopolies and defeated them. Today the union

is large and could really force this wealthy industry to pay good wages and maintain excellent working conditions. But just the opposite is happening. The companies are once again getting bold and pushing the union and the workers around. Conditions are so bad in the industry that last year it had a one hundred per cent turnover in workers. No union can stand such a situation. The Packinghouse Workers Union must reverse its role and change its program to one of militant action in order to recover the ground it has already lost and to go forward to new heights.



Debs, Gompers and the American Railway Union

Out of the Past

In 1892, three hundred railroad switchmen in Buffalo went out on strike for better conditions and more pay. They needed the support of their international union to win. They didn't get it, and the strike failed.

The failure of this isolated little strike angered a man named Eugene Victor Debs, secretary-treasurer of the Locomotive Firemen's Union. Debs had tried to get his union to call a sympathetic strike. Failing, he resigned his \$4,000 a year job and proceeded to organize the American Railway Union, an individual union of railway men. His pay as president of the ARU was nominally \$75 a month—often nothing.

By 1893, the ARU had 150,000 members, including the workers of the Pullman sleeping-car company. These workers lived in the "model town" of Pullman, Ill., where they traded at company stores, sent their children to company schools, went to a company church and a company theater and were expected to take, without a protest, a forty per cent cut in wages.

THE PULLMAN STRIKE

The Pullman workers went out on strike. Their strike had been going on for a month when the ARU met in convention in Chicago. The convention considered how to aid the Pullman strikers, whose credit had been cut off at the company stores. A relief fund of \$2,000 was voted. Debs attempted to arbitrate with the officials of the Pullman company. He was told to go to hell. The ARU ordered a boycott against Pullman cars on all Western railroads. In two days all railroads between Chicago and San Francisco were tied up.

The newspapers let out a howl against "that anarchist, Debs." The railroads fired the boycotters. The ARU retaliated by a general strike of all ARU railroad men.

The railroads wanted the troops called out. They destroyed their own property, knowing that they would be compensated by the state. But Governor Altgeld of Illinois, one of the few genuine liberals in American history, refused to call out the state militia. Over Altgeld's protest, President Cleveland sent out the federal troops.

The bosses had Debs and other ARU officials indicted for "conspiracy" and got out an injunction against them to keep them from doing anything which would keep the strike going.

DEBS FIGHTS BACK

Debs, in defiance of the injunction, called over twenty leaders of AFL international unions to a conference to consider how to aid the strike. He realized that the strike had reached such proportions that only the solidarity of all labor could win it.

Samuel Gompers, head of the AFL, when he entrusted for the conference with Debs, said: "I'm going to the funeral of the ARU." The conservative AFL leaders, above all the sell-out artist, Gompers, would have nothing to do with the general strike which Debs proposed at the conference. Yet they knew that only solidarity could win the strike.

The AFL leaders had a chance to win a mighty victory for labor which would have strengthened the whole labor movement immeasurably. But these cowardly union bureaucrats preferred the comfort of their well paid jobs and their narrow craft unions.

Debs and the workers were defeated. The bosses had him arrested for breaking the injunction. He was sent to jail, one of his many sojourns in prison for his work for his class.

At a banquet given for General Nelson Miles, commander of federal troops on strike duty in Illinois, he declared in his speech: "I have broken the backbone of this strike." But the general was wrong. His work had helped, but the real strike-breaker was Samuel Gompers.

Elections --

(Continued from page 1)

even this slight gesture toward political action by labor has frightened the capitalist ruling class. The PAC, despite its weaknesses and against the will of Hillman, Murray and the others, has demonstrated what we could do if we really went in for genuine independent working class political action. We could really put the fear of the working class into Roosevelt and Dewey, the Republicans and the Democrats and their capitalist masters.

What should the working class do on November 7? Precisely what we should be doing now, what we should have been doing years ago and what we should be doing after the election is over: TALKING FOR, AGITATING FOR, FIGHTING FOR, ORGANIZING FOR INDEPENDENT WORKING CLASS POLITICAL ACTION. This is what we should be doing

now, this is what we should do on November 7, this is what we should do after November 7. We should attend to our own class political interests and let the capitalist bosses and their political stooges attend to theirs if they can. We should not be concerned now, nor on November 7, nor afterward with the puppets the ruling class puts up for us to elect for them and to defend their class interests.

The worker who throws away his vote on November 7 will not be the worker who stays away from the polls but the one who goes to the polls and casts his ballot for Franklin D. Roosevelt or Thomas E. Dewey. Our business is to fight for our own party, to organize that party, to use our time on November 7 to teach this to every worker and win every worker to independent working class political action and the formation of a LABOR PARTY!

Statement of the Ownership, Management, Circulation, etc., Required by the Acts of Congress of August 24, 1912, and March 3, 1933

Of LABOR ACTION, published weekly at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1944.

State of New York,
County of New York, ss.

Before me, a notary public in and for the state and county aforesaid, personally appeared Albert Gates, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the editor of LABOR ACTION and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in Section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager, are: Publisher, Labor Action Publishing Co.; editor, Albert Gates; business manager, Mary Bell, all of 114 West 14th St., New York, N. Y.

2. That the owner is Labor Action Publishing Company; president, Max Shachtman; treasurer, Mary Bell, all of 114 West 14th Street, New York, N. Y.

3. That the known bondholders,

mortgagees and other security holders owning or holding one per cent or more of the total amount of bonds, mortgages or other securities are (if there are none, so state): None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company, but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and that affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds or other securities than as so stated by him.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this third day of October, 1944.

Jacob Kauffman, Notary Public, New York County, New York County, Clerk's No. 335. (My commission expires March 30, 1945.)

Philadelphia Readers Attention!

WHAT NEXT IN EUROPE?

HEAR

MAX SHACHTMAN

Nat'l Sec'y of Workers Party

ON

WHAT WILL BRING PEACE AND FREEDOM TO EUROPE?

ALLIED OCCUPATION OR REVOLUTION?

THE MEANING OF THE PARIS AND WARSAW UPRISINGS

WHAT DOES THE UNITED STATES WANT IN EUROPE?

ALLIED PLANS FOR GERMANY

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The company's attitude during negotiations for the new contract, now dramatically highlighted by the firing of a shop steward, clearly indicates that Local 425 has a fight on its hands. Ordinarily the outcome of this fight could only be in the union's favor. The local has the entire membership behind it ready and willing to fight. But the union's good right arm, its right to strike, is bound behind its back. The union is committed to the no-strike pledge. So long as this is so, the company knows that it can push the union to the wall without fear of really effective retaliation.

