

# \$41½ Billions In Profits, Dividends, Disbursements To Big Business, Says SEC Report!

## Gov't Helps Corporations Build Record Slush Fund

While corporation stooges and business men maintain their loud pitch of caterwauling about "crippling taxes," a report by the Securities and Exchange Commission last week produced a shocking set of figures on the wartime swag of big business.

After analyzing ALL corporation reports, excepting bank and insurance companies, the SEC disclosed that net working capital AFTER TAXES jumped from \$24,600,000,000 in 1939 to the stupendous sum of \$41,600,000,000 in 1943!

This tid-bit of information by the SEC, the government agency in the best position to verify the facts, was hidden away or ignored by the capitalist press.

More than seventy per cent of the boost occurred after the country entered the Second World War and the SEC said that this increase in working capital "represents profits after taxes, dividends and other disbursements."

Greenbacks in the safe-deposit vaults of corporations rose from \$10,900,000,000 to \$22,600,000,000, while government security holdings piled up from \$2,200,000,000 to \$16,000,000,000!

The influx of profits enabled corporations, in a four-year period, to pay off about a billion dollars in long-term debts. In addition to this, they have accumulated a Treasury estimate of twenty-five billions in post-war tax refunds, so generously provided by the class tax law passed by Congress.

Other "liquid" assets of these corporations are filed in their books as "inventories"—materials required for war production. The moment the war ends and the armed truce begins, these inventories can be quickly converted into "easy government cash" which will add another seven billion dollars to corporation reserves. Since most corporations have large hidden inventories from before the war, these too can be palmed off on the government, doubling the SEC estimate.

This cold-blooded accounting by a GOVERNMENT AGENCY is an open confession of GOVERNMENT ENRICHMENT OF THE MONOPOLIES AND MUNITIONS MAKERS on a scale unequalled in history!

Against this, stack up GOVERNMENT FREEZING OF WAGES and the infamous Little Steel formula of the WLB, and any honest individual will realize that the Democrats and Republicans comprise a government OF, BY AND FOR THE CAPITALIST RULERS OF THE UNITED STATES, that the war is being used as a means for PROFITEERING and strengthening the rule of that master class at the expense of the majority of the people.

We say:

### SOAK THE RICH—LET THEM PAY FOR THEIR WAR!

Expropriate the "Sixty Families"—the plutocratic three per cent of the population who own ninety-six per cent of the national wealth!

A one hundred per cent tax on all war profits above a five per cent maximum on invested capital! Immediate renegotiation of all war contracts to cut the fabulous profits to this level!

A \$25,000 ceiling on total individual incomes!

A graduated capital levy on all accumulated wealth over \$50,000 to cover war costs and provide post-war security for labor!

Consolidate all war industries! Nationalize the banks, big industrial monopolies and transportation systems.

Operate all big industry for the welfare of the plain people, with workers' control of production through the unions and plant committees!

For a break with bankrupt and reactionary capitalist politics and politicians and complete independence of labor from them! No political support to the Roosevelt government! For a party that is labor's own, an Independent Labor Party, based on the unions and controlled by them!

# LABOR ACTION

JUNE 26, 1944

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR



ONE CENT

## Congress Puts Skids Under Price Controls!

### Allied Invasion of European Continent Hits Political Snag--They Fear Revolts

By the time LABOR ACTION hits the streets, Cherbourg no doubt will have fallen and the whole Normandy peninsula will, in all likelihood, be in Allied hands. The winning of this corner of France means that the foothold necessary for the intensification of the war and the spreading of the invasion will have been accomplished.

The breach of the Atlantic Wall and the capture of the deep-sea port of Cherbourg will enable the Allied forces to send enormous supplies and great numbers of men to the Continent. Cherbourg may well become the center from which other landings will be prepared.

The fighting will undoubtedly grow more bloody and the loss of life on both sides will increase many times. Wherever the fighting takes place, France will become a shambles, and the suffering of the people from warfare will certainly increase.

The war is gaining in speed throughout the world. More fighting is taking place in the Far East with several offensives occurring simultaneously in the Pacific, in China and along the Indian border. German armies are still in retreat in Italy and already the Fifth Army under General Clark is moving rapidly northward toward the industrial centers of the country.

#### POLITICAL FACTORS

With all these advances, as we pointed out last week, the political aspects of the war and relations between the Allied powers remain more or less unchanged.

In the Far East the question of

Indian freedom remains a crucial one, with Britain unyielding in its determination to keep the "fountain-head of the Empire." China continues to be a subordinate partner of the United States. But, in Europe, the

intervention of the Italian people is permitted.

The King has not really abdicated; he merely appointed his equally morose son, Prince Umberto, as his lieutenant ruler. The monarchy con-

British ruling class is particularly anxious to maintain the monarchy because the destruction of the monarchies on the Continent might have repercussions in England itself.

#### DE GAULLE AND FRANCE

Across the Channel, in France, the political situation is also highly aggravated in the conflict between de Gaulle and Roosevelt. As is pointed out elsewhere in this issue, this struggle is not a mere struggle of personalities. It reflects the political differences among the United Nations. But it also reveals class interests as the dominating factor in the determination of policies by the two Western powers.

Back of the Italian and French situations is the fear the Allies have of the independent intervention of the masses of people. They want "strong" governments in these countries. By "strong" governments is meant the kind of regimes which will fight against any really important social changes leading to an improvement of the position of the working masses in France and Italy.

The Allies know that the European Continent is a powder-keg, one which can explode in the face of the whole capitalist system. We repeat, fear of the people, this is what characterizes Allied political policy. That is why the word and deed are not joined. That is why nothing is heard of the grandiose phrases of the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms. The war is purely military and is concerned solely with the best way to demolish Germany in Europe and Japan in Asia, with an eye to future wars.

### War in 'Science-Fiction' Stage

The new secret weapon introduced by the Nazis last week not only brings the war into a higher stage of almost unbelievable destructive madness, but should cure for all time the arch-eyebrow skepticism of pooch-poochers of H. G. Wells' novels, the "infantile" fantasies of Tom Swift and the more hair-raising descriptions in the popular science and science-fiction magazines.

Terrifying, death-dealing, ingenious, the rocket-plane, or, as it is called, the Robomb, is jet-propelled and travels at a speed estimated by Royal Air Force observers at more than 600 miles an hour. Spitfires, traveling at a maximum speed of 400 miles per hour, were hopelessly left behind in pursuit of the missile, whose fiery exhaust and one-ton bomb load killed scores on the English coast.

No doubt the best scientific genius of the United States and Britain will discover some method of neutralizing the effect of the Robomb, perhaps come up with a devastating secret weapon of their own to plague the civilian and military population of Germany.

In any case, civilizations to come will look back upon this period of world history with a kind of fantastic disbelief that so much human ingenuity, so much wonderful brain matter could have been perverted by the capitalist masters of the world to kill, to maim and destroy life and resources.

political situation is, for the moment, even more important.

The advance of the Allied armies in Italy has only focused attention more readily on the political situation there. No real change has taken place there. The new Italian regime is, in effect, an appointed regime made up of elements "satisfactory" to England and the United States. No

continues as a force in the Italian situation. Even now, despite the promises of Badoglio that he would remove himself from the political scene once Rome was captured, Prime Minister Churchill insists upon his participation in the government.

Badoglio's presence in the government would strengthen the monarchy and that is what England wants. The

In the wake of its rush to adjourn for the summer, Congress last week extended the Price Control and Stabilization Act by the adoption of a bill that knocked "price control" into a cocked hat, leaving only the restrictive labor "stabilization" provisions intact.

After shadow-boxing for a week with congressional stooges for the big manufacturers, mill owners and landlords, lamb-like OPA officials and "defenders of price control" laid down in the lions' den and allowed themselves to be devoured in an indecent orgy of profiteering and pay-envelope gouging.

In a prepared statement, OPA admitted that it might as well pack up and go home. Acting on advice of War Mobilization Director James F. Byrnes, Administrator Chester A. Bowles accepted the crippling amendments, revealing himself as the Trojan Horse of his own outfit.

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PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

As a result of Byrnes' dictated strategy, which obviously came from the White House, no veto of the price-raising legislation is expected, unless strong labor opposition is immediately organized. President Roosevelt, in any case, must assume full responsibility for this newest instance of hijacking the workers' pay checks in which his OPA chief and Byrnes played directing roles.

#### WHAT THEY DID

The "compromise" on the Bankhead amendment to raise the cost of work clothes, children's garments and cheaper cotton goods retained the basic provisos of the original, namely, to smash the ceilings on these items and to pour additional profits into the coffers of textile manufacturers.

