

Progressives In Stiff Fight At Ship Convention

By ERNEST LUND

ATLANTIC CITY—Spearheaded by the fifty-five-man delegation of Local 42, Philadelphia, progressive delegates to the tenth annual convention of the Industrial Union of Marine & Shipbuilding Workers of America, CIO, in session here from September 28 to October 3, waged a stiff battle for a fighting union.

Their fight was highlighted by an attempt to free the union from the restrictions imposed upon it by the no-strike pledge. This fight was continued when the progressives asked for the recall of labor's members on the War Labor Board on the grounds of the anti-labor record of the board. The fight of the progressives culminated in their support of the opposition ticket in the election of national officers.

The hopeful sign of the emergence of a progressive bloc was, however, offset by the fact that the union leadership came completely under the domination of the Communist Party forces. Though John Green was re-elected as national president, the Communist bloc completely controls the majority of the new General Executive Board.

The no-strike pledge was reaffirmed by a show of hands vote in which some 100 delegates voted in opposition out of a convention of some 750. Local 42 was the only large delegation voting solidly for repeal of the pledge. It was joined by groups from Camden Local 1 and Chester Local 2.

The fight over the no-strike pledge was featured by a "red herring" speech by Delegate Goodwin from San Pedro Local 9 in which he charged that the fight for repeal was inspired by LABOR ACTION. He went on to cite the widespread distribution of the paper at defense plants and shipyards throughout the country as being the cause of the current drive in the labor movement to end the pledge. Goodwin claimed that the first place a resolution for the repeal of the no-strike pledge was printed was in LABOR ACTION and boasted that he owned a copy of that issue.

(On the following day, Delegate Goodwin stood up and cheered as the Communist bloc introduced and carried a resolution which condemned "red baiting.")

The same line-up of forces that crossed swords over the no-strike pledge again squared off in the debate over the WLB. The convention adopted the majority position which enumerates at great length all the abuse that labor has received from the WLB and then concludes that the CIO ought to send a committee to tell the WLB to change its conduct.

ELECTION FIGHT

The incumbent administration of Green and Phillip Vangelider was opposed by Tom Saul and Herbert Moyer, running for the offices of president and secretary-treasurer respectively. Green was elected over Saul by a vote of 793 to 131. Vangelider was elected over Moyer by a vote of 796 to 133.

Both Saul and Moyer confined their election fight to a "corridor" campaign. Neither of them took the floor of the convention upon a single important question of policy. Their campaign became an unprincipled attempt to line up delegates on the basis of personal grudges and deals. Neither candidate put out a declaration of policy or a program upon which to base his candidacy. Saul's only attempt at explaining the basis of his campaign was an article published in one of the Atlantic City tabloids and distributed at the convention. The article does not mention a single real issue facing the labor movement.

The totalitarian methods of the Communist bloc were rapidly demonstrated when they stubbornly refused to permit a single representative

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LABOR ACTION

OCTOBER 9, 1944

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR



ONE CENT

Wage Increase Hint = 4th Term Propaganda!

Phil Murray, Fourth-Term Fantasy, and a Few Facts

By WALTER WEISS

Now's the time when candidates fill the air with terrible truths about their opponents' records and lovely lies about their own.

In this article we are going to make a hasty and partial examination of the record of one Philip Murray, who is always a candidate for two offices, the presidencies of the United Steel Workers Union and the CIO.

A year ago, at the convention of the United Auto Workers Union, Brother Murray advised against any outright endorsement of Roosevelt at that time. He said that the workers ought to keep a very careful eye on the Administration's labor record for another year.

He even listed the issues to keep an eye on: repeal of the Smith-Connally anti-strike law; stabilization of prices and limitation of profits; opposition to a national service act; enactment of an anti-poll-tax bill; adoption of an expanded social security program.

What has happened on these issues since October, 1943?

LOOK AT THE RECORD

1) Roosevelt has maintained a deathly silence on the anti-strike law. But, says Murray, the President vetoed this bill to begin with. Now, that's a fact, but a dirty, lying kind of fact. When will CIO papers publish a full text of this famous veto, which is now over a year old? The whole truth is that Roosevelt approved of the bill in general and said so but felt that it was not severe enough on strikers. He wanted to put strikers in the army or to blacklist them from all employment. So, on his own hook, he formulated an executive order to make the law a much harsher anti-labor weapon than the words of Congress provided.

2) Stabilization of prices and limitation of profits? That's too funny to discuss. Even official government

reports now admit that the opposite has occurred.

3) About three months after Murray told the UAW convention that a national service act was based on the principle of "the dumber the cop, the bigger the nightstick," a big, dumb cop (and also, to use other words of Murray's, a "quack doctor")

FDR Does It Again!

First it was the Smith-Connally bill, which he vetoed because, in his opinion, it would not stop strikes. Didn't have enough teeth in it, he said.

Now, he signs the miserable congressional reconversion bill, even though "it does not adequately deal with the human side of reconversion." Aside from this minor defect (!), the President finds the bill "quite satisfactory."

Yet the labor leaders denounced this same bill as a blow against labor because it failed to consider the needs of the American worker.