Local 425 is in danger. Its very existence is being threatened by the Sperry Corporation, which is not bound by any pledges and has two

Balance Sheet on Ship Workers Convention--

Future Prospects for Progressive Group

By ERNEST LUND

PART II

While Green and the Communists carried on underhanded maneuvers against each other, their real open fight was against the rank and file of Local 16, for instance. Green relied upon the Communists in No. 16 because they proved to be the only force capable of carrying out Green's policies of appeasement. Green even went so far as to endorse the raw action by the Local 16 administration when they appointed a delegation to the convention instead of facing the rank and file in a regular election as provided for by the constitution. Both Green and the Communist bloc jammed this through the convention and seated this illegal delegation. Green kept Pollard in power as administrator of Local 9 despite Pollard's support of Velson at the 1943 convention. Green had to rely on Pollard and the Communist elements in Local 9 to keep the progressive group out of power. Green never failed to get the applause and whole-hearted support of the Communist elements whenever Green set out to denounce a local that went out on strike. Green may like it or not, but his policies put him in the same bed with the Communists and, as he is learning to his dismay, that is not a good place to be when the Communists begin edging one out of power.

For one year, President Green of the Shipyard Workers ran around the country calling off strikes and denouncing locals that acted in self-defense in the only way workers have to defend themselves. For one year Green fought the specter of "Trotskyism" in the union. He did a good job—for the Communists. They rubbed their hands in glee and pitched right in to help him. Above all, the field organizers who supported the Communist bloc, were active in carrying out Green's policy. And they came to the recent convention with the biggest delegations in their pocket. John Green stood up on the platform and wielded the gavel but Velson and Kaplan ran the convention. And behind them, pulling the strings, was Roy Hudson, trade union director of the Communist Political Association, as Stalin's outfit in this country is now called.

Green began to realize the extent of the Communist domination of the convention with each passing day. Once Green had safely gotten over the hurdle of the no-strike pledge debate with the big Communist-dominated majority carrying the ball for him, he began to worry about their influence in the union. This caused him to unleash a fierce speech toward the end of the convention in which he denounced those who showed such "intolerance" and specifically referred to the "majority group" of the convention.

Whatever one may say about Green and his policies, he, like most of the products of a free trade union movement, finds it difficult to accept lightly the perverted and degenerate morals of the Stalinists. However bureaucratic Green may be in the conduct of his office, the Stalinist spirit of ruthlessness toward opponents, of viciousness and character assassination, of "rule or ruin," of "purge the opposition," and their constant drive toward totalitarian and monolithic control, do not sit well with him. In part Green's speech was, of course, a desperate outcry against the forces he saw crowding in on him. But, without a doubt, it was also largely an honest protest against the lynch spirit which the Communists were whipping up against those who had opposed them in the union.

ISSUES BEFORE CONVENTION

In contrast to the 1943 convention, the recent convention had several interesting and instructive debates upon policy. The bloc of progressive delegates consisted in the main of the fifty-five man delegation from Local 42 (Cramp Shipyard, Philadelphia) with a scattering of support from minorities of other delegations. The progressives waged sharp fights for the repeal of the no-strike pledge and the withdrawal of labor members from the WLB.

In the elections of national officers and the GEB, the progressives found themselves lined up with many elements who have no particular claim to being called progressives. Among them were many reactionaries and red-baiters who opposed the Communists because they consider them to be "subversive" and oppose Green because they feel he appeases the Communists. They really compose the conservative or right wing of the union. Many are purely opportunists and union politicians at present on the outs with the Green administration and willing to bloc up with anyone fighting Green.

The two candidates of the opposition, Tom Saul, of Local 1, running for president, and Herbert Moyer, of Local 42, running for secretary-treasurer, proved to be disappointments on the floor of the convention. Neither of them took the floor on the vital issues facing the convention. Their fear of taking a stand on controversial issues for fear it would antagonize votes, is unworthy, to say the least, of men who would lead a progressive opposition. Had they gone down fighting for principles, they would at least have emerged with the respect of the convention.

The coming year will see a race between the rising strength of the

progressives in the ranks of the union and the efforts of the Communist-dominated GEB to take steps to clamp down on opponents and choke off the rising tide of rank and file opposition to appeasement policies.

TASKS FOR PROGRESSIVES

The chances of the progressive forces winning the race and appearing at the next convention with a decisive majority are very good. This estimate is based upon the following considerations:

Ship Convention Politics

By SUSAN GREEN

This article will deal with the political coloration of the convention of the Industrial Union of Marine & Shipbuilding Workers, CIO. The tenth annual convention of the IUMSWA certainly had plenty of political coloration. Estimating the division of convention time, it is fair to say that at least as much time was spent on campaign speeches for the re-election of President Roosevelt as in attending to union business.

Furthermore, the political decisions of the delegates had great bearing on the decisions on union policy. For once the convention went on record to support President Roosevelt, it became consistent and logical for delegates—especially the wily Stalinists—to argue that supporting Roosevelt means to support his labor policies, i.e., the crippling no-strike pledge and the tricky War Labor Board.

But to estimate frily the political temper of the convention, one must go further. There was a realization among the delegates that the problems facing the working people—and indeed the whole of society—are political problems whose solution can only come about if labor controls government. This is the basis of rank-and-file enthusiasm for the PAC as the first attempt at organized political action by labor.

POLITICAL HUCKSTERING

But here is the rub. The PAC takes the aroused energy of labor and turns it into the channels of capitalist politics. This was the line brazenly and shamelessly followed in all the speeches made before the shipyard workers. By the out-and-out politicians like Vice-President Wallace and Senator Pepper, and by the union cians like Vice-President Wallace leaders including Green and Van Gelder of the IUMSWA, Phil Murray, Thomas of the UAW and Hillman of the ACW and PAC, the absolutely false and fantastic promise

In Its Fight Against SUP,

NMU Plays Standard Oil Game

By SCOTT BYERS

For almost ten years the Sailors Union of the Pacific has led the fight to organize the fink Standard Oil Company's tanker fleet. On June 22 of this year the SUP and its international, the Seafarers' International Union, AFL, wound up their fight to unionize these tankers and bring the conditions of the men sailing these ships up to the same level as organized ships, and fled for an election with the National Labor Relations Board.

A check of the pledge cards submitted by the SUP-SIU against the company payrolls showed that at least eighty-one per cent of the men on the tankers had chosen the SUP-SIU to represent them. Realizing the strength of these unions, Standard Oil agreed to sign for a consent election, provided the SUP-SIU would drop the charges filed against it with the NLRB, namely:

That Standard Oil dominated its company union, the Standard Marine Employees Association, and that SUP Seaman John Hansen had been fired from the tanker Richmond for union activities.