But this was an incidental steal (Continued on page 4)

## 10th Year of New International

Through ten titanic years of wars, revolutions and breadlines, The New International, monthly magazine of revolutionary Marxism, has held its head high and patiently interpreted and taught the meaning of world events to the American working class.

Now, The New International is preparing to celebrate its signal achievement, for in July the magazine will be exactly ten years young.

To commemorate the event the editors and publishers have planned a special issue for the month. Leading

articles by Max Shachtman (the NI's first and present editor), Albert Gates, David Coolidge, J. R. Johnson, Ernest Lund and others will make the number an outstanding one for any year and, if finances permit, will feature a slick cover in colors.

To allow for the expected increase in size and distribution, not to mention the desirable inclusion of a true commemorative spirit, the magazine is offering advertising space to organizations and individuals.

The editors feel certain that many

readers and subscribers of the magazine will welcome the opportunity to enter their names on the greeting pages of the Tenth Anniversary Issue.

Individual and anonymous greetings cost one dollar each. Space rates for larger advertisements and greetings, suitable for union locals, fraternal organizations and clubs are available on request. Address all checks, money orders and communications to: The New International, 114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y.

## Badoglio Smell Still in Italian Cabinet

By T. R. COBB

After a period of stalling and behind-the-scenes maneuvering, the tangled political situation in Italy was unraveled an inch by the belated recognition last week of the "Six-Party" government of Ivanoe Bonomi by the Allied Advisory Council.

But as latest advices from Italy reached this country it appeared that the Italian people will be asked to pay a heavy price for "a government of its own choosing" that was neither elected by them nor representative of its most pressing desires.

The Bonomi cabinet, loaded to the hilt with ancient and impotent liberals, plus conservative "socialists" and "communists," has already exhibited a characteristic streak of yielding to the political pressure of the Allies.

Winston Churchill, arch Tory and Franco-lover, besieged the Allied Council with a refusal to accept any Italian government without Marshal Badoglio, former Mussolini satellite who was kicked out of power by the massed force of the anti-fascist Italian working class. Moreover, Churchill insisted that the reactionary, fossilized, monarchical institution of King Victor Emmanuel be kept intact.

These, coupled with a demand that any Italian government must assume

the usual degradations imposed upon a "defeated nation," were the sum and substance of Allied terms.

#### WHOSE GOVERNMENT?

The Bonomi "government," which recently refused a pledge of fealty to the throne, was reported to have pulled in its tail and accepted all the conditions laid down by Churchill and his American associates. If this is true, as is likely, then Marshal Pietro Badoglio, right-hand man of Mussolini, will be invited back into power.

Perhaps more important than all the diplomatic flinching as to which compromise of the Italian people can be most easily forced down their throats was the statement of an authoritative Allied spokesman as reported by New York Times correspondent Herbert L. Matthews.

Replying to criticisms concerning the delay in recognition of the Bonomi "government," the Allied state-

ment said that "it is perfectly clear that any government must have the approval of the Allied governments before it can take office." When asked whether this was an assertion that the Atlantic Charter did not operate until the war had ended, the spokesmen replied that the Charter did not apply under the armistice conditions or before the peace treaty.

What the armistice terms of the Allies are remains a well guarded secret between the Allies and top Italian officials, but the startling and arbitrary interpretation of the operation of the only "war aims" document of the Allies comes as a frank declaration that the Atlantic Charter is a dead document. It is a declaration that "liberated nations" must join the war of the Allies as a condition of "freedom" and that "governments of their own choosing" must conform to the status quo considerations of the American, British and Russian governments.

In the meantime, the reaction of the political parties in Italy to the above policies of the Allies assumes the proportions of a rank betrayal of the people. Their willingness to postpone all important matters until "after the war" deprives them of any respect or support that might be summoned up in their behalf. It is becoming increasingly apparent that it cannot solve even the most elementary tasks of a true liberation.

Reports coming out of Rome testify to a mass feeling of disappointment and disillusionment on the part of the people arising from the fact that the representatives of the Allied Military Government are providing a cover under which well known fascists of Mussolini and Badoglio vintage are crawling back into positions of power.

This mounting frustration caused the Roman Committee of National Liberation to send a delegation to the AMG offering to appoint a group of irreproachable citizens to give advice and help in the dismissal of persons formerly connected with the German and Italian fascists.

The AMG reply to this was a resounding slap in the face to the National Liberation leaders. Fascists have either been confirmed in their former places or given additional blessings and aid.



Carlo

## NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

## Job-Hunting No Picnic to Ex-Brewster Workers

LABOR ACTION  
114 West 14th Street  
New York, N. Y.

## Dear Friends:

It may sound strange, but I've been doing quite a bit of practice work as a sort of pioneer pavement pounder for the post-war depression.

Getting into shape on my job-hunting career should have been easy, what with the past experience I had during the years when home relief offices and WPA were uppermost in everybody's mind. Nevertheless, it is just as distasteful as ever, and anyone who thinks I like it is plumb crazy.

Speaking about insanity, I'll bet some people will believe that I must be a madman to write about job hunting in the midst of what the press generally proclaims as a time of "labor shortage."

But, brother, if they want to change their minds fast, and really fast, just let them accompany me or any other Brewster worker who was given the axe several weeks ago when the Navy Department decided on its airplane cutback program.

Yes, sir, about 7,000 of us were laid off at Brewster, as the readers of LABOR ACTION know. The USES admits that they were able to place only about 1,000 of us. That still leaves most of us as good, solid-unemployed.

## WHAT WE'RE UP AGAINST

Really, I hate to tell you about most of the jobs that the people who were "fortunate" did get. To make a long story short, they took pay cuts that were terrific, and they found working conditions more miserable, and ever so many were forced into non-union shops.

But, as I said before, most of us Brewster men and women are still pounding pavements—in the year 1944. This is what it is like for us. I am most anxious that LABOR ACTION tell its readers about us, for I know that no other paper will tell the truth about us. Most of us have been reading LABOR ACTION at the plant for a long time now, and we know that you know and understand our story and can explain it for us to those who want to know the truth, that is to say, our fellow unionists throughout the country.

Brother, we are up against it, and up against it bad. The average Brew-

ster worker was making \$1.09 per hour. We thought we deserved more, of course, but our wage rates were something we fought for and won over years of hard struggle. And we were all proud of the way we built our union that was able to maintain a decent standard for us. On the whole, we can say we fought a hard battle through our union, Local 365, United Auto Workers, CIO, and with it we achieved good standards which we wanted to uphold.

## JOB HUNTING—1944

Well, the day our brothers and sisters came down to get paid off for the last time, there were quite a few vultures out to pick at our hides. They called themselves representatives of companies, and they claimed they were there to give us jobs, but they were nothing but expert wage cutters. They offered our brothers and sisters anywhere from fifteen to thirty cents an hour less for the same or similar work. As if this wasn't bad enough, we soon discovered they were all out-of-town companies.

Well, there were some who were willing to pick up their families and move, but they found out soon there were no places they could live and unless they were willing to pay fantastic prices for food, shelter, etc., it was useless to go. The "nearby" out-of-town places in Jersey were anywhere from 1½ to two hours away from our homes. That's a total of three to four hours of travel a day to and from work, and not one of those company babies offered us anything like portal to portal pay for our time. Rather, they told us it would cost us \$11 or \$20 a month fare. The net result was that most of us just couldn't afford to take the jobs.

The USES offices were hounded by Brewster workers, plant gates in and around New York saw Brewster men in droves. A few offers came. "We will start you at sixty cents an hour," many a boss was heard to say. Others offered sixty-five, seventy and even as high as seventy-five cents an hour. Experience meant nothing, skills were sneered at.

Ever so many of us have been filling out application blank after blank. Police bosses say: "Sorry, but we are all filled up now. We have your application on file and when we need you we will call you." Polite, I re-

peat, because most of them give us the brush-off much more crudely.

## WANT NO BREWSTER MEN

We have heard everything. "Sorry, no Brewster men," says one. "You are all trouble-makers," says another. "You want too much money for what you fellows are worth," says a third.

Then there are the lies they picked up from the stories in the kept press. "You Brewster men are lazy, you never turn out any work." This last one "gets" every former worker who sweat hour after hour building Corsairs and kept our production record at Brewster up to what the Navy permitted us to build. But whether it

makes our blood boil or not, the result, as far as jobs are concerned, is the same. Every time we asked for work, the answer was another slap in the face.

Please let me address men and women who are in the union movement for a minute. We at Brewster have learned a lot and we would like to pass it on to you because it may help you in the days to come. When cut-backs come, remember our stay-in. Only don't accept promises from anybody, including the president. Rely on something definite. The only one who will get it for you will be yourselves. Brothers and sisters,

frankly, we left that plant too soon. Remember, these layoffs are a blow to the union movement and a blow to our living standards. Preserve them by fighting to retain our jobs.