And what is the human side? Unemployment, stranded and split-up families, lack of homes, lack of funds after all these months of back-breaking work. Trifles, aren't they?

How do you like it, Mr. Murray, Mr. Green, Mr. Tobin and Mr. Hillman? Not bad, eh? It's a cinch the workers won't like it!

by the name of Roosevelt came out personally for a slave labor law.

4) The anti-poll-tax bill, of course, was once more pushed aside as a concession to the President's Southern backers. The Roosevelt tongue, so expert and so true-spoken in lashing Dewey and the Republican crew, must have been busy plugging the hole in a Lifesaver when this bill came up. Friends of the Administration, like the liberal New York news-

paper PM, admitted sadly that the fight for the bill put up by "liberal" Roosevelt men in Congress was just a "farce."

5) Social security, in the form of the Kilgore bill for liberalizing unemployment benefits, recently took a good kick in the pants from Congress. Everybody still remembers this. But does every worker know that Roosevelt at a press conference said that he just didn't have an opinion on the merits of this bill? Has Brother Murray told them that the President in this way gave the bill the kiss of death?

ADDING UP THE SCORE

Now we're ready to add up the score. Easy, isn't it? No runs, no hits, five errors. Five errors on the record for Murray—not for Roosevelt, who knows what he's doing.

What's the trouble? For Murray the trouble is that he sees no other choice but Roosevelt or a Republican. We won't pain our readers with an analysis of the Republican record. So, for Murray, that leaves Roosevelt. Murray knew this a year ago. As we said at that time, he was just talking tough to keep the workers' discontent under his control. "I am disappointed too," he told them. Roosevelt, the old fox, was not deceived and acted accordingly.

Our stand has been: Roosevelt and Dewey both have perfect records—perfect for the capitalists. They are the chiefs of two capitalist parties. The answer for labor is to launch an independent party of the working class. The newspapers, the candidates and the CIO's Political Action Committee are all worried about the "apathy" of labor toward the election. Do they expect workers to get excited about a choice between the Republicans and the Democrats?

There you have it, as we promised at the beginning: Murray's record and (incidentally) Roosevelt's, and, far more important for the future, ours.

The slight hint recently given by President Roosevelt and his War Labor Board that they were seriously considering the question of a revision of the Little Steel formula, thus paving the way for a series of wage increases in the most important industries in the country has brought the representatives of labor and big business into the arena once more.

The more gullible of the labor leaders, headed as usual by Philip Murray, president of the CIO and of the United Steel Workers of America, took the President's double-talk as gospel. At the United Automobile Workers convention Murray practically staked his life on wage increases that he was certain would be given soon.

Chevy Local Elects Militant Leadership

By MARTIN HARVEY

DETROIT—The dictator-minded top officialdom of the United Auto Workers, CIO, received another setback last week with the re-election of all officers of Chevrolet Local 235 by acclamation.

The election took place on September 24, almost sixty days after the officers of Local 235 were removed by the International Executive Board and the local suspended because they refused to violate the mandate of the rank and file members of the local and act as strikebreakers.

As was previously reported in LABOR ACTION, the suspension arose out of the strike of Chevrolet workers protesting a company speed-up and the firing of a number of officers and members of the local. At the time, the International Executive Board, carrying out its anti-union no-strike policy, demanded that the men return to work without a settlement of their grievances. The membership of Local 235 voted overwhelmingly to stay out until their demands were met and the officers of the local agreed to abide by the decision of the membership.

The top officers of the union, R. J. Thomas, Walter Reuther and George Ades, finding that "persuasion" did not work, deliberately ignored the wishes of the rank and file, removed the local leaders from office and suspended the local for sixty days. Knowing that their no-strike policy does not have the support of the UAW membership, the leadership can only resort to dictatorial methods to enforce this policy.

The first rebuff for Thomas, Reuther and Ades came at the recent UAW convention in Grand Rapids when the Chevrolet delegation voted with the Rank and File Caucus to rescind the no-strike pledge and helped pass the proposal for a membership referendum on the question. With the re-election of the removed officers, it is no longer possible to claim that the rank and file supports the official no-strike policy.

As a result of the effective fight put up by the rank and file at the UAW convention it is now possible to throw the no-strike pledge out the window. (Continued on page 2)

Actually the President promised nothing. His War Labor Board, that graveyard of labor's wage demands, promised just as little. But the mass of American workers who are now being corralled by the PAC to vote for FDR are being told that the Little Steel formula is practically doomed and wage increases are in the bag.

Press reports, however, disclose the WLB is not going to countenance widespread and overall wage increases. If any are allowed, say these august representatives of business and "the public," they will have to be "meritorious" and in accordance with the law established by the President long ago.

PLAYING POLITICS

But this is an election year. Roosevelt is running for a fourth term. Opposition to him is stronger than it has been for some time. He needs votes, and particularly the labor vote, to offset the agricultural vote, the widespread anti-Roosevelt propaganda by a majority of the papers and by profiteering industrialists that he has enriched during the war. Thus there is a chance that token wage increases may be granted in one or another of the industries that are coining enormous profits out of the war.