To obtain a speedy election the SUP-SIU dropped the charges. They demanded that the election take place immediately, and it was promised that voting would begin on August 20. On July 5, however, the Communist-controlled National Maritime Union filed charges identical to those of the SUP-SIU, and asked for a place on the ballot. Since a union must prove its representation to the NLRB, the NMU was given fourteen additional days to demonstrate that they represented these seamen. At the end of this period they turned in pledge cards showing that they represented four per cent of the men.

NLRB AIDS COMMUNISTS

According to proper procedure, the NLRB should have immediately disallowed the NMU's claims. But not so with this "non-partisan" government board. Instead, it further delayed action by calling a hearing to be held in San Francisco on August 30 to "clarify" the issue.

At this hearing the Standard Marine Employees Association was represented by two lawyers, the NMU by one, while the SUP-SIU, whose lawyer became ill, was represented by its secretary-treasurer, Harry Lund-

berg, who was forced to fight all three attorneys before the NLRB's special hearing officer. At this hearing it was proved conclusively that Standard Oil had paid large sums of money to the officers of the SMEA. No date was set for an election, but a place was made on the ballot to enable the men to vote "no union."

From the time of the NMU's phony entry on the scene to the present, both unions have been organizing on the tankers and in the Standard Oil Manning Pool. At no time during this period has the NMU produced any of its contracts for Standard seamen to look at. The reason for this failure is not hard to find: the working conditions of the NMU seamen are inferior to those of the SUP-SIU.

The NMU, however, has produced pamphlets stating how they have won conditions (?) for seamen through cooperation with the government and the ship owners. The one most widely circulated states:

"At the national council meeting of the NMU, held in July, a post-war policy of continued government, labor and management cooperation in the post-war period was adopted. The policy is aimed at eliminating any strife in the maritime industry, GUARANTEEING the employers a FAIR PROFIT, securing for seamen full employment, adequate wages and decent working conditions, and building for the American people an efficiently operated and expanded Merchant Marine."

While the Communist bloc was in complete control at the convention, their convention strength was far beyond the proportion of strength they command in the ranks.

2. While the Communist bloc elected a GEB composed in the majority of people they can manipulate, the non-Communists in the administration, most of them personally loyal to John Green, will resist Communist infiltration into the important posts and committees. In other words, the union is not "in the bag" for the Communist inner group as is, let us say, the United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers or the National Maritime Union.

3. The progressive forces will be favored during the coming year by the trend of economic and political events. These events will prove the policy of the opposition to be correct. The prospect for the coming period is one of layoffs, less hours, and increasing strikes. Many a delegate who voted to reaffirm the no-strike pledge will remember what he heard at the convention from the speakers who favored repeal of the pledge. Likewise, many a delegate who listened to the pep talks by Sidney Hillman, Senator Pepper and Vice-President Wallace about re-electing Roosevelt will think back after the election, when the Roosevelt Administration continues its policy of appeasing big business at the expense of labor and provides no practical plan for reconversion that will avoid mass unemployment. Such a delegate will think back to what the progressives said at the convention about pulling the labor members off the War Labor Board and about the need of labor creating its own Labor Party, independent of the old parties.

4. The coming period will see the union officers and the GEB having more and more difficulty in trying to get the rank and file of the union to follow an appeasement line to the corporations and...the government boards. The more the officers and the GEB are forced to club the ranks into line, the more will the rank and file understand the fight that was waged at the convention by the progressive opposition.

BREAK COMMUNIST CONTROL

5. The progressive forces are still rather new and inexperienced in the politics of the national union. The maneuvers before the convention and the fight at the convention should have taught them much and seasoned them for the coming fight.

These considerations all indicate that the IUMSWA is far from being written off as "another Commie outfit." The Communist bloc will, of course, try to lift charters of opposition locals and try to frame up individuals who fight them. But it is unlikely that they can put the union into a "totalitarian" straight-jacket without a real fight on their hands. If the progressives fight every inch of the way, if they block the attempts to lift charters and frame up individuals, the Communist plans for turning the union into another UE or NMU can be tripped up.

"Boiled down, it means that support for the NMU means achieving these objectives by COOPERATIVE METHODS, using the AMERICAN WEAPON OF POLITICAL ACTION. Support for the SUP-SIU means support for strikes." (Our emphasis.)

In addition to these "new" ideas on how to win better working conditions and wages, the NMU organizers have continually accused the SUP-SIU of being fascist!

It is easy to see that the Communist-controlled NMU is following the policy of "rule or ruin," for its action gave Standard Oil time to piece off its Marine Employees with an overtime raise—a raise which it had refused to give a year ago when the seven oil companies contracted to the SUP-SIU were forced into line. The NMU leadership continues to scream "Nazis!" at the SUP-SIU threats to "hit the bricks," and to attempt to force its no-strike pledge into a permanent post-war platform. Meanwhile the seamen in their union are exploited to a greater and greater degree, and the Standard Oil employees' sail ships on which, if they stand up as men, they are fired for insubordination.

If the Standard Oil Company is organized at the conclusion of the election soon to be held, it will not be because of the NMU leadership, but because the militant pro-SUP-SIU seamen have fought a long, hard, sacrificing battle.

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NEW TITLES ADDED:

Organized Labor and the Negro
By Herbert R. Northrup

A factual study of the Negro in the trade unions, the attitude of the latter toward the organization of Negro workers, how the labor movement deals with race discrimination. This volume, published in 1944, is extremely valuable to all trade unionists.

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The Late Wendell Willkie: The Politician Who Came Too Late

By J. R. JOHNSON

The career of Wendell Willkie is of significance to the labor movement. His "progressiveness" was similar to Roosevelt's. In national politics it was aimed at getting sufficient votes from labor, the lower middle classes and the Negroes in order to win the election.

Willkie represented big business. One of his political enemies constantly and aptly called him "The barefoot boy from Wall Street." But big business presents many different faces to the public and sometimes different faces to different sections of the public. Willkie had seen very clearly that the Republican Party had to gain some popular base in order to defeat the Democratic Party at the polls. In the present epoch of social crisis and change, the rise of organized labor and the crisis of the middle class, the old slogans of rugged individualism, free enterprise, the American way, etc., had little meaning for great numbers of the people and were actually offensive to many.

President Roosevelt had skillfully capitalized on this with his slogan of "the New Deal." Willkie, energetic, with a gift for demagogic fireworks, tried to capture an expected reaction against Roosevelt by promising to carry out the New Deal better than the man who had originated it. At the same time, his past, his backers and his careful phrasing assured the conservative elements that his appeal to the masses was nothing to be scared of.