And remember our brothers, sons, and friends in the armed forces. They too want to come home to jobs at decent standards. Only we of the labor movement can save that for them. Remember, we had 6,219 of our fellow workers who entered the armed forces. They won't have jobs to come back to! When cutbacks come, REMEMBER THE BREWSTER STAY-IN!

Union Man.

## Negroes Attacked in Memphis

The charge that "a virtual reign of terror against Negroes exists in Memphis" was made last week by Rev. Aron S. Gilmartin, national chairman of the Workers Defense League, in a telegram to Assistant Attorney-General Tom C. Clark. His telegram asks for "an immediate federal investigation of the beatings of the Negro leaders and the apparent conspiracy of the Memphis police force against their civil rights."

Rev. Gilmartin's wire quoted a local daily, the Memphis Press-Scimitar, identifying the thugs as "two Negroes known to have done work at times for the police."

In releasing his wire to the press, Rev. Gilmartin, pastor of the Unitarian Church of Our Father in Newburgh, N. Y., who recently spent a week in Memphis investigating denial of free speech to A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL, declared:

"The seeds of bloody inter-racial conflict are being sown by this series

of attacks on prominent Negro leaders by thugs known to have been police agents in the past. Among those beaten were Lieut. George Lee, Republican leader and author of 'Beale Street'; Benjamin Bell, labor organizer; and Dr. Kelso and Dr. Walker, two leading citizens.

"Latest intended victim was Rev. Roy Love, pastor of Mt. Nebo Baptist Church, at which Mr. Randolph had originally been scheduled to speak November 1. Rev. Love managed to escape in his car before the two thugs, armed with iron pipe, reached him.

"The attacks followed the Negro labor meeting held for A. Philip Randolph, which was bitterly opposed by the Memphis city labor officials and the Crump Democratic machine. Boss Crump and his followers are apparently attempting to intimidate the Negroes of Memphis, who stood up and won the right of Randolph to speak."

"The Memphis Press-Scimitar, a leading local daily, has stated that

many recognize the description of the two thugs as that of 'two Negroes who are known to have done work at times for the police. Negroes... think the series of attacks have no specific objective, but are intended to terrorize the Negroes generally because Negroes have taken part in independent political action.'

"The editor of the local Negro weekly, the Memphis World, Nat O. Williams, who had written an editorial condemning these attacks, was warned over the phone that he was next in line for a 'headwhipping.'

"Up to the present, the Memphis police have reported no progress in apprehending the thugs, though all the victims have given clear descriptions of the two attackers and the beatings have been spread over a two-month period. The Workers Defense League, therefore, has demanded an immediate investigation by the Department of Justice of the apparent police conspiracy against the Negroes."

## Platform of Workers Party

For a People's Peace and a Workers' World! Against Both Imperialist Camps! For the Victory of World Labor and the Colonial Peoples! For the Victory of the Third Camp of Socialism!

The Workers Party recommends this platform for adoption as the fighting program of the trade union movement and of the national Independent Labor Party which it must form.

## LABOR MUST DEFEND ITSELF NOW!

1. For the defense of all democratic rights! Against wartime dictatorship measures! Abolish wage-freezing and job-freezing!

2. Restore full and unrestricted collective bargaining rights of the unions! Rescind the no-strike pledge! Repeal the Smith-Connelly anti-strike law!

3. A higher, not a lower, standard of living! For a \$1.00-an-hour minimum wage law, with time and a half for overtime, double time for Sunday and holiday work, and equal pay for equal work for all industrial and agricultural workers! An "escalator clause" in all wage contracts, hitching wages to the rising cost of living, plus a margin for comfort—a "cost-plus" wage!

4. No tax on wages and no sales tax on consumers' goods! Abolish all taxes on annual incomes of \$5,000 or less!

5. Down with control of rationing and price-fixing by the monopolists and the government bureaucrats! For democratic control of rationing and price-fixing by joint committees of working class organizations, farmers' organizations, cooperatives and consumers' organizations and housewives' leagues.

6. No government contract to plants without a union contract.

7. Maintain and increase all government social services and establish adequate federal medical service, health and accident insurance, old-age pensions, child care, protection for the unemployed!

8. SOAK THE RICH—LET THEM PAY FOR THEIR WAR!

9. Expropriate the "Sixty Families"—the plutocratic three per cent of the population who own ninety-six per cent of the national wealth!

10. A one hundred per cent tax on all war profits above a five per cent maximum on invested capital! Immediate renegotiation of all war contracts to cut the fabulous profits to this level!

11. A \$25,000 ceiling on total individual incomes! A graduated capital levy on all accumulated wealth over \$50,000 to cover war costs and provide post-war security for labor!

12. PREPARE NOW TO WIN POST-WAR JOB SECURITY AND PLENTY

13. Government planning to guarantee the highest national production and income, a year-around job and a minimum annual wage to all, and a rising standard of living!

14. Conscript all war industries! Nationalize the banks, big industrial monopolies and transportation systems. No handing over of government-built and owned plants and facilities to private ownership!

15. For a two hundred and fifty billion dollar five year program to provide decent housing for all, extensive public works, rural electrification and modernization!

16. For a guaranteed \$5,000 annual income to all workers' families, made possible by a planned rise in the total national income and a thirty-hour maximum work-week.

17. DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS TO THE DRAFTEES

18. The right of free speech, free press and free assembly for the men and women in the armed forces! The unrestricted right of the armed forces to vote in all elections and participate in all political campaigns!

19. For doubling present dependency allowances paid by the government with no deductions from the serviceman's pay!

20. For a two years' base pay grant to all demobilized veterans, with option of trade school and higher education facilities at government expense, and guarantee of decent jobs!

## DOWN WITH JIM CROW AND ANTI-SEMITISM

21. All discrimination against Negroes, Jews or other minorities in the armed forces or by employers in industry must be made a criminal offense!

22. For complete political, social and economic equality for Negroes!

23. For lifting all immigration barriers against Jewish and other victims of fascist terror! For government aid in rescuing and transporting these victims to safety!

## PROTECT THE FARMER

24. Adequate government provision of land, technical aid, machinery and supplies to all small farmers! Cancellation of all small farmers' debts to government and banks!

25. Nationalize all absentee-owned farm lands. Abolish tenancy and sharecropping by turning over the land to those who till it.

## PROTECT THE YOUTH

26. Adequate government provision for free education of all youth, including trade schools and universities! The right of all youth, male and female, to vote at the age of eighteen! Government-maintained nurseries for the children of working mothers.

## AGAINST REACTION—FOR A LABOR PARTY AND A WORKERS' GOVERNMENT

27. For Union Defense Guards, trained and controlled by the unions, to defend labor, the Negroes, Jews and all racial minorities from native fascists, Jim Crow rioters, anti-Semites, Klansmen, Silver Shirts and other capitalist tools!

28. For a break with bankrupt and reactionary capitalist politics and politicians and complete independence of labor from them! No political support to the Roosevelt government! For a party that is labor's own, an Independent Labor Party, based on the unions and controlled by them!

29. For a workers' government to organize the country for freedom, security, peace and plenty for the masses of the people!

30. Operate all big industry for the welfare of the plain people, with workers' control of production through the unions and plant committees!

31. Democratic control of the distribution and price-fixing of consumers' goods by the labor unions, farmers, consumers' and cooperative organizations.

## FOR A DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S PEACE AND A WORKERS' WORLD

32. For an end to the war and fascism by a democratic people's peace, without annexations, indemnities, tribute, or the dismemberment and oppression of sovereign nations and peoples!

33. For complete, immediate national independence to all colonial or semi-colonial peoples! Against all old or new annexations, or depriving nations of their sovereignty and independence, by American, British, Russian, German or Japanese imperialism!

34. For a Socialist United States of Europe and a World Socialist Federation! A socialist world will destroy capitalist imperialism, recurrent wars, fascist barbarism, oppression and exploitation, and establish a new order of freedom, plenty, peace and security, and world brotherhood!

## WORLD EVENTS

By Europacus

## The Struggle Over French Colonies

The dispute over the recognition of de Gaulle's provisional government in Algiers has been going on for months. The columns of our liberal and not-so-liberal press are filled with attacks and counter-attacks. Is General de Gaulle a good enough democrat to be recognized by our virtuous State Department? Does he not have dictatorial tendencies? In that case, how can we recognize him? (Vargas of Brazil and Chiang of China are of course on the way to democracy, even if they have not yet quite reached our superior stage—and as for Stalin, his regime represents a different form of democracy which is quite good for Russia, al-

though not here.) The whole discussion has a certain veil of unreality around it—at times it becomes outright funny to see the virtuous indignation of the big press over de Gaulle, at the same time decorated with a not less virtuous sympathy for Franco. We know, of course, that there were other reasons for the quarrel between FDR and de Gaulle than personal dislike. But it rarely happens that, while wars are going on, the real causes of some of the conflicts are revealed. Ordinarily this comes only much later, when there is no need any longer to hide the sordid deals in order to keep up morale.