This has brought the representatives of big business into the fight. A few days ago Eric Johnston, president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, and Robert M. Gaylord, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, began their campaign against proposals that might result in wage increases. Their wishes, while expressing the position of the industrialists and financiers, who are enjoying the greatest profits in the history of the country, also represent the actual point of view of the President and his Administration. What they urge on the WLB is that it continue the policies inaugurated by the President when he established his wage stabilization law.

Listen to these mouthpieces of big business and you will see what a gulf separates their interests and thinking from those of the overwhelming majority of the American people.

HOLDING THE LINE

Johnston, the "liberal" head of the Chamber of Commerce, would not debate whether prices have outdistanced wages, but stated, "in all fairness it must be said that we have done a creditable job of holding the line."

There is hardly a worker who would not agree with him. Holding (Continued on page 3)

Boss Pew's Court Upholds "Libel", Would Curb Union Free Speech

PHILADELPHIA—Three members of the CIO Shipbuilding Workers Union, Local 2, were fined \$500 each on a libel charge brought by Aggie Campbell, former company union leader and alleged sympathizer of the Nazi Bund.

The three men involved are Jack Jascourt, president of the local, Henry Shipperd, recording secretary, and James Glover, executive board member. The suit grew out of testimony against Campbell at a meeting of the local last February which re-

sulted in Campbell's expulsion from the union.

The case was tried in the County Court of Delaware County, feudal domain of John Pew, czar of oil, shipbuilding and the Republican Party. The case involves an important precedent. If Campbell and Pew's political henchmen can sentence union members for testimony at a union meeting, freedom of speech will have been seriously affected, not only in Delaware County, but every other place where corporate interests are

in a position to make such brazen use of the legal machinery against the trade unions.

The verdict carries with it a provision of six to twelve months' jail sentence if the fines are not paid. The three union men are out on \$1,000 bail while the case is being appealed.

The case of these three men deserves not only the widest publicity throughout the labor movement, but an organized campaign to reverse the decision and end such high-handed interference in union affairs.

Detroit Ups Its Own Quota; Drive Hits 646 Subs in 3rd Week



America's Leading Labor Weekly
(Subscription Blank on Page 2)

We knew we were going to be blitzed by sensational developments sometime during LABOR ACTION's Second Annual Sub Drive, but not even in our most optimistic reveries did we expect them to hit us so early as the THIRD WEEK of the campaign for 4,000 new readers.

The Detroit branch of the Workers Party voted unanimously at its last meeting to raise its quota from 600 to 750!

The Seattle branch of the Workers Party sent out a stinging challenge to the Akron branch, calling upon the latter to show its mettle in a socialist competition!

Marty Harvey writes from Detroit: "At a meeting which we recently held for David Coolidge (national labor secretary of the Workers Party) we got—hold your breath—one hundred subscriptions to LA!"

"Admission to the meeting was by subscription to the paper (other branches

please take note) and this accounted for a dozen or so; the balance of attendees already were subscribers. Forty were bought by a utility worker. He bought eight prepaid sub cards a week ago and sold them in his shop, in ten minutes. At the Coolidge meeting he bought forty more.

"The remainder were bought by workers for sale in their shops in batches of from five to over twenty.

"Ten bucks is enclosed for forty more prepaid cards—RUSH!"

"Nuff sed. Unofficially, the Detroit branch is past the 350 mark (to be recorded next week) and leads the sub drive nationally by a wide margin.

Here's part of the letter from Bro. Donaldson, Seattle's scrappy LABOR ACTION sub-getter:

"Seattle would like to challenge Akron to a sub drive contest. They probably outnumber us considerably."

What do you say, Akron? Who will be the first to reach your twin quotas of 150 each?

Look at the box score, Seattle! Do you want to withdraw your challenge?

Louisville is the first city to achieve a one hundred per cent score! How soon will it be two hundred per cent?

And in our preoccupation with the problems and showing of the larger cities in the drive we overlooked the great job being performed by Streator, Ill., which has thus far obtained thirty-four subs out of its quota of fifty. On a strict percentage basis, Streator is in second place in our drive and bids fair to go one hundred per cent OVER its quota if it keeps up its wonderful pace.

On the debit side of the ledger we find San Francisco and Youngstown, which have yet to break into the box score, and New York City, which took a terrible nose-dive last week. St. Louis, Reading and Buf-

falo are limping badly—a situation which can be promptly remedied by the purchase and sale of prepaid sub cards.

The box score for the week ending September 30:

City	Goal	Last Week	Now	Pct.
New York	1,000	24	110	11
Akron	150	55	84	56
Buffalo	150	0	9	6
Chicago	300	71	118	39
Cleveland	200	0	3	1½
Detroit	750	132	220	29
Los Angeles	200	13	73	37
Louisville	25	0	25	100
Philadelphia	175	13	17	10
Reading	50	4	8	16
St. Louis	50	0	1	2
Seattle	150	0	19	13
Streator	50	4	34	68
San Francisco	200	0	0	0
Youngstown-Warren	50	0	0	0
Readers, Friends	650	11	25	4
Totals	4,000	331	646	16

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

WLB Stalling As Usual on Wage Demands

By MIKE WYLIE

The War Labor Board, which for the entire period of its existence has destroyed all previous conjectures as to how slow motion can get, now shows definite signs of having received a sharp kick in the flabby region of its anatomy.