BACKGROUND TO WILLKIE'S FIGHT

Labor and the white collar workers of the cities, from whom Roosevelt drew his main popular support, rejected Willkie. But this year's campaign showed that he had a strong popular following among the rank and file voters of the Republican Party. Various competent observers have reported that there were many Republicans who distrusted Dewey as a reactionary both in domestic and foreign politics, and wanted to see what Willkie would do. This is what is significant.

All capitalist parties have a mass base. The Republicans, with the prestige of winning the Civil War, started off in great style in 1868. The great capitalist expansion of the next thirty years kept them in almost continuous power. Organized labor for the most part was content to follow the party. Near the end of the century the farmers began to feel the full weight of capitalist exploitation. The result was the rise of Populism, and William Jennings Bryan's campaigns against the money powers. The socialist movement began to grow. The mass support of the Republican Party was threatened.

The man who saved it for a time was Theodore Roosevelt. He had a similar gift for publicity and popularity that Willkie had. He presented himself as the leader of a reform movement against the money powers. He stole some of Bryan's thunder. He attacked Wall Street, the United States Steel Corporation, Standard Oil and other big corporations. He passed an Employers' Liability Act. He shook up the country with his policy of conservation of the national resources. At the end of it all, however, the trusts were stronger than ever. Stronger than before also was the Socialist Party, led by Gene Debs, whom Roosevelt bracketed with the trusts as among the greatest enemies of the country. In 1912, Teddy Roosevelt split the Republican Party by opposing Taft and the Democratic candidate, and Wilson won the election.

The post-war period after the First World War saw the Republican Party again in power for twelve years. This was another period of striking prosperity as the

capitalists understood it. Once more the people as a whole followed those who claimed that they were responsible for the jobs and the wages. Then in 1929 came the crash. By 1932 the Republican Party had lost the confidence of millions and since that time the Democratic Party has reigned supreme. Labor and the poor farmers and the Negroes have supported the New Deal.

WHAT DID WILLKIE OFFER?

To the threat of Bryan, populism and socialism, the Republican Party responded with Theodore Roosevelt and got away with it for a time. In Willkie's case, his significance is this: he is the best the Republicans could present, to do in this period what Theodore Roosevelt did in his. His failure is an index of the stage of development of capitalism as a whole. He had nothing really new to say in comparison with his rival, Franklin D. Roosevelt. All that capitalism could do had been done by Roosevelt. The result had been that there were still ten million unemployed in the spring of 1940.

On the question of the war there was no choice between Roosevelt and Willkie. Both of them, representatives of capitalism, were advocates of a war against German and Japanese capital. Willkie failed to capture the popular vote in 1940 and after that the Republican politicians and their capitalist masters had no use for him. Today Dewey, his successor, has no program. He also can only promise to continue with the social legislation of the New Deal. He also promises no change in the conduct of the war. He calls the New Deal Administration "bungling, incompetent, tired," etc. But program he has none. He hopes to win on a wave of disgust with Roosevelt. "You ought to be tired of him by now," says Dewey. "Take me instead." And wearisomely he repeats, "It is time for a change."

Yet the maneuvers of both Roosevelt and Dewey to win over Willkie showed that he had some strength. And the source of that strength is important to labor. The whole country is stirred by the feeling that great changes are needed both on a national and international scale. Even among many rank and file Republicans this feeling exists. They were enthusiastic for Willkie because they thought he represented something "progressive."

But capitalism in 1944 is not capitalism in 1906. Theodore Roosevelt had scope to say plenty and do little. In these times, Willkie could say much less than Franklin Roosevelt, or only as much, and even if he got the chance could have done nothing substantially different. But the response he evoked shows that a political party with a real program can look for support not only from Roosevelt's mass supporters, but even in the Republican Party itself.

WHAT HE MEANT

There is a world of difference between Dewey and the interests he represents and the millions of middle class people and workers who vote Republican.

Organized labor can shake itself free of the Democratic Party, pull the rank and file vote from under the Southern Bourbons and tear away millions from the Republican Party. But it can do this only if it proposes what the people everywhere are looking for—a bold social program that means business.

We have the admission from Roosevelt himself that the New Deal is dead. That is a death certificate that nobody can question. The path is clear for organized labor. A Labor Party is the party of the future and can build itself on the ruin of both these corpses.

Pardon Refused the Eighteen!

George Novack, secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, has issued the following statement:

"We have been informed by Mr. Daniel M. Lyons, U. S. Pardon Attorney, that the Department of Justice would not be warranted in presenting to the President the pardon petitions of the eighteen imprisoned members of Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544, CIO, and of the Socialist Workers Party."

"This refusal even to present to President Roosevelt the pardon petition of the eighteen is the latest of the many severe blows dealt to civil liberties in this important labor case.

the first federal statute in 140 years to make the mere expression of opinion a felony. This law, which clearly violates the Bill of Rights, has been condemned as undemocratic and unconstitutional by leading labor and liberal organizations. Despite these facts, the U. S. Supreme Court last December three times refused to review the convictions. And now Roosevelt's Department of Justice asserts that it can see 'no justification' for extending clemency to the eighteen.

"In reality, there is no justification whatsoever for the President and his subordinates to refuse to rectify the

and Baumgartner, avowed Hitler propagandists.

"Like the Minneapolis case, these cases involved nothing but utterances, although of a diametrically opposite political character. Nevertheless the fascists were freed on the ground that their freedom of speech had been violated, while the eighteen anti-fascists remain behind bars. What other conclusion can be drawn from the decisions of the Supreme Court and the Justice Department than that, while it is permissible to spread race hatred and fascist ideas, it is criminal to advocate the ideas of Marxist socialism or to exercise free speech in defense

The prosecution arose out of a conflict over trade union democracy between the progressive Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544 and Daniel J. Tobin, president of the AFL International Teamsters Union.

In June, 1941, when Local 544 by a majority vote transferred its affiliation from the AFL to the CIO, Tobin personally appealed to President Roosevelt for help.

The Department of Justice then intervened by arresting and indicting the leaders of Local 544, CIO, and of the Socialist Workers Party for their union activities and socialist views.

After a five-weeks trial, eighteen were found guilty and given sentences of from twelve months and a day

to sixteen months for violating the Smith "Gag" Act.

The Smith "Gag" Act was opposed by both the CIO and AFL and condemned by leading labor and civil liberties spokesmen as anti-labor, undemocratic and unconstitutional.