## Revelations of the United States News

The Readers' Digest of June has reprinted an article from the United States News of June 14 in which the reasons for his whole fight are suddenly brought into the open. It is significant that neither FDR nor the State Department has dared to repudiate this article.

The explanation given in this article is that de Gaulle insisted on the full recovery of all French colonies at the end of the war, while FDR's idea, according to the article, is that the French Empire should not be restored intact without guarantees for America. The article says that FDR is thinking primarily of the French colonies in the Western hemisphere (Martinique, Guadeloupe, St. Pierre, etc. of Dakar on the African continent opposite Brazil and vital stop-over point for all trans-Atlantic air lines from South America; of Indo-China, next to Southern China; of Madagascar on the Eastern side of Africa, and of New Caledonia, on vital sea lanes between the U. S. and Australia.

Other sources add North Africa to this list and point to the fact, that the Casablanca airbase was built by the U. S. Army to fit not only immediate war needs but also for use in the post-war period.

So that's it! Not de Gaulle's pretensions to being a Joan of Arc, not the rather limited freedom of press and assembly in North Africa, but the very practical desire for former French colonies is behind the whole excitement.

De Gaulle is a touchy gentleman. He knows that he is accused inside France of being merely a pawn in the hand of England and America. If, in addition to Syria and Lebanon, which he has already had to relinquish in part, he is forced to give up a great part of the French colonial empire he will have lost all standing with the French ruling class. Furthermore, he is too clever not to know that he cannot permanently hope to reign over France as a sort of Anglo-American Gauleiter. That's why he opposes the Allies now in such a vigorous manner.

## Future of De Gaulle

But de Gaulle's fight is doomed to failure. France is no longer a great power. French imperialism can no longer play an independent role. It can only hope to survive in the shadow of mightier protectors. De Gaulle can hope to maneuver between Russia and the Western powers, just as in the post-Versailles era the Balkan states tried to maneuver and thus to gain a certain measure of independence.

But that's exactly where his freedom of action ends. He might succeed in preventing the installation in France of a regime too docile to American demands, but all this cannot make one forget that France is doomed as a great imperialist power.

France lost the war in 1940. She has been ransacked by the Nazis for four years and will now again suffer the ravages of war. De Gaulle might think that a regimented, state-controlled economy might be able to hold its own against Western competition in the post-war years—but even this will not suffice.

There is no way out for imperialist France, nor for the rest of Europe. They will be pawns in the hands of the big powers and will serve as the battlegrounds in their rivalries. Only a United Socialist Europe could provide a solution and an alternative. The hope for Europe does not lie with de Gaulle or with some Russian or Western Quisling. Europe will be socialist or it will nothing.

## Civil Rights Committee, WDL Win Release of Kelly Postal

Kelly Postal, former secretary-treasurer of Minneapolis Truck-drivers Local 544, was released from Stillwater state penitentiary May 30 on parole to his relatives in Oregon after serving less than a year of a five-year prison term.

The release came after a vigorous pardon campaign by the Civil Rights Defense Committee and the Workers Defense League to free the noted labor leader who had obeyed the unanimous vote of the union membership at a regular meeting to take Local 544's funds with them when the union changed its affiliation to the CIO. Postal was never accused of misusing these funds personally.

In a previous trial on the same charges in February, 1942, Judge Hall directed a jury to discharge Postal,

declaring:

"By a resolution of the majority of the Local 44 membership, he (Postal) was directed to turn over all the moneys of the union to the Union Defense Committee. That this resolution, directing him to turn over the moneys, was open and avowed, cannot be disputed, as it was heard through the loud-speaker system even by those assembled outside the building. The membership of the union must have believed they had a right to transfer these moneys by resolution, as they attempted to do. Postal, the defendant, was the agent and steward of the membership and turned over their money at his direction."

Nevertheless, in the subsequent trial, before Judge Solover, Postal was declared "guilty."

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## Wanted: An Ad Writer! They're Still Having Trouble Naming the War

By WALTER WEISS

You would think that the man who made the New Deal a household expression, who drove the money-changers from the temple (at least, in words), who made a laughing-stock of people whose ideas were still those of the horse-and-buggy days—you would think that such a man would have no trouble in finding a suitable name for this war.

Yet the President has been unable, over a period of years, to propose a substitute for "Second World War." At one time he invited suggestions from the nation at large, and contributions have been pouring in for a long time now. To no avail.

His first favorite was "War of Survival." This impressed nobody at all. It was not more inspiring than the declarations of that other great phrase-maker, Churchill, that the purpose of the war was to win the war—and what more could any reasonable person ask?

The President's latest choice, announced a few weeks ago, is drearier than the first. "The Tyrants' War," says he, comes pretty close to the truth.

### CHURCHILL KNOWS THE SCORE

Wilson was able to talk about "making the world safe for democracy" or about "a war to end wars." Roosevelt and Churchill do not dare to revive slogans so explosive as these. Churchill now even scoffs at the notion that the war is, or should be, ideological. Democrats, fascists, communists—all the same to Churchill, so long as they fight Hitler. He adds, of course, that the communists must not be those dangerous Trotskyists but good capitalist-supporting Stalinists. Even the latter are more attractive to him when located at a distance—in Russia or Yugoslavia, for example.

Roosevelt and Hull, Churchill and Eden keep harping on the danger of "chaos and anarchy" in Europe. They mean, of course, socialist revolutions. Determined to maintain capitalism at all costs, they have made and will continue to make alliances with Darlans, Badoglio and Franco. They permit themselves some talk of restoring democracy after the war is all over, but democracy is purposely not made a main slogan.

In Britain even some Conservatives have criticized Churchill for his violently pro-Franco pronouncements and for his renunciation of ideological purpose in the war. This was the wrong propaganda, they say, to use on the eve of a "liberating" invasion.

Churchill himself evidently feels that it is none too soon to begin another kind of ideological preparation that will be sorely needed—preparation of liberals and laborites for the harsh realities that will be involved in checking "chaos and anarchy" on the continent.

### CYNICISM—MATURITY—EXPERIENCE!

Roosevelt, too, is dishing out some hard-boiled realism nowadays. Asked at a recent press conference how his plan for a post-war international organization differed from the League of Nations, he replied that the League was based on a "rather altruistic program," while the 1944 model "may reflect in some ways a more cynical outlook developed by some people in their maturity as a result of experience." Perhaps, he added, there is no method to end wars for all time.

Already in 1941, Roosevelt and Churchill in the Atlantic Charter were able to offer no other war aims than Wilson's Fourteen Points in a watered-down version. They no longer dared to promise an end to secret diplomacy. They did not dare to promise general disarmament in the foreseeable future. Only the "aggressors" were to be disarmed.

At present their plan for a peace organization, in the general outlines so far revealed, can hardly be distinguished from Wilson's discredited League of Nations. The great powers are to run the organization, now as then. But this time the small nations are being told more openly that they don't count; and time too, to make militarism more acceptable, the constitution of the new league will doubtless recognize that the major powers, having a heavy responsibility for preventing "aggression" all over the world, must of course maintain large armed forces.

This is what the great capitalist leaders have to offer. As you can readily see the name of their war is all too obvious—the Second Imperialist World War. We agree with the President (but we eliminate his "perhaps") that there is no method to end wars—not while capitalism and capitalist imperialism exist. Only socialism and workers' rule can bring lasting peace. It will be achieved only against the united opposition of Roosevelt and Churchill.

## politics

In the June issue:

### JIM CROW IN UNIFORM

two sensational documents

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a first-hand story of what it is like to wear your country's uniform, if your skin is brown.

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## A Phony Negro "Bill of Rights"

By DAVID COOLIDGE

A "Declaration by Negro Voters" has been issued by the leaders of twenty-five organizations. In their declaration these Negro leaders claim to express the opinions of the Negroes in the United States on the question of the war, political parties and candidates, imperialism and Jim Crow. The leaders who issue this declaration come from a variegated group of organizations such as Negro college sororities and fraternities, the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, the African Methodist Episcopal Church, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, National Maritime Union, Negro Elks, NAACP and the Council on African Affairs.

The second sentence in the declaration states that "Political parties and candidates that seek the votes of Negroes must be committed to the wholehearted prosecution of the war to total victory, must agree to the elimination of the poll-tax by act of Congress, the passage of anti-lynching legislation, the unsegregated integration of Negroes into the armed forces, the establishment of a permanent federal committee on fair employment practices, and a foreign policy of international cooperation that promotes economic and political security for all peoples."