Union negotiators and labor research experts who eight months ago respectfully presented the Board with incontrovertible facts and figures to show that the cost of living had far outdistanced the lagging index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, hastily laid aside their knitting and commenced an animated chatter at the strange spectacle of WLB locomotion—in labor's favor.

Two "fact-finding" panels of the WLB filed reports on the wage cases of the United Steel Workers and United Electrical Workers Unions which largely substantiate the unions' requests for an overhauling of the board's Little Steel formula. These reports will now be submitted to full hearings of the WLB before any definitive changes are made in the latter's policy of freezing wages to fifteen per cent above the level that prevailed in January, 1941.

In addition, William H. Davis, chairman of the WLB, told a press conference that "a change in wage policy is very probable." He added that the board would speed up action on the change so that FDR could pass on its recommendations by mid-October.

THEY KNEW IT BEFORE

Fat be it from us to suggest that the WLB was finally convinced of the honesty and accuracy of the CIO and A.F.L. statistics on the cost of living, which show a rise of forty-five per cent since 1941. On the contrary; the WLB could have obtained the real facts in two minutes flat if it were sincerely concerned with the problem of an equitable relationship between real wages and soaring prices.

We will go a step further and declare that the facts were in desk drawers of President Roosevelt and any number of government agencies, including the Department of Labor and its Bureau of Labor Statistics!

But the WLB embarked upon a policy of interminable stalling, during which time it issued deceitful statements on the "inviolability of the

stabilization program" and the "dangerous, inflationary threat" of increased wages.

That this was so much hog-wash is now revealed by the weasel-worded proclamations of the WLB "fact-finding" panels, which announce that the Little Steel formula is something less than a holy vow.

Then observe the about-face performed by WLB and government officials on their phony scare of an inflationary spiral caused by wartime relaxation of the wage freeze. Now these gentlemen are stressing the danger of "deflation" if workers do not have sufficient purchasing power in the post-war period of reconversion and readjustment.

WHY THE CHANGE?

What caused these sudden changes in principle, these abrupt shifts in attitude?

The answer is quite simple. The War Labor Board was created as an economic and political instrument of the Roosevelt Administration for the purpose of exercising a restrictive influence on labor's share of the nation's wartime income.

What with heavy taxes, forced investment in war bonds and runaway prices, there NEVER was any real danger that workers' pay envelopes would constitute a threat to a stable economy.

Despite increased take-home pay due to overtime work, the average American working man found his pay check still more ways than ever before. Many workers found their standard of living driven below peacetime levels.

This fact has been apparent to government economists for quite some time despite the long tables and charts which show the increased consumption of food and manufactured goods—due to relatively full employment in a nation mobilized for full war production, plus an armed force of eleven million men.

Yet Roosevelt felt compelled, as "War President," to put up a stiff front against labor, that was buttressed and enforced by governmental agencies and a reactionary Congress.

It was Roosevelt who promulgated the wage freeze, as part of an executive order, without any recommendations on the part of the WLB.

It has been on Roosevelt's orders that the WLB has stalled on the demand of the Steel Workers Union for a seventeen cents an hour increase in wages. It took eight months to deliberate and "find the facts"!

ELECTION DAY COMING

Now, a few weeks before Election Day, FDR and his puppet War Labor Board suddenly see the light. Labor was right all the time! The BLS Index grossly underestimates the true advance in the cost of living!

What about the tens of billions of dollars lost by the workers during the time it took FDR to make up his mind to throw an election bonus to

the restless and dissatisfied workers of America?

Of what benefit is an increase in wages to the thousands of workers now being thrown into the streets by cutbacks in war production!

A pre-Election Day order by FDR lifting the Little Steel formula to allow a ten or twenty per cent increase in wages will not only be "too little and too late" but will be a startling confession of a multi-billion dollar "error" in the computation of labor's standard of living—with labor taking the rap for FDR's "blunder."

If the government finally admits that it has cheated labor out of its due for these many, many months, it

would only seem proper good sense for the CIO and AFL to demand that any wage increases granted when and if the Little Steel formula is lifted be RETROACTIVE to 1942!

If the CIO and AFL leaders stand by the facts they have produced and uphold their responsibilities to the vast rank and file membership of the two national labor bodies, they will demand not a penny less than a forty-five per cent increase in wages to meet the forty-five per cent rise in the cost of living!

Here is a burning, immediate issue for the rank and file of labor to tackle now—before millions of them are "reconverted" to those healthy jobs in the fresh air—selling apples.

Company Unions Win in Buffalo Over Do-Nothing UAW Policy

By ERIC FLOYD

The company union, half-brother to the open shop, has driven a double wedge into the Buffalo labor front.

Last week, workers at Buffalo Arms and Trico Products, both plants engaged exclusively in war work, voted for "Independent Victory Associations" and against the UAW.

The defeats are bitter but understandable. The UAW campaigned with what it had—and it had nothing.