After the Circuit Court of Appeals upheld the convictions, the U. S. Supreme Court in an unprecedented action three times refused to review this important case.

On December 31, 1943, the eighteen began to serve their prison terms. On August 2 of this year, President Roosevelt received petitions for their pardon backed by organizations representing over 3,000,000 workers.

"Recognizing the gravity of the issues involved and the injustice done to the eighteen, more than 300 labor and progressive organizations, representing over 3,000,000 members, have urged the President to free the eighteen. The Justice Department's decision not only brushes aside their demands but fortifies the vicious Smith 'Gag' Act under which the eighteen were the first to be convicted.

"The fact that through an administrative technicality President Roosevelt has not personally ruled upon the pardon application does not at all absolve him from responsibility in connection with this case. Following a personal appeal from AFL Teamsters International President Daniel J. Tobin, in June, 1941, the White House set the prosecutions in motion by instructing the Department of Justice to proceed against the defendants. The President was not then prevented from acting by any such technicalities as his pardon attorney now cites to keep the eighteen behind bars. Only now, when it involves their pardon, are pretexts found which forbid the intervention of the President.

"These eighteen trade union and Trotskyist leaders are the first to be convicted under the Smith 'Gag' Act,

injustice they themselves have committed in this infamous prosecution.

"The U. S. Pardon Attorney says that 'in view of the character of the offense it does not appear that the sentences imposed are unduly severe.' Any punishment inflicted upon innocent people is totally unwarranted. These seventeen men and one woman have already served over nine months in prison solely because of their socialist opinions and labor activities. Assuredly this is 'unduly severe' upon them and their dependents.

"The Pardon attorney attempts to extenuate the action on the ground parole. The eighteen have sought to obtain unconditional pardon in order to maintain for the entire labor movement the principles of civil rights and free speech at stake in their case.

FREEDOM FOR FASCISTS

"The prejudicial attitude of the Department of Justice is further apparent in its statement that 'we are unable to agree that the Hartzell case or any other of the cited decisions of the Supreme Court controls the situation here presented so as to require the intervention of executive clemency.' The same Supreme Court which refused to hear the appeals of the eighteen last June set aside the convictions in the cases of Hartzell

of the rights of labor.

"The callous refusal of the Roosevelt Administration to pardon the eighteen cannot be permitted to pass without the most indignant protest from every American concerned with the preservation of our civil liberties. Together with the millions who have already spoken out in their defense, we are determined to carry forward our fight. The eighteen must be free! The Smith 'Gag' Act must be wiped off the statute books!"

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The Business Manager.

We omit our regular feature, "Letters from Our Readers," due to lack of space this week. However, we encourage the readers to send in their views for this column of popular expression.

Editorials

Back to Breadlines--Post-War Prospect of Twenty Million Workers Without Jobs

No single problem of greater importance confronts the American people today than the problem of post-war JOBS. We use the word "today" advisedly--Candidates Roosevelt and Dewey have stressed the issue in their campaign propaganda--because thousands of workers have already run smack into the reality of unemployment in the midst of unprecedented production activity. Exactly how much unemployment can be expected on "V-E" Day (Victory in Europe) has been a matter of considerable conjecture by both amateur and professional economists and statisticians representing a like number of vested and group interests. At any rate, a bi-partisan majority in Congress precluded any cushioning measures against Cut-back Day by turning their thumbs down on the one bill that attempted to cope with the gigantic problem--the Kilgore bill. To most congressmen it is of little importance HOW MANY will be jobless when Germany goes down, since it has determined to do NOTHING in any case. Last week there appeared the most startling prediction yet concerning the extent of post-war joblessness. It was made by Boris Shishkin, AFL economist, in the American Federationist for October. Shishkin predicts: ELEVEN MILLION UNEMPLOYED AFTER THE DEFEAT OF THE NAZIS! TWENTY MILLION UNEMPLOYED AFTER THE COLLAPSE OF JAPAN! He adds: "If we return to 1939 or pre-war level of production while present prices prevail, we cannot escape unemployment reaching 20,000,000. "No comprehensive program is ready to be put into operation to hold employment at high level and insure stability in transition. But it is not too late. It is not too late for labor, business and government to act in concert and with speed to assure all of us safe conduct through the treacherous no-man's-land of industrial transition which lies ahead." Then, as if to buttress the AFL outlook and confound the pooh-poohers and skeptics, along comes OPA Administrator Chester Bowles with a memorandum intended primarily for business men, but made public. Bowles said that government war spending will dip by over forty per cent within three months after the defeat of Germany. With present and expected surpluses, production may be slashed by seventy or seventy-five per cent and there would still be ample materials to wage a finish fight against Japan. Granting a forty per cent slash, Bowles argued

that this would mean a decrease of over thirty billion dollars in wages and salaries. And if employers attempt to cut wages (if), "we will face the dangers of another disastrous depression." If the nation goes back to the 1940 production levels, Bowles predicted: NINETEEN MILLION FIVE HUNDRED THOUSAND UNEMPLOYED! That's a close enough approximation of the Shishkin figure and we're inclined to accept it as accurate, if a bit on the conservative side. One must also consider the increase in the labor force of several million workers and the sensational increase in efficiency and productivity of the working population which would make possible the attainment of the 1940 production levels with about eight million fewer workers. Now add eleven million returning war veterans who will require (and demand) jobs, throw in the high prices, wage cuts and unions-busting and you have a lunatic economic system which abounds in devastatingly repetitive wars and depressions. Aside from the gratuitous advice that it is "not too late" to prevent the impending crisis, Mr. Shishkin and all the AFL wheelhorses have NO PROGRAM to avert it. Neither has OPA Administrator Bowles, who is rather good at figures, but, as his record has shown, is extremely weak at comprehending them. The CIO program, which includes government operation of taxpayer-built, government-owned factories, has a heart and a soul, but its backbone may be found in a lower desk drawer in the White House. President Roosevelt failed utterly to solve the problem of unemployment in his first three administrations and can only hold out promises of JOBS for all with the sleazy campaign fakery of which he is a past master. HE has NO PROGRAM. Thomas E. Dewey, GOP candidate for the presidency, still labors under the impression that if he utters the magic incantation "return to free enterprise" often enough, lo and behold, twenty millions will suddenly fall out of the sky. HE has NO PROGRAM. The facts in the matter are harsh--too harsh for both those who live in the past and those who lack courage to face the future realistically. The capitalist system of "free enterprise" is deadlier than a mummy. It can't provide JOBS FOR ALL because it works on an entirely different principle from that aim. All of its spokesmen and apologists who claim that it CAN, to use a figure of speech familiar to most Americans, "have nothing on the ball but a prayer." LABOR ACTION and the WORKERS PARTY, for which it speaks, HAVE A PROGRAM to insure JOBS FOR ALL, but we'll continue this editorial discussion in this column next week.