Another paragraph tells us that "The Negro people, like all other Americans, recognize the war as the chief issue confronting the country. We demand of any political party desiring the support of Negroes a vigorous prosecution of the war. We are opposed to any negotiated peace as advocated by the Hitler-like forces within our country. Victory must crush Hitlerism at home as well as abroad."

### WHAT DO NEGROES BELIEVE?

We are interested right now in the two statements that Negroes are primarily concerned with a "vigorous prosecution of the war" and that Ne-

groes, in deciding which party to vote for, will lean to the party "committed to the wholehearted prosecution of the war to total victory." This statement is a barefaced and deliberate lie. The signers of this declaration know that it is a lie. Every semi-intelligent man and woman in the United States who has had any contact with Negroes knows that it is a lie.

The mass of Negroes in this country are not supporters of the war. Millions of Negroes believe that the war is not a war for democracy. There are thousands of Negroes who believe it is an imperialist war.

The government knows that Negroes do not support the war. The white press knows it, the Negro press knows it. The signers of this declaration know it. In its demands the declaration gives the reasons why Negroes do not make any such demands in connection with the war, alleged in the statement.

The declaration demands anti-lynching legislation. There is none, despite twenty-five years of effort. Anti-lynching bills have been defeated by the Democratic and Republican Parties alike. Roosevelt said not one word in support of the recent anti-lynch bill.

They want a federal FEPC. But Negroes remember the impotence of the FEPC. It was given little power and what limited authority it had was whittled away.

The declaration demands anti-poll tax legislation, but Republicans and Democrats have just defeated that effort.

These leaders say that they want an end to imperialism and colonial exploitation. How many Negroes believe that this war will end these twin evils? Hasn't Churchill already answered that demand in his statement that he did not become His Majesty's First Minister in order to sit in at the liquidation of the British Empire?

and rammed down the throats of the Commons without first consulting that body of representatives.

He compared the suppression of labor's rights by the government and labor's "own leaders" as identical with the method employed by Dr.

The declaration demands the elimination of segregation in the armed forces. But Negroes know that segregation in the armed forces has been sustained with vigor by the federal government. Not only this, but the government has not even protected Negroes in the military service from insult, assault and lynching.

### FOR FULL EQUALITY

These are the experiences which Negroes have gone through which teach them something about the present war. They know that the problem is one of national Jim Crow and is not a matter of the Republican or Democratic Parties. Their first demand on political parties is not for vigorous prosecution of the war but for the elimination of Jim Crow, discrimination, segregation, disfranchisement and lynching. Negroes do not recognize the war as "the chief issue confronting our country," insofar as Negroes are part of "our country." They see the chief issue before the country for Negroes, the complete elimination of Jim Crow NOW, for full equality.

When we say "Negroes" we are talking about the masses of the Negro people. We are not talking about the signatories to this declaration. They are mostly middle class Negroes who do not and cannot speak for, nor represent the interests of the Negro workers and toilers.

The signers of this document tell us that they want to end exploitation in Africa, the West Indies, India and all other colonial areas. Don't they want to end exploitation in the United States? They don't even mention this little trifle. What is their opinion on the question of the capitalist exploitation of the sharecroppers and industrial workers? And why do these Negro leaders refrain from making the demand for the complete freedom of Africa and India? Why don't they demand openly that all subject and colonial peoples be granted their full independence NOW?

We know the answers to all of these questions and we know why certain phrases appear in this declaration. In the first place, the Negroes who signed this declaration were rounded up and corralled by Browder's Communist Political Association. Some of them did not know what was happening to them, for Max Yergan poses as head of the Council on African Affairs. Ferdinand Smith poses as only secretary-treasurer of the National Maritime Union. Clayton Powell appears only as head of the "People's Movement."

### CORRALLED BY STALINISTS

The Stalin-Browder line is as clear as day in the declaration. "Wholehearted prosecution of the war to total victory"; "the chief issue confronting our country" is the war. No "negotiated peace as advocated by the Hitler-like forces in our country." One can just see millions of Negro miners, steel workers, sharecroppers and laundry workers storming the political conventions with the battle cry: "no negotiated peace"; "prosecute the war to total victory."

This declaration is a statement by a group of pro-war middle class Negroes who find themselves with the same attitude on the war as that held by Stalin's Communist Political Association in the United States. It is not a statement of what Negroes think but of what these Negro leaders and the Stalinists want them to think. The declaration serves not the interests of Negroes but the middle class interests of these leaders and of the Stalin-Browder Communist Political Association.

The declaration is a brazen notification to Roosevelt or Willkie or Dewey that these Negroes are in full support of the imperialist war. All the other "demands" are thrown in as window dressing to obscure their pro-war betrayal and in an effort to make such betrayal palatable to as many Negroes as possible.

## Home-Grown Fascism in Tory-Bevin Defense Regulations, Laborites Charge

Lashing out at the Bevin "Defense Regulation 1AA," which makes persons "suspected of instigating strikes" liable to five years imprisonment, twenty-five British MPs, led by John McGovern of the Independent Labor Party, charged that the measure represented a trend toward a corporate state. With Parliament subservient to a combination of government and Tory-minded "labor leaders," he added, all of them are really serving the interests of the big capitalists.

Ernest Bevin, His Majesty's Minister of Labor and lackey of the Churchill imperialists, introduced the regulation after yielding to a hysterical press campaign in which the strike upheavals of recent months were declared to be the result of a "Trotskyist plot."

Leading the wolf pack was the London Daily Mail, which in days gone by supported Hitler and the British fascist, Oswald Mosley. This yellow sheet whipped up a full-blown "conspiracy" against the government as part of a campaign to suppress the strike actions of the working class.

### McGOVERN'S SPEECH

Ridiculing Bevin in a debate in the House of Commons, McGovern exclaimed: "Does anybody suggest that 100,000 miners were on strike because of some Trotskyist plot?" Continuing, he said that he was amazed at this use of the 1927 Trade Disputes Act, because he had watched agitation to repeal this law, which was vicious and operated strongly against the trade unions. Then, he added, the agitation which had gone on for years against the Act was now followed by the Act being operated by a Labor Minister (Bevin), a trade union leader, in a more vicious form. One of the worst features of the regulation, McGovern charged, was the fact that it was contrived by a meeting of the Employers' Confederation and the Trade Union Congress,

but as a development of the corporate state. The most dangerous thing about this regulation is the fact that it is one of a series of trends in the political development of this country. The war is being used as a cloak for putting over policies to which the people would never agree in times of peace; and the fact that cunning minds behind the scenes, out to get the workers disciplined and tied hand and foot, are behind all such regulations.

Thus does the restrictive legislation against the working class pile up in Great Britain, which added to the already formidable arsenal now in the possession of the ruling class, paves the way for a gigantic effort to impose virtually a totalitarian regime on Britain.

AIMS OF THE TORIES

The British capitalists, like their American blood-brothers, facing a desperate post-war competition for profits and markets, are coldly and deliberately preparing to crush labor under their heel. Even now, while they attempt to fool the people into believing they are waging a war for "democracy" against fascism and the spirit of fascism, they are plotting to foist their own brand of this hated system on the working class.

When the British workers, both at home and abroad at the war fronts, learn and understand what is being cooked up behind their backs, they will manifest the most radical changes in their political outlook.

If the present growing militancy of the British working class is any indication of things to come, as witness the recent strike wave and the growing prestige of the Fourth Internationalist movement in the country, the Tory imperialists will have on their hands such a struggle as they never reckoned for, a struggle that might perhaps overthrow the whole system of capitalist rule in John Bull's Empire.

## Paying For Their Own Way!

Drew Pearson, in his syndicated column of June 18, revealed the names of contributors to the Democratic and Republican Parties which indicate more than anything else that they are the parties of big business.

There is nothing especially new in his story. It has ever been thus, that the big business interests paid for the campaigns of the two capitalist parties and that they kept their interests "alive" in both of their organizations.

The Democratic National Committee has collected \$125,816.25. This is reported to be more than that collected by the Republican National Committee. Up to now, no real campaign has yet started, the nominating conventions have not yet been held nor the candidates selected. When the election campaign really gets under way you will find that the amount mentioned is merely chicken feed. The ante will be upped by many hundreds of thousands of dollars.

The Democratic Party fund, Pearson reports, is made up of small amounts, mainly collections at Jackson Day dinners (which includes the party bigwigs and their big business supporters). But the "Dewey" contributors reads, according to Pearson, "like the Social Register of New York."