All the organizers could speak of was the UAW's one million members, the full UAW treasury and a greater war effort. They could not speak of wage boosts, they could not point with pride to their accomplishments in other Buffalo locals, they could not show the workers a solution based on a fighting program.

The company stooges could and did harp on the inability of the UAW to act. They were free to promise everything and anything. They were free to confuse every issue of legitimate trade unionism.

The UAW had no weapons to beat them down, being hog-tied to the no-strike pledge, the War Labor Board and the PAC. And because of this suicidal policy, company unions campaigned against and BEAT the mighty UAW!

BEHIND THE DEFEAT

These elections are of particular

significance to Buffalo workers for at least two reasons:

1. Buffalo, until shortly before the war period, was notoriously an open shop stronghold. This company union sponsorship by Buffalo Arms and Trico (they had no illusions about the truce of the no-strike pledge) shows that the local coupon-clippers have not forgotten the good old days of non-union labor and are now ready to spend large amounts of their bloody profits to bring them back.

2. Buffalo Arms is controlled by the same capitalist shareholders that control Houde Engineering Co. here and seventeen other plants throughout the country. The struggle of the UAW-organized workers at Houde to force a WLB decision and effective grievance procedure through company co-operation resulted in a strike of 2,500 workers six weeks ago. Thus far no WLB decision has been handed down and the many grievances are in the drag-out process of arbitration. What will be the reaction of the Houde workers if the Buffalo Arms company union "wins" some adulterated form of pay boost in the near future—as it in all probability will!

Local militants must face the fact that company union and the open shop are back in Buffalo to stay and grow unless progressive programs and modes of action are evolved and practiced in the union shops. The present UAW leadership and pro-

gram, as exemplified by the campaigns at Buffalo Arms and Trico Products, makes this clear.

PROSPECTIVE LAYOFFS

The mass layoff picture here has finally cleared. Last week the afternoon paper published a lengthy story meant to "clear up" the local manpower situation. Aside from two paragraphs, the story was a mass of worthless generalities, unqualified predictions and outright lies. These paragraphs stated, as had been reported weeks ago in LABOR ACTION (although the figures have been updated) that:

- 1. 25,000 aircraft workers will be laid off by January.
 - 2. Buffalo, after January at the latest, will produce no more fighter planes. (Bell Aircraft makes nothing but fighter planes while Curtiss fighter plane production involves at least 1,000 workers.)
 - 3. Buffalo must expect an unemployment figure of AT LEAST 50,000 as soon as Germany surrenders.
 - 4. The majority of companies have no plans for reconversion, and those plans which are available are vague and lack any real promise.
- For the first time since the layoff stories began appearing in the press, there were no denials printed the following day in either of the two papers and no denials posted on any plant bulletin board.

The Western Federation of Miners Out of the Past

By RUTH PHILLIPS

In the 1890's there sprang up in the West a new type of labor union, the Western Federation of Miners. The American Federation of Labor, which had been organized in 1881, was a conservative, craft set-up, interested in organizing the skilled workers and obtaining higher wages for them, even at the expense of the unskilled. The AFL accepted the capitalist system, asking from the bosses only that they give labor (that is, skilled AFL labor) "a fair day's wage for a fair day's work."

The Western Federation of Miners, on the other hand, boldly proclaimed its irreconcilable opposition to the bosses and their system, declared socialism to be its aim, and advocated and practiced "direct action" as its trade union strategy. Its leaders, Big Bill Haywood, Vincent St. John, Charles Moyer and others, made no bones about their revolutionary views. Where the AFL negotiated, compromised, hesitated to resort to strike action, the WFM struck, boycotted, picketed the mine owners and were always prepared for the violence of the vigilante committees of the bosses.

When the bosses of the gold mines at Telluride, Col., introduced the piecework system and then proceeded to cut the rates, the WFM acted in typical fashion. They struck for day-rate wages with a minimum wage.

The superintendent of the mines brought in deputized armed scabs. The miners answered by arming themselves, and one night engaged the scabs in battle. After several hours, the scabs put out the white flag. The union took possession of the mines, and the scabs were "escorted over the mountain."

The Governor of Colorado sent a commission to Telluride to investigate. It reported that "everything is quiet in Telluride; the miners are in peaceful possession of the mines." The bankers and bosses of Colorado were in a rage over the report, and the newspapers ran violent editorials on this "violation of the rights of property." But the miners, who had little respect for these "rights," had won their demands.

Bill Haywood wrote in his autobiography that he met the vice-president of the First National Bank in Denver, who asked: "Is this report true that comes from Telluride, about the miners being in peaceful possession of the mines? If this is the case, what becomes of the men who have invested their money in these properties?" To which Haywood replied: "If we follow your question to its logical conclusion, you'd have to tell me where the owners got money to invest in the mines. Who has a better right to be in peaceful possession but the miners?"

Shipworkers Meet--

(Continued from page 1)

tive of the opposition to sit on the new General Executive Board. With a firm majority that gave them mechanical control of the elections, the Communists were in a position to freeze out all opposition candidates. As a result, Local 42, one of the largest and best organized locals in the union, was not given a seat on the new GEB.