Words, Words, Words

The Hoax of Dumbarton Oaks

By W. F. CLAYTON

The Dumbarton Oaks agreement is just so much writing on paper. Last week we pointed out that the real decisions as to who will get what are being made by force of arms. First seize it, as Stalin is seizing Eastern Europe and Churchill is seizing Greece. Then sit down and bargain. Meanwhile carry on a parade of preparing world peace at Dumbarton Oaks. The workers should not for a moment let themselves be tangled up in all these imperialist maneuvers and tricks. As we showed in recent articles, the politicians who paraded at Dumbarton Oaks do not themselves believe in any world organization to keep the peace and adjust disputes. What we want to show here is that even if they were perfectly sincere, that still would be no guarantee of peace. Capitalism develops unevenly with constantly shifting power relations. Thus a treaty made today is worth nothing in ten years' time. In fact, in a few months any number of events can make it obsolete.

HISTORY OF ALLIANCES

Take the United States and Britain on the one hand and France and Germany on the other. In 1870, France and Germany fought. The French implored the British to intervene. The British would have nothing to do with it. The United States observed from afar and took no interest. But nations develop unevenly. Germany grew rapidly between 1870 and 1914 and became a rival of England's. She was dangerous because Britain was not developing in proportion. Britain therefore took up the cause of France in order to defeat Germany. By 1914 the United States could not afford to see Germany dominate Europe. She therefore entered the war when it was clear that unless she entered, Britain would be defeated. Thus the economic development of the powers was so uneven that any treaties signed in 1870 were a joke by 1914. In fact, long before 1914 World War I was on the way, clear for all to see. Another consequence of uneven development is that powers change sides. Thus Italy was in an alliance with Germany and Austria-Hungary up to 1914. But Italy had decided that she stood to gain more from Britain and France. So she carefully arranged to drop the first alliance at a convenient moment and joined Britain

and France. No kind of peace organization can prevent that.

RELATIONS WITH JAPAN

Sometimes a big power encourages a weak one to rob, as the United States for instance encouraged the Japanese to attack China in 1894. By 1914, however, United States imperialism was jealous of Japan in the Far East. For the time being, however, Japan represented Britain and the United States in the Far East against Germany. That was during the war of 1914-18. Britain was glad not to have to fight Japan at that time. But Japan took the chance to steal still more of China. As soon as the war was over the United States let Japan know that henceforth if there was any stealing or exploiting to be done in China, she would have a share in it. The relationship of forces had changed between 1894 and 1918. Soon it would change between Japan and Britain also and Japan's power and claims would increase so enormously that she would challenge both the United States and Britain together for supremacy in the Far East. What peace organization can settle such things?

There are other changes--such as changes in the relationship between sworn allies. Thus Britain fought in 1914-18 to prevent Germany from dominating the continent of Europe. But she didn't fight Germany to give France the chance to dominate Europe. Britain therefore after 1918 constantly played France against Germany and Germany against France. This helped to keep Europe in a constant turmoil of fear and uncertainty with new pacts signed every other month. Today part of the struggle over Germany is: who will use Germany against whom?

OTHER CHANGES FOLLOW

The external changes also affect the internal relationships and vice versa. Thus as the class struggle sharpened in France, some powerful French capitalists began to intrigue with Hitler in order to give up the alliance with Britain and join Germany in the partition of Europe. Thus they hoped to introduce what they called "order" into France itself. But there were others in France who preferred the British alliance and therefore sang hymns to a war for democracy. Thus the treaties written on paper had less and less reality because those who had to carry them out couldn't decide whether the treaties should be carried out or not. No pact

for peace can prevent that happening again and again.

We had a development of the same kind in Germany. Thus when Germany was a republic between 1919 and 1933, the European situation was fairly stable. The organized German workers didn't wish to fight anybody. But as soon as the working class movement in Germany was crushed the whole relationship of forces between the powers was altered. Germany became much more powerfully organized for war. No peace pact can prevent France or Britain going fascist.

Finally there is another type of development inherent in capitalism. Its increasing bankruptcy drives the workers to struggle. Thus the successful Bolshevik revolution in Russia in 1917 upset all the powers, in Europe, in Asia and in America as well. But the isolation of Russia caused a change in Russia itself. By 1936 the soviets were abolished. Russia becomes a state ruled by a counter-revolutionary ruling class. The imperialists remain suspicious of Russia for a long time but as soon as they realize that Stalin is counter-revolutionary, not only in ideas but in acts, the balance of forces changes again.

NEW CONFLICT CERTAIN

Now place all this in a declining world market. Throw in the great crisis of 1929 onwards which upsets all calculations and itself causes changes in both external and internal relationships. We get a picture of complete confusion, disorder, economic chaos, shifting relationships of power inside and outside the great powers.

The smaller powers seek cover now under the umbrella of one great power, now under the umbrella of another. Nobody knows what will happen tomorrow either inside or outside his own country. Therefore every few months you get a pact, a counter-pact, an entente, an understanding, a misunderstanding, four-power alliances, three-power alliances, two-power alliances, pact with Russia, pact against Russia, until in the end everything explodes in war. The reason is that capitalist development is so uneven that if even a sincere treaty was signed at Dumbarton Oaks, in two years it wouldn't be worth the paper it was written on.

That is why LABOR ACTION keeps its eyes glued on imperialist interests and imperialist rivalries and will not let dust from Dumbarton Oaks get into its eyes. As long as you have chaotic capitalism you have the seeds of imperialist war.

GREECE:

Liberation or Occupation by the British?

By JIM TANAKOS

The invasion and occupation of Greece began last week with the landing of British troops in the southern part of the country. There was practically no military opposition except that encountered from a few German garrisons and a handful of Greek Quisling security battalions. In fact, it has been announced that only three British soldiers were killed in this operation. Those divisions of the German army which formerly occupied Peloponnese (the southern part of Greece) were either pushed into the north many weeks ago by the Greek guerrilla forces or retired of their own accord for reasons of military strategy. The full facts about this are not yet known but it is evident from newspaper reports that the Greek underground has been governing the southern region since the Germans left.

There are many significant facts about this British occupation of Greece. No part of the regular Greek army accompanied the British although there were available thousands of Greek soldiers and sailors who escaped from Greece during the German occupation and who have been awaiting this day. These Greek soldiers were used by the British in every important battle in North Africa and thousands have been transferred to the Italian front.