These contributors are headed by Winthrop Aldrich of Chase National Bank. His cousins, Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, gave \$2,500 each. Here is a partial list of some of the other contributors:

Alfred P. Sloan, head of General Motors, \$3,000, and his wife, \$3,000.  
Jeremiah Milbank, \$2,500, and his wife, \$1,000.  
John Foster Dulles, Dewey's foreign policy expert and big time lawyer, \$1,000.

George Whitney, of J. P. Morgan & Co., \$1,000.  
Robert C. Stanley, president of International Nickel, \$2,500.  
Walter Gifford, president of A. T. & T., \$5,000.  
Lucius Boomer, head of Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, \$5,000.  
Mrs. John T. Pratt, of Standard Oil Co., \$3,000.  
Mrs. George Baker, of First National Bank, \$3,000.  
Elisha Walker, of Kuhn, Loeb & Co., \$1,000.

And there are others representing still other corporations in the country. When the campaign really gets going, you will find this list expanded many times, the sums increased, and the recipients to be both parties, in which big business has a common interest.

## NAM Man Weeps Over 'Labor Coercion'

Measures to remove organized labor from government protection and destroy the "enormous power" of unions were proposed to 1,500 leaders of the National Industrial Conference Board, employers' research organization, by President H. W. Prentiss, Jr., of the Armstrong Cork Co., former head of the National Association of Manufacturers.

Speaking of a "peace pact between labor and capital," he urged legislation to remove the wage-hour law, the Wagner Act, the Norris-LaGuardia Anti-Injunction Act, the Sherman Anti-Trust Act and other laws affecting labor-management relations.

After the war, labor and management must get along on a "voluntary basis, settling their own problems without government interference," Prentiss said. "Organized labor in the U. S. has come of age. It is no longer an infant industry. Legislation and judicial decisions granting special privileges to labor because it is the

underdog no longer hold valid and must be modified."

Union monopoly in the field of labor must go, he declared, in "the interest of the seventy-five per cent of the workers of the country who are

not union members." He urged legislation giving employees the right to deal as individuals directly with their employers and assuring their right to join or not to join a union.

To get rid of the "coercion in col-

## Society Note of the Week

Walter Winchell reports that Mrs. Evelyn Walsh McLean, rich Washington socialite, whose daughter is married to fascist Senator Reynolds, has just made a trip to the West Coast.

The old parasite carried with her the fabulous "Hope Diamond." Chicago cops checked the passenger list to see if there was anyone on board the train who might steal the expensive hunk of glass.

Accompanying Mrs. McLean were her

Chauffeur,  
Bodyguard, and  
Seven Servants.

Note: The government is urging workers to spend their vacation periods at home this year. No room on buses, trains and planes.

## "Scissor Bill"—Walks Like A Man, Talks Like a Boss Straight Talk

By ERNEST LUND

Of all the different kind of people who go to make up this world, none fills an honest man with such utter disgust as the creature who makes his living as a wage worker but does his thinking as a capitalist.

The old Wobblies called this creature a "Scissor Bill." There isn't a shop, that doesn't have its share of them. Blessed, indeed, is the union man who doesn't have to work near one of them. To hear a Scissor-Bill sound off is enough to urn your stomach.

The Scissor-Bill has his feet in the working class and his head in the capitalist class.

He works, eats and lives like a worker. But he thinks like a capitalist.

He does not identify his welfare and interest with those of his fellow workers. He identifies his welfare and interest with those of his employer and the capitalist class generally.

The Scissor-Bill is the ideal wage slave. He is a working man, like any other working man. He has arms, hands, legs, feet and eyes with which to work for the boss. But in place of a brain he has an editorial from the capitalist press. Or else a record of a speech from the National Manufacturers convention.

The capitalists are, in his mind, men with brains and energy who "burned the midnight oil" and "worked up to where they are." We should respect them for their ability and be glad that they keep industry running so we have work.

Labor leaders are all racketeers who are trying to get rich quick out of the dues "the poor workers are forced to pay." The Scissor-Bill knows this for a fact. Even Westbrook Pegler says so. And Pegler writes for the Morning Blah. Such a big and respectable paper certainly wouldn't lie.

The Scissor-Bill reads the Morning Blah on his way to work and then worries all day about what he reads.

His face gets more and more mournful as he thinks about:

How are we ever going to pay of the national debt?  
How will industry manage during reconversion, when production stops and overhead continues?

How can they expect industry to give everyone a job, when industry doesn't know whether it will have a market after the war?

And if everyone doesn't have a job, where will the money come from to buy what industry will make?

How will industry be able to get on its feet after the war if they keep burdening it with taxes?

And at night, Scissor-Bill, his shoulders bent with the load of worries, goes home to turn on his radio to hear more capitalist lies.

Scissor-Bill is the modern counterpart of the slave whose aim in life was to be an ideal slave and serve his master well. All through human history the exploited class has always been divided between Scissor-Bills and rebels, between those who crawl on their bellies and those who stand up on their legs.

The Negro people in this country, through their centuries-long bondage, had both their Uncle Toms and their Frederick Douglasses. And, unfortunately, they still have them today.

Ancient Rome had its slaves who were proud to die for their master and it also had its army of rebels who rose in insurrection under the leadership of Spartacus.

The Southern planter gave his old hat to Uncle Tom and a worn-out dress to the faithful "Mamie," but had whips and bloodhounds for the slave in whom the spirit of human dignity and love of freedom burned too strongly.

In like manner the boss today seeks to find countless little rewards (which cost him little) for the "company stooge" and countless persecutions of the class-conscious worker.

But the Scissor-Bill of today usually differs in one respect from his cringing forebears. The Scissor-Bill is usually also very dissatisfied with things today. He complains much about many things. But he is distinguished from the rebel in that the Scissor-Bill always finds some other "little guy" as the source of his troubles.

He talks for days on end about some welders in a shipyard who were arrested for cheating on piecework reports. This, he tells us, is why we must pay such high taxes. But he thinks the big corporations are above such things.

He thinks the little grocers and butchers should be jailed for running up prices, but never understands that the real profiteers are the big interests.

He complains that unskilled labor is getting eighty cents an hour in shipyards. This proves to him how selfish people are. "They want to hog it all while our boys fight for \$55 a month." But he never says anything about the cost of living or shipyard profits.

He thinks that the trouble with this country is that people spend their earnings instead of saving them for a rainy day. "Most workers are lazy bums who want the government to feed them when they are out of a job."

And following out this line of thought, the average Scissor-Bill today ends up with the discovery that "the Jews have all the money and run the country" that Negroes "are invading white men's jobs," that Jews, Negroes and foreigners have ninety per cent of the Civil Service jobs, that "there are too many women working" and that "this country is going on the rocks and we need a dictator to clean up."

The Scissor-Bill is always stupid and reactionary. But today his thinking is being guided into more and more open fascist channels.

The Scissor-Bill is a worker who betrays his class. The Scissor-Bill is a worker who fights in the ranks of the enemy.

As a traitor to his own kind, the Scissor-Bill merits neither sympathy nor mercy. Out of his ranks came the scabs in the past and out of his ranks will come the fascist rank and file in the future.

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Political contributions by unions must be prohibited by law, he said. He suggested the setting up of a small committee of "eminent and public-spirited citizens" to submit this program to Congress immediately.

Long known as a leader of the right wing of American big business, Prentiss ended his talk in a bitter threat, saying that unless these sweeping measures against unions are put through, "management and labor and the people at large will all find themselves crucified on the cross of dictatorship and tyranny."—Federated Press.

# Editorials

## Labor Is Getting Wise to Bridges

The proposal made by Harry Bridges and the local union to which he belongs that labor should carry over the no-strike pledge into the post-war period, is in the nature of a permanent no-strike pledge.

The reaction inside the labor movement to this proposal is extremely sharp. Bridges was denounced by the United Automobile Workers and its president, R. J. Thomas. He was severely condemned by the Shipyard Workers Union, by the United Wholesale & Retail Workers, by Montgomery Ward workers against whom Bridges and his union scabbed, by the executive board of the St. Louis CIO Council, by the Aluminum Workers Union and by numerous other locals and union papers from coast to coast.

Press reports disclose that at the recent meeting of the CIO executive board, only Murray's intervention prevented a blow-up against Bridges, led by R. J. Thomas, Sam Wolchok and John Green. Murray emphasized, however, that the no-strike pledge, which LABOR ACTION has severely criticized as inimical to the interests of the union movement, was for the duration only.

In advancing this proposal, which evidently emanates from the American Communist Party, whose policies Bridges represents inside the union, he stated that the common enemies of labor and capital are for strikes! Who are the common enemies of labor and capital? Bridges wisely omits a bill of particulars.