COMMUNIST DANGER

President Green launched into a terribly heated speech following his election, during which he denounced the "majority group" for their intolerance of any opposition point of view. He expressed his disapproval of the course taken by the opposition but went on to say that he felt they were honest union men who spoke "from their hearts" and deserved to be treated with respect.

Green's speech was, without doubt called forth by his increasing fear of the results of complete Communist

domination of the GEB. Green spent some busy months before the convention whipping up sentiment against the progressive opposition and making plans with the Communist elements to insure himself against a convention with a majority of progressives. The Communists co-operated most willingly. As a result, Green has insured the defeat of the progressive forces, but finds that he is no longer master in his own house.

However, if the progressive forces continue their present fight and carry it to the members, the next convention may see a totally different lineup. The fight conducted by the Local 42 delegation was a demonstration of how to stand and fight for principles. All the developments of the coming year in the shipbuilding industry are bound to justify these principles. A few big locals following the lead of Local 42 can put the IUMSWA on the road to progressive trade unionism.

"The New Order of WLB Unionism"

As an almost perfect guide to action for unions and union leaders under the New Order (successor to the New Deal, now defunct and buried), we offer the following bits of vivid writing from a decision of the Regional War Labor Board at Philadelphia.

For unions: "When a strike occurs, it is the responsibility of the collective bargaining agency, the accredited union... to absolve itself from all responsibility, to leave no doubt as to its innocence of any connection with the strike."

For union leaders: "It is the duty of the union leadership to control the union members so that they do not promote an unauthorized strike or participate in any strike organized by non-members of the union."

These words, echoing what the National War Labor Board in Washington has been saying all along, were written early this year with reference to a strike at Yale & Towne, Philadelphia.

The board couldn't find any evidence that the union as such had organized the strike, but what of that? The purpose of a union, as everybody should know by now, is to engage in active strike-breaking. That, at least, is the view of the WLB.

In the decision the union officers are accused of "inefficiency." What does this mean? Simply that they didn't have sufficient influence to persuade the members "not to violate labor's wartime no-strike pledge." In view of the "demonstrated inefficiency of the local leaders, the Board is UNANIMOUSLY" (unanimously—that means that the labor member agreed) "of the opinion that they should not have... top seniority."

The usual punishment, laid down by the parent board in Washington, for such situations is to deny the union a maintenance-of-membership clause. But the regional board was afraid to do this. Then there might not be ANYBODY to instruct the workers in the duties of New Order unionism. Therefore, the board granted maintenance-of-membership, but only for those workers who signified expressly in writing that they desired it. If, however, a future work stoppage took place at any time, in which any considerable number of union members were involved, whether or not the union itself was responsible for the strike, even this limited maintenance-of-membership would be taken away.

The regional board decision was made in February. The national board, acting with unusual speed for it, got around to a review of the decision in June. The regional decision was almost perfect, it said. The denial of top seniority was one hundred per cent right, but the regional board was too easy on maintenance-of-membership. It should not have been granted at all. However, inasmuch as there had been no further trouble since February, the union was advised to return to the regional board and ask for maintenance-of-membership once again.

This run-around game is, you can see, admirably designed to develop a sense of humility and responsibility in union leaders. Not responsibility to their members, to be sure, but to the WLB, their real boss.

How do you like the views of the WLB on the duties of unions and union leaders?

Did we say the views of the WLB? Let's quit beating about the bush. How do you like the views of the top union leaders—Murray, Bill Green, Johnny Green, Ades, Thomas, Reuther and the rest? These are their views too, aren't they? Without the support of these labor leaders the WLB wouldn't be so bold about giving good union men lectures on unionism.

Chevy Progressive Leaders Re-elected in Local Contest--

(Continued from page 1)

window by a democratic vote of the membership.

There can be no doubt, in the light of their past actions, that the workers in Local 235 will vote overwhelmingly against the no-strike pledge. The events at the Chevrolet plants in Detroit and the similar situation a short while ago at the Chrysler High-

land Park Local should be of interest to UAW members everywhere. They are a further demonstration of the fact that the no-strike pledge is merely an instrument for keeping the unions submissive and for tying them to the apron strings of the corporations and the War Labor Board.

The no-strike pledge must be rescinded by the UAW membership in their referendum!

RR Workers Joint Action Group

During the past several months the most progressive railroad workers of all crafts in the San Francisco Bay area have been organizing themselves in the Railroad Workers Joint Action Committee (RWJAC).

This organization started during the 1943 wage movement, when a group of railroad workers in Oakland decided to attempt to organize a movement, cutting across craft lines, which would apply pressure on the leaders of the craft unions to make a militant fight for their wage demands.

After the 1943 wage movement ended in a partial victory, some of the members of the RWJAC decided to set up a permanent organization which would drive for amalgamation of the craft unions into one powerful labor organization on the railroads, for greater democracy within the craft union, and for a program of wages and conditions which would assure "an honest and secure means of earning a livelihood, protection against accident, sickness and old age."

Since that time, hundreds of rail-

roaders of all crafts in the Bay area have joined the RWJAC, as well as individuals throughout the state of California. The organization has been publishing a bi-monthly paper which in an honest and aggressive way discusses the problems of railroad workers, and hammers at a program for their solution. In the last few days the RWJAC has also published a twenty-three-page pamphlet, "Action and Reaction on the Railroad."