What is of even greater importance for a clear picture of the political situation with regard to Greece is that over 14,000 Greek soldiers, sailors, airplane pilots, merchant seamen and their officers are being kept in British jails throughout the Middle East because they were opposed to Greek fascism--as well as German fascism. Winston Churchill and the Greek government do not want these prisoners or any other anti-fascist soldiers going into Greece at the present time. They may send in a few "loyal" Greek troops as a "token," but certainly not the anti-fascists.

The Stalinist members of the cabinet in the Greek government are also happy to see the anti-fascist soldiers kept out of Greece. They expect to have their hands full trying to disarm the underground movement which they tricked into becoming supporters of the government in exile. And they do not want soldiers around who revolted against the policy of British imperialism which supports the old fascist clique and wants it returned to power in Greece.

SPHERES OF INFLUENCE

Here we see the decisions of Teheran in full play: Power politics at its height. Whether the Greek people like it or not, Great Britain plans to decide what kind of a government Greece must have--for the protection of Britain's interests. But under such a government the Greek people will continue, as in the past hundred years, to be slaves to British capital--his, too, was undoubtedly understood and accepted at Teheran. Churchill in his August 3 speech in the House of Commons, when speaking of his dealings with the Greek government in exile, stated that he kept the United States and Russia "informed constantly" of the situation. Russia and the United States are only "informed"--no more--for Greece has been parcelled out once again to the British sphere of influence. For the same reasons, of course, Russia only "informs" her Allied partners of her activity in Yugoslavia, which the Allied powers have agreed on as the Russian sphere of influence.

Britain has been forced during this war to give up many of her interests in various countries. Although she was reluctant, Britain realized that she would have to divide some of her previously accumulated booty with Russia and the United States, two countries which have grown very powerful since the days when Britain was the undisputed master. But there is one area where she could not afford to be "generous" and that is in Greece and the Mediterranean. Even the capitalist New York Herald Tribune of October 8 acknowledges that much. "Greece is a different problem. There the British can make no concessions. They know that if they were to give up their traditional interests in Greece, in the Straits and in the Aegean Islands, it would shatter the foundations of their communication lines in the Mediterranean and endanger the existence of their Empire."

Unfortunately for the British imperialists and their agent, the Greek government in exile--and for the Stalinists, who are carrying out Russia's end of the Bargaining at Teheran--the Greek underground movement has displayed a strength and at times a consciousness that speaks well for its goal of achieving real independence for the Greek people.

Of Special Interest to Women

By SUSAN GREEN

The autumn wind begins to have a threat of winter in it. We start out very optimistically for the department stores to get a woolen blanket and some woolen clothes, but because of the prices return home with cotton, rayon, wool and shoddy mixtures. But this winter the warehouses of the government will be nice and cozy, loaded down with the hundreds of millions of pounds of surplus wool stored in them. Yes, according to the Wall Street Journal, which makes it its business to know about such things, the government's Defense Supplies Corporation holds some 192,000,000 pounds of Australian wool and 4,800,000 pounds of South African fleece. The Commodity Credit Corporation, another government agency, has more than 150,000,000 pounds of the 1943 domestic clip and almost 80,000,000 pounds of the 1944 clip. All this, plus a few odd and end million pounds here and there, adds up to a lot of woolen blankets, sweaters, coats, suits, dresses--and because of the great surplus, prices should be very reasonable. Besides, there is more wool and fleece where these supplies came from. But why should manufacturers want these huge surpluses released for consumption when they get more for cotton, rayon, wool and shoddy mixtures than they used to get for all-wool merchandise? And why should any capitalist government want to interfere with the sacred right of the capitalist to make profits? So while you shiver, think of the soft, warm wool and fleece stored in government warehouses.

tion of women workers after long years of struggle. What is not so widely known is that this anti-labor amendment is incorporated in the platform of the Democratic Party, for whose standard-bearer labor leaders are wrongly urging labor to vote. And Vice-President Wallace--that self-appointed "friend of the common man"--glibly brushes aside the dangers to working women inherent in the amendment. He said: "However much the opponents of this amendment may fear some possible temporary disadvantages to some women, may I suggest that in the end all such disadvantages, if they exist, weigh little beside the greater advantage of inner freedom, which will come for all women when real equality is established." In other words, if the equal rights amendment is passed and the bosses use it as an excuse for taking away rest and safety facilities from working women, what matter their outward slavery! They will have INNER freedom! Here, in an instance especially vital to working women, you can see why LABOR ACTION keeps hammering home the truth that neither a Dewey nor a Willkie, a Roosevelt nor a Wallace can solve labor's problems. ONLY REPRESENTATIVE WORKING MEN AND WOMEN, ACTING THROUGH AN INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY, CAN DO POLITICAL BATTLE FOR THE WORKING PEOPLE AS A WHOLE.

"That Priceless Boy of Yours" is the heading over a big advertisement recently run in the metropolitan press by the Bendix Aviation Corporation. "To save the lives of our boys--that's why we've been working," runs this publicity stuff. Then there is a long sob story of how little--how very little--are the war profits of this so altruistic corporation which sells the government hundreds of scientific aviation instruments, controls and other war material produced by the Bendix workers--ONLY for the protection of "American boys, yours and ours." This is typical big business publicity. If it's "that priceless boy of yours" that big business has at heart, why did the stocks of the giant corporations, bloated with war orders, take a tumble a few weeks ago? When people were getting a little dizzy with joy at the premature predictions that the war against Germany would be over by the end of October, Wall Street went into mourning at the prospect of a speedy end of hostilities. Why? The United States Treasury states that net profits--AFTER TAXES--will total \$39,500,000 for the war years 1940-44. These official war profits--which do not reveal billions of hidden profits--average more for one war year than for the years 1936 and 1937 combined. "That priceless boy of yours" does have a price! LABOR ACTION has from time to time warned against the passage of the equal rights amendment to the constitution. This is a measure sponsored by society, career and club women, who feel "discriminated against," and by politicians who see in such a supposedly democratic amendment a chance for the greater exploitation of women workers. Organized labor has raised its voice against this camouflaged attack on working women, pointing out that under the pretense of "equal rights," labor's exploiters would claim there is not further need for the measures won for the special protec-