Actually, the labor movement arose on the basis of the recognition that the interests of capital, that is to say, big business, the profiteers, are not identical to the interests of labor, which seeks a constantly improving standard of living, higher wages, improved working conditions, and shorter hours. Capital, whose only interest is profit, has fought the labor movement from its inception precisely for the reason that it was and is now opposed to higher wages, improved working conditions and shorter hours. Its profits depend upon exploitation of labor: the greater the exploitation, the larger the profits.

The labor movement was born in the recognition by workers that their fight against capital requires a collective effort. Individual action by labor was a guarantee of defeat. Thus unions became economic organizations of labor in its fight for an improvement of the life of all who work in order to live. For its pains, the workers in this country have been met by the united opposition of capital, which employed every conceivable weapon of coercion against labor—the police, the press, the government and private thugs and gunmen.

Against this enormous power of industry, labor had one weapon—the strike! Without that, there would be no labor movement today! Whatever labor has today it has gained by struggle. Against whom? Against capital!

Does Bridges know this? Of course, he does. That is, he knew it before the Communist Party line changed again, changed after Hitler broke his pact with Stalin.

While Bridges has been the target of widespread criticism and attack from the union movement, the only forces backing him up are big business interests and the American Stalinist Communists! That alone would be sufficient to characterize his proposal.

We are with those unions and unionists who say Bridges has no place in the labor movement and ought to be told to get out. This issue is no mere "difference of opinion" on policies. Bridges' proposal means the liquidation of the labor movement. If only for the sake of clarity, Bridges ought to get behind the bosses' collective desks and spout his anti-labor doctrines. That's where he belongs.

## Playing the Game Of Boss Politics

We have said a great deal about the policy of labor's officialdoms playing the game of capitalist politics and the need for genuine independent political action by labor through the organization of an independent Labor Party.

Every step taken by the labor leaders in a political direction is fraught with grave consequences for the workers of this country. The labor leaders seem to think, although we are certain some of them know better, that independent labor political action means setting up labor committees to support a bunch of rotten politicians who serve big business.

There is little to add to what we have already written about the CIO's Political

Action Committee, made up of leading figures in the CIO, and some professional Democratic Party politicians. Here is a labor movement expending an enormous amount of time and energy, as well as huge sums of money, in behalf of a fourth term for the leader of the dominant wing of the capitalist Democratic Party. And not only for him, but for a lot of lesser politicians and office-seekers of the same party.

On its own side of the ledger, the AFL officialdom is not better, if not a little worse. Its policy of "reward your friends and punish your enemies" is the kind of policy which suits the capitalist politicians. If one of their ward-healers turns out too bad, they just nominate another scoundrel and the labor leaders take another dive.

It has been charged that the AFL, in pursuit of its election policy, supported Dies before his "retirement." Wasn't this criminal?

And now it is reported that the AFL is supporting Stephen Day, fascist candidate for the House and darling of the Chicago Tribune. It is also considering support of Senator Nye.

We have no doubt that, as the election campaign develops, we will witness additional such performances by the AFL. And the CIO officialdom will not be far behind. It may be even worse, if such a comparison can be made, because the CIO campaign is an organized one.

The net result of these actions will be another deep disappointment to the workers of the country, because whichever party wins, labor will be the loser, to one degree or another. Too many labor leaders think politics is like a Coney Island game of chance.

## The Supreme Court Acts in Two Cases

The action of the Supreme Court in upsetting the convictions in what is now the famous Hartzel and Baumgartner cases, has created a considerable stir. It comes in the midst of the trial of native fascists and Bundists in Washington. But it also occurs after the Supreme Court has three times refused to review the convictions in the Minneapolis frame-up against leaders of the CIO Teamsters Union and the Socialist Workers Party.

Hartzel and Baumgartner are two fascists. They had written and spoken in favor of fascism, Germany and Hitler, and were extremely anti-Semitic. In this case, the Supreme Court upset the verdict of guilty under the 1917 Espionage Act, rendered in the lower courts, on the ground that it was a violation of the rights of free speech under conditions where no overt acts were committed.

It is impossible to compare the Minneapolis Case to this one. In the first place, despite Tobin's attempted denial, that case arose out of a dispute in the Teamsters' Union; it was a labor quarrel in which the use of the courts was employed to get rid of a militant leadership. In addition, it involved members and leaders of a socialist party, opponents of fascism, racism and capitalism.

In the Minneapolis Case, the defendants were tried under the Smith "Gag" Act of 1940. But here too, there were no "overt" acts—if we accept for a moment the legal premises of the court and our attitude is not primarily determined on the basis of capitalist legalism—only that the defendants held Marxian socialist views. In addition, they were tried and convicted before the war—a circumstance which is usually weighty in political cases in capitalist courts.

The conviction, in the opinion of many legal experts, was untenable and, as a result, it was believed that it could not stand up in the Supreme Court.

But... the Supreme Court avoided a test on the constitutionality of the Smith Act as a violation of the Bill of Rights by the simple expedient of refusing to review the case altogether. Three times the Supreme

(Continued in the last column)

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## The Low Art of High Diplomacy

# Who Will Govern France?

By J. R. JOHNSON

The press says that an accord is imminent on the Roosevelt-de Gaulle crisis. That is a joke. They can patch up something for the time being and fool the people for a little while, but of genuine accord there is none. How can there be? Roosevelt did not lead America into war to win France for de Gaulle. Moreover, the de Gaulle conflict symbolizes a double threat to America: a threat from all the capitalist governments of Western Europe and a threat too from the European masses.

Europe strategically can be divided into three areas: Eastern Europe, Western Europe, and, bordering on both, Southern Europe. The Mediterranean divides Southern Europe from North Africa.

Now it is perfectly obvious that for some time to come, Stalinist imperialism is going to be the most powerful imperialism in Eastern Europe. From Finland to Rumania, all will bow to Stalin. Roosevelt has made up his mind that he can do nothing about that.

### FRANCE'S POTENTIAL POWER

On the west coast of Europe, however, the most powerful country is France. France owns as colonies the coast of North Africa, Algeria, Tunis, Morocco. In alliance with Spain and Italy, Britain and France could form a bloc which could handicap the intention of America to make for itself a powerful economic and military base in Western Europe.

Churchill was ready to throw in his cards with de Gaulle at first. But Roosevelt put his foot down heavily and Churchill as good as banished de Gaulle out of Britain. He even prevented the de Gaulleists from publishing their paper by saying that he couldn't spare them any newsprint.

Churchill swallowed the defeat for a time, but some months ago he paid a personal visit to de Gaulle. He then praised Franco in a recent speech. All the arts of British diplomacy are being used to win over the Italian people to the idea that Britain is their friend.

The two pillars to this maneuver are Franco and de Gaulle. Franco's regime at least has not been devastated by the war. And a new imperialist France can be a perfect ally for Britain. Whereas Britain was jealous of France's power in Europe after 1919 and repeatedly played off Germany against France between 1919 and 1939, France today can be an ally but no threat. That is the perfect imperialist ally.

There is now the third factor—the underground movements in Europe, particularly in France. Roosevelt played with Petain as long as he could. He made a deal with Darlan. He made a deal with Badoglio and, until Britain started openly intriguing with Franco, the State Department was extremely friendly to him.

To suppress the French masses on the day of "liberation," the reactionary, fascist-minded Giraud was chosen. Giraud was just the man to take a stern stand against "anarchy," i.e., the revolt of the masses.

De Gaulle saw himself being pushed out. Between Giraud and de Gaulle, a large section of the fascist-minded French ruling class were almost of one mind—Giraud. The trouble was

The result was very favorable to de Gaulle. It placed him before the French masses as the one who fought against Hitler without weakening, as the one who was opposed to Vichy at home and abroad, and as the one who stood for the independence of France against American domination.

This was exactly what the leaders of the French underground wanted. They attacked the underground organizations to de Gaulle in some sort of provisional government in Algiers. Giraud was squeezed out of the military command.

### THE ACTION OF OTHERS

To complete Roosevelt's defeat, all the smaller nations, Holland, Belgium, etc., which had made up their minds that there was nothing for them to do but to capitulate to Roosevelt, now gathered courage. They began to support de Gaulle's claims to be considered the provisional government of France. They saw a chance to "liberate" themselves from their "liberator."

It is this capitalist intrigue that Churchill is blowing into flame, very cautiously, but nevertheless anxious to build a strong bloc against Roosevelt. Roosevelt unconditionally refused to give way. Up to the latest reports, he does not want to have anything to do with de Gaulle.

### ROOSEVELT'S POSITION

He says for the record that he does not want to give authority to anyone before the French people have had a chance to express themselves. At the same time other "provisional governments," with no greater standing, are recognized.

If worse comes to worse, Roosevelt can always fall back on de Gaulle. But de Gaulle is the last man he wants, first because de Gaulle, to gain popularity in France, had to talk about a "Fourth Republic" and great social and economic changes, and, secondly, because if de Gaulle has any real mass support he has it because of these promises to make a new France, on the basis of independence against American imperialism.

Worse still, de Gaulle has carried on an open flirtation with Stalin. He has even gone so far as to say that although Germany must be punished, she must not be destroyed.

Meanwhile the troops of Britain and America are actually in France and the French people are in immense confusion.

Whatever accord they may patch up, the quarrel will remain. Its future course depends, in the last analysis, upon the action of the great masses of the French people.



WINSTON CHURCHILL

that the underground movement threatened open civil war if Giraud was imposed upon them. To them Giraud meant the Vichy-minded French capitalists in Algiers. Facing ruin, de Gaulle played a bold, ambitious hand which helps to explain the present bitterness more than any nonsense about de Gaulle's vain and arrogant personality.

### DE GAULLE'S FIGHT ON GIRAUD

De Gaulle said in so many words that any attempt to impose Giraud upon the French people would result in a mass revolution. He implied that he could prevent it.

He also did something equally offensive to Roosevelt. He carried on a violent agitation for the defense of the national integrity of France against American domination. He said that nobody could decide the fate of France except France herself.

## Congress Ends Price Control - -

(Continued from page 1)

as compared with the devastating amendments that give the black marketeers the green light.

Violators of price ceilings may now challenge the validity of OPA regulations at any time, may obtain injunctions holding up court proceedings and may avoid any penalty above a \$25 fine by pleading ignorance of ceiling prices and absence of "willful intent" to defraud consumers. The "stay of proceedings amendment" allows violation cases to stretch out over the years, and makes it virtually impossible for any

but millionaire consumers (!) to dig up enough dough to contest such a protracted legal rigmarole.

### WHO IS RESPONSIBLE?

Both Democrats and Republicans, some of whom had protested against the legislation in earlier debate, united to push the bill after Capitol dopsters spread the word around that no presidential veto would be forthcoming.

Too busy drumming up support for a fourth term, AFL and CIO leaders slept on the ball until it was too late to offer anything but well-mannered and lame protests.

## We'll Do Our Part

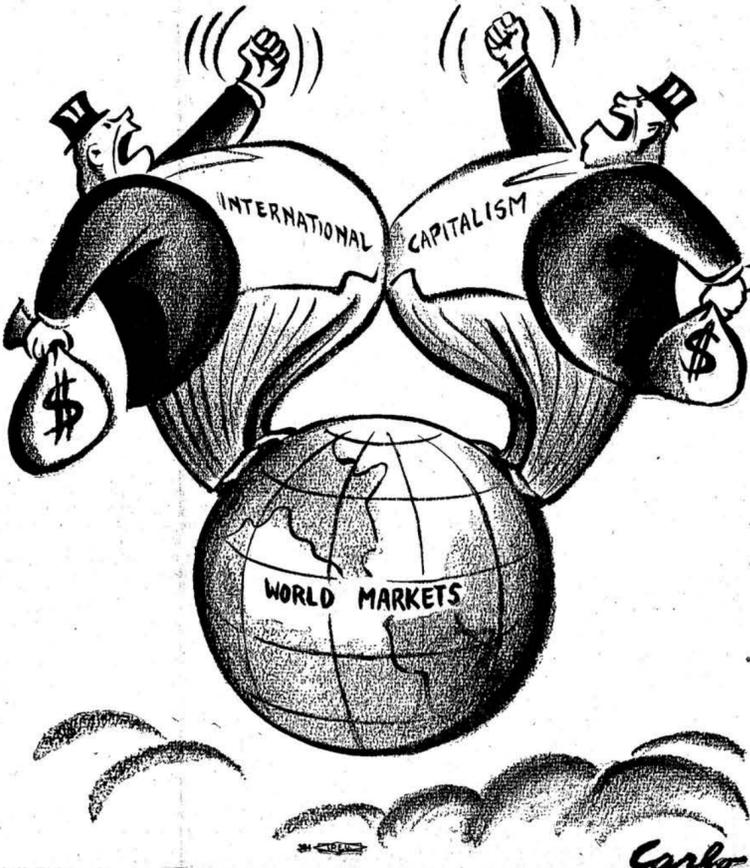
Dear Editor:

I have seen my first copy of LABOR ACTION and that article on Mr. Winston Churchill was something that made me REALLY see who our "friend" is. Please, if you can, send me a few copies of your paper and anything else I could read.

Thank you.

C. C.

## Isn't This Where We Came In?



## Famed Philosopher Dozes in Middle of World-Shaking Events

By V. JENSEN

A curious if minor sidelight on the present war is war correspondent Herbert Matthews' interview with the famous philosopher, George Santayana. The Times' correspondent, who entered Rome with the Allied armies, took time out from covering the battle to seek out the world-famed philosopher.

Santayana, who is commonly regarded as one of the world's greatest living philosophers, is an American of wealth who left the hurly-burly of life as a professor at Harvard in 1912, to go abroad to find the peace and quiet necessary for the philosopher confronted with the eternal problems of what is truth, beauty and the relation of experience to reality. The truth is that Santayana is a reactionary philosopher living in a dead past. This in large part explains how, for the past several years, he has been living in Italy, where the mundane horrors of life under fascism have passed him by completely.

### HOW THE MAN LIVES

Matthews spoke to him in his ivory tower, which happens to be a cool, simple room in the convent of the English blue sisters in the grounds of the church of Santo Stefano Rotondo. Santayana has been completely absorbed in his work, hardly aware that there is a war on. Matthews had to tell him about Italy, fascism, Russia and the war, the experience and reality of the rest of the world and noted that Santayana seemed only mildly interested.

With the philosophical resignation possible to one who has been privileged to live untouched by the muck and mire and suffering of war, Santayana commented that there has been so much killing and suffering in the world's history, that it is always the same. And with the same remarkable objectivity that would be so difficult for someone who had to live with the past twenty years of Italian fascism, he remarked that he personally had no feeling of either opposition or approval of communism or fascism, generously granting that doubtless there were good as well as bad things in both.

### MISREPRESENTING FASCISM

And then Mr. Santayana went on to say something that is very silly, even coming from the mouth of one of the world's great philosophers.

"The trouble with applying fascism to Italy is that the people are undisciplined. They often make good fascists from eighteen to twenty-five, but after that they become individualists again. One can say that they are not on a high enough social level to become good fascists."

In other words, for our philosopher, the trouble with fascism was that the Italian people would not put up with it. These barbarous Italians were not on a high enough social level to swallow the starvation and misery that Mussolini's regime brought them, to bear without complaint the smashing of their unions, the ruin of their standard of living, the death of their young men in senseless imperialist ventures, the regimentation and destruction of thought. They were not on a high enough social level to become good fascists.

It is true that the average Italian could not retire to a quiet, simple room where his material wants would be quietly cared for and where in unimpeachable dignity he could devote himself to the eternal life of the mind. Such fruits of the labor of others were denied to him. He could not withdraw himself or his family from the necessity of eking out a sparse living under fascism and when the war came, the Italian worker could not withdraw from that except by violence and revolt that echoed only faintly in Santayana's quiet room.

From the windows of Santayana's room, there is a view of a field that was one of the battlegrounds in the present war, but the philosopher was hardly aware that a war was going on, working on the second volume of his memoirs.

Before Santayana has completed his memoirs, another battle may be taking place beneath his windows. A battle of the Italian workers for bread, peace, land and justice. A battle for the right of the Italians to freedom and dignity in the world outside. A battle for socialism, for plenty for all. A battle even for the right of every man to be a dignified philosopher.

Mr. Santayana had better shut his window and carefully draw the curtains. The battle for socialism will be a turbulent but glorious one and it may be difficult for him to concentrate on the connection between experience and reality.

(Continued from column 2)

Court asserted this refusal. Yes, the "New Deal" Supreme Court avoided a test on one of the most dangerous acts passed by Congress against the rights of the union and political labor movement, and the people in general.

But this same Supreme Court did not hesitate to pass judgment on the case of the two miserable fascist propagandists. And it decided that their rights had been violated!

We do not imply that the Supreme Court has thus shown a bias in favor of fascists against revolutionary socialists. But we do assert that its action in the Hartzel-Baumgartner case and its refusal to even review the Minneapolis Case is a precedent directed against the best interests of labor. Already the trial of the fascists in Washington is held up by this latest action of the Court, and Judge Eicher admits that he is disturbed by the latest decision and is wondering how it will affect the trial under his jurisdiction.

The Civil Rights Defense Committee is now engaged in a campaign demanding a presidential pardon for the Minneapolis defendants. This campaign deserves the support of the whole labor movement.