"Action and Reaction on the Railroad" traces the history of railroad labor through the great battles which these workers have fought in the past. It describes the reasons why an industrial union is more efficient and more powerful than the outmoded craft-union set-up which now embraces all railroad workers. It describes America as a land of great contrasts between the wealthy and the poor, and shows how this unequal division of wealth is the reason for depressions and wars. Finally, it lays down a nineteen-point program of progressive demands for railroad workers to fight for, advocates ex-

tensive and thorough revision of the pension plan, and a correction of the Railway Labor Act which would untie the bonds of railroad labor in its constant fight with the railroad corporations.

The Railroad Workers Joint Action Committee is not a dual organization set up in opposition to the existing railroad unions. It strongly urges its members to join the unions of their respective crafts and to become the most active and intelligent members of these unions. The RWJAC is an educational and action organization which is trying to organize and give direction to the true aspirations of the rank and file of railroad labor.

Any railroad workers wishing copies of "Action and Reaction on the Railroad" or desiring further information on the Railroad Workers Joint Action Committee with a view to establishing a unit of this organization in their own terminal please write: RWJAC, 506 Fifteenth Street, Plaza Bldg., Room 807, Oakland 12, Calif.

Readers Take the Floor...

Steel Worker Reader Urges LA Forum

Fellow Workers:

I picked up your publication at the Consolidated Steel Corporation yard, Wilmington, Calif. I am sure that you will accomplish much more by sending a representative to the Wil-Hall management for a chance to use that hall for a forum on a Sunday evening when all shifts are off. Should they refuse, there is a large open space which they cannot refuse. There are about 5,000 workers in this vicinity. You can't afford to miss the opportunity, fellow workers.

B. G. Wilmington, Calif.

you'd be more careful about checking up on the facts.

A Regular Reader.

(Editor's Note: Our squib was based on information which appeared in Drew Pearson's syndicated column. The voting procedure of the House would make it possible for Buckley to be recorded on every single mea-

sure presented to it yet be absent from the floor on every occasion. Pearson's and our emphasis was on Buckley's mystical maneuvers and not his voting record.

This is your column. Write in your beefs and beliefs. But please try to make them brief—we'll be glad to print them.

Florida Peonage --

(Continued from page 1)

be fined \$35 each. He even permitted one woman, who was the mother of two small children, to go home to get money for the fines, which she proceeded to do. She paid \$140 to the sheriff for herself and family and they were then released. Another woman who wanted to put up a bond for her daughter's release was told that it would be cheaper to pay the fine. Others in the group were kept in jail for over a week before being released on payment of the fine. None of the prisoners ever saw a court room or a lawyer.

The mass arrest of longshoremen took place on a Saturday when many of them were off duty. The sheriff went into the business district of Fort Lauderdale and gathered all the Negroes he could find. In spite of the

fact that many of the men proved they had jobs, they were put in jail and not released until they paid "court costs." One longshoreman was permitted to go to the Port to collect his wages so that he could pay the fine. Some of the men arrested proved they were night workers. Whatever the case was, the man was held until he paid a fine which was usually \$35. Not one of them received a trial.

It is important to remember that these arrests took place in a state which recently sent a New Dealer back to the United States Senate. Obviously, the local authorities in the South who are accustomed to making their own laws and even breaking them when it becomes a matter of persecuting Negroes, are not intimidated by the electoral switch which took place—from Southern Bourbons to Southern New Dealers.

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Slave Labor in the "Workers' Fatherland"

By ARTHUR PERRY

A report has just come out of Russia which cuts through the thick fog of Stalinist-Communist lies and throws a glaring light on the conditions of the Russian workers. This report is the subject of a dispatch by Edward Angly which appeared in the Chicago Sun on September 30.

Since the dispatch was sent from Moscow and passed the censorship of the GPU there is no reason to doubt its accuracy. That the GPU censors approved this dispatch only proves that to their minds the conditions described are quite normal and not open to criticism.

PUNISHMENT FOR LATENESS

According to Mr. Angly, if a Russian worker is late for work he has committed a crime for which he may be punished in various ways. For being ten minutes late, a worker is "only" publicly reprimanded—that means that he is bawled out and humiliated by the factory manager before all of the workers in the shop.

If, however, a worker is twenty minutes late for work he is brought to trial and is fined twenty-five per cent of his wages for six months. In other words, a wage cut of twenty-five per cent for six months. Since the wages of the average Russian workers are at a bare subsistence level, a twenty-five per cent wage cut must reduce him to starvation.

Mr. Angly makes it clear that it is very difficult not to be late to work in the various Russian cities—transportation is bad and workers have to walk to work for miles.

PUNISHMENT FOR QUITTING

Russian workers cannot quit one job in order to get a better one. Only if they get permission from the factory manager can they quit their jobs. Since factory managers need cheap labor, very few workers are allowed to quit.

However, according to Mr. Angly, two Russian workers recently did quit their jobs without their bosses' permission. For this they were condemned by a military court to jail for five and six years respectively. "A woman worker who absented herself several times without ample cause received an eight-year sentence." For missing work several times, a girl in the Three Mountain clothing factory in Moscow was sent to jail for five years. Even in Hitler's Germany where barbarism and cruelty have reached a high point of refinement, such savage laws have not been enacted against the workers.

Mr. Angly fails to say that workers brought before these military courts are at the complete mercy of the GPU judges. They cannot even get the assistance of a lawyer since lawyers in Russia are part of the ruling bureaucracy, and besides which, no worker could afford to pay a lawyer.

Mr. Angly goes on to say that wherever possible workers are put on a piecework system. As every worker knows, piecework is the oldest and most vicious capitalist method of speed-up and wage cutting. The fact that Russian workers quit their jobs knowing that they face long prison terms shows how desperate their situation must be. No wonder Eddie Rickenbacker is so enthusiastic about Russian methods.

STALINIST SLAVERY

Even if all that was known about the conditions of the Russian workers were the facts stated by Mr. Angly, we would have to conclude that the Russian worker is a slave. He is chained to his job. He is sent to jail for the slightest "crime." But we know more than Mr. Angly reports. Other reports have come out of Russia which prove even more fully that the Russian worker is the most oppressed worker in the world.

The Russian workers do not have the right to organize independent unions. The unions that exist are like Hitler's Labor Front. They cannot strike without facing prison or the firing squad. They can practice free speech only as long as they speak in favor of the government. Even the mildest criticism of the government may result in a jail sentence or a trip to a concentration camp. There is no free press. The present constitution prohibits the workers from organizing an independent workers party. It is true that the Russian ruling class hasn't resorted to the auction block for its slaves—in that respect bureaucratically owned, nationalized industry is different from and superior to chattel slavery.

HOW IS IT POSSIBLE?

After reading the above, a person may wonder how all this is possible in a country where the workers made a successful revolution in 1917. The answer is simple.

Over a period of fifteen years Stalin has killed off the leaders of the Russian Revolution. He has destroyed the soviets as the representative form of workers rule. He has killed off or imprisoned everyone who declared his opposition to the Stalinist counter-revolution. The Stalinist bureaucracy took control of the state and there-with took over the control and ownership of industry.

The Russian working class, unorganized, without the right of free speech or free organization, is helpless against all the barbaric actions of the ruling bureaucracy. It will take another social revolution to destroy Stalinism and re-establish the power of the working class.

In the United States and elsewhere where there is still a free labor movement, Stalinism must be fought not only for its daily betrayals of the working class and its destruction of the union movement, but for another reason as well. Stalin's Communist Parties throughout the world have, as their ultimate aim, the seizure of power in all of the countries where they exist. Should they come to power, they would put into practice the same kind of slavery as now oppresses the Russian working class.

The Record in Italy Shows --

AMG Will Not Purge Italian Fascists

By ERNEST LUND

The other day some seven thousand Italians dragged a fascist police official out of a courtroom in Rome and killed him. Their action was clearly a demonstration against the failure of the Allied Military Government and the weak-kneed Italian cabinet to rid the country of the fascist scum.

After one year of the AMG, fascist officials and jobholders still swarm throughout the occupied area. With the exception of the most notorious of Fascist Party bosses and outright criminals, there has been little action taken against them.

On the contrary, the AMG has taken steps to curb the anti-fascist actions of the working people and protect the fascists. The AMG declares the bulk of the fascists to be indispensable to their posts. They say that everything would be turned topsy-turvy if these people were cleaned out.

Why is this? Because such action against the fascists would involve ninety-nine per cent of the capitalist class of Italy. It would involve the bankers, the industrialists, the newspaper publishers, the big landowners, the army officers and the politicians.

If you got rid of these, who would be left to run the capitalist system in Italy? In this sense the AMG tells the truth when it says that the fascist scum is "indispensable"—i.e., indispensable to Italian capitalism.

AMG PLAYING THE GAME

The Russian Revolution proved that such people are not indispensable. Committees of workers, peasants and soldiers proved that the people could get along without the capitalist class and its hangers-on. But that is exactly what AMG wants to prevent in Italy. In the last analysis, the American government would prefer to have fascism in Italy rather than a workers' government.

The AMG is supposed to weed out the Italian fascists and leave Italian capitalism undisturbed. That's like trying to pick pepper out of a sugar bowl while wearing boxing gloves.

Having been a fascist is no crime, in the eyes of the AMG. The "very best people" in Italy were fascists. Even in this country the "very best peo-

ple" praised Mussolini for "saving" Mussolini from socialism. It must be proved that a fascist committed "specific crimes" before he can be punished.

Was it a crime if the owners of the Fiat Motor Works put up the money with which Mussolini organized his Blackshirt gangs and got into power? Was it a crime if these capitalists used the Black-shirt thugs to smash labor unions and terrorize the workers?

No, says AMG. This was merely political activity. No one can be punished for his political activities.

WHO SUFFERED UNDER FASCISM?

By this means the entire top scum of society will be declared innocent. But from among the bottom dregs of society—the degenerates, the thugs, the thieves, the pimps who joined the Fascist Party for money and jobs—there will be a few hundred prosecuted for their crimes.

The prosecution