All governments are today worried about the populations of their countries. One can rightfully ask why they don't worry about that angle before wars--rather than after. But the fact is that they are now worried. There is only one known way of replenishing war-depleted populations--by women having babies. Because their babies of a score of years ago have been "depleted" as young men, many women don't feel an urge to bring more babies into the world. By way of inducement, Stalin's government offers certain pinnacles to poor women to have children up to eleven in number, regardless of the lack of housing and other requisites for child survival. The barbaric theory is that enough will survive--if enough are born. Somehow or other there must be a large post-war army to meet the needs of Russia's imperialist aims. In England, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, member of Parliament, bluntly stated the militaristic reasons behind some features of the Beveridge and other so-called social security plans. "At a crisis," wrote this Englishwoman, "the supply of munitions can be accelerated, but it takes at least nineteen years to produce an adult citizen. A plain promise of an extra five shillings [per week] will induce parents, especially the more thoughtful and ambitious, to have more children." The de Gaulle government comes out with a plan to raise the health of the colonial peoples of imperialist France's African and other possessions. Why? So that these enslaved peoples may be strong enough specimens to fight for France in the next war! What about Dumbarton Oaks? What about all the plans for world peace? THE PLANNERS DO NOT THEMSELVES TRUST THEIR OWN PLANS. Why should we--the women of the world--who are being pressured into bearing the soldiers for World War III, trust them? To break the vicious circle of populations being depleted by war and built up again only to be depleted by another war, the working people of the world must unite in socialist brotherhood.

U. S. Bankers: Hands Across the Sea

Shortly after the American Army occupied Rome, several stories appeared in newspapers here describing the resumption of high society life in Italy's capital. These stories told of how several American heiresses living in Rome, wives of Italian noblemen, had opened their huge estates on a moment's notice to entertain ranking American military men. These American women told reporters that they had not suffered under German occupation except that they had to stick pretty closely to their estates because they were, after all, enemy aliens. But aside from the dull social atmosphere of Rome under a German conqueror, there were no great privations for them. No American heiress was sent to a concentration camp, not one was with the large group of Italian hostages shot by the Germans just before they pulled out of Rome. It is apparent from this picture of cosmopolitan society life in Rome that the international brotherhood that links bankers, industrialists and high government officials of Germany, Italy and the United States is still solid despite the war. Another very plain demonstration of this solidarity was given recently at the trial of Vincenzo Azzolini, former governor of the Bank of Italy, who turned over 117 tons of Italian gold to the Germans just before the latter left Rome. Azzolini defends his action by say-

ing that the Germans forced him to do it. He claims that it is to his credit as a true Italian patriot that he stalled them for a few days and succeeded in persuading the Germans to take the gold out by train with a Bank of Italy messenger instead of by aeroplane under German guard, as they originally wanted to. NEW YORK BANKERS SPEAK UP This ridiculous defense doesn't impress the Italian people, who wish to dispose of Azzolini and his type with quick justice. But there is a powerful group of people who have put in "pleas of clemency" on behalf of the Italian banker. They are "bankers in New York and other capitals," according to a dispatch in the New York Times from Rome dated October 8. The Times prints an interview with Count Carlo Sforza on this subject: "I should like you to say that we Italians strongly resent efforts from abroad to interfere with the course of Italian justice. It is important that Azzolini be punished severely but justly. We must show that not only fascist gangsters like Carretta but also bankers are punished." It is not likely that American pressure in the case of Azzolini is directed toward saving the life of only one man, even though he is a banker. Official American comments over the death of Carretta, fascist stooge, who was killed and subsequently thrown in the Tiber River by an-

gry Italians, because he was one of the officials in charge at the prison when many Italian hostages were turned over to the Germans for summary execution, prove conclusively that the American government is worried that popular justice in Italy is going "too far." In an effort to belittle the just wrath of the Italian people toward their oppressors of the past twenty-five years, the killing of Carretta was likened to the lynchings in America. MASSES WANT REAL JUSTICE Certainly Count Sforza cannot be classed among those who stand for a clean sweep of the Italian capitalist class. On the contrary. He is very willing to let himself be used by the American government as a tool for restraining the Italian people. But at this point the popular wave of hatred against fascist-German collaborationists is so strong that even Count Sforza has to "resent" the American intrusion. The Italian masses are moving in the right direction. Although their political ideas are not completely clarified as yet, it is obvious that they are motivated not only by revenge but also by an unerring instinct to get rid of the fascist vermin. By their actions the Italian masses have proved that they are capable of establishing their own democracy and they object to the phony type that American generals are willing to let them have.

Politics at IUMSWA Convention--

(Continued from page 3) themselves hoarse, clamoring "We want Wallace!" Senator Claude Pepper, Florida Democrat, who recently did some fancy side-stepping on the question of Negro equality in order to get his nomination in the primaries, showed his training in Congress as a word-slinger when he addressed the convention. Sprinkling his speech amply with such phrases as "Wall Street against Main Street," "the country club against the country"; wise-cracking that Dewey if elected would put in Westbrook Pegler as Secretary of Labor; condemning the Republican Party for "their imperialist style," Pepper's spellbinding methods succeeded in making most of the delegates forget that both the Republican and Democratic Parties are cut from the same cloth. As for the speeches of the labor leaders, this reporter has never before heard such loose and irresponsible talk. Philip Murray, for instance, made the mouth of every delegate water with his outline of a post-war

plan he had laid before President Roosevelt. It envisaged the building of extensive airports and highways; the expansion of industry, schools, hospitals; comprehensive planning to give full employment, social security, good health, adequate education, industrial safety and all the rest. Then he made it appear that all this and heaven too would come to labor if it elects a "friendly" Congress and re-elects Roosevelt in November. Does Murray forget that the capitalists of this country, back in 1940, could not be made to convert from peace to war production to fight their own war, until "adequate" profits were assured them by the President and Congress? Will a President and a Congress that believe in capitalist profits--as every Republican and Democratic candidate does--get by with, or want to get by with, a plan to serve the needs of the people as against capitalist profits? Only a workers' government could do that! COMMUNIST LINE AGAIN A most dangerous note was struck by Phil Van Gelder, secretary-treas-

urer of the IUMSWA and Communist Party-liner. He not only implied, but plainly stated, that now that labor has branched out into political action through the PAC it has no further use for the strike. Van Gelder is through with what he called the "good old-fashioned militant strike." Since he has joined the Army, it seems he has become not only a military strategist but the formulator of a new union strategy. "You move up scattered and cautious," said Van Gelder. The might of organized action is passé, according to him. Van Gelder would permanently give up the right to strike--along with those in the camp of Harry Bridges--and leave the destiny of labor in the hands of the "friends" that PAC wants elected. However, it is more likely that organized labor will throw out their misleaders rather than give up their right to strike. As for political action, which was so much talked about at the tenth annual convention of the IUMSWA, the basic error of PAC policies will force labor to strike out into independent labor politics.

LABOR ACTION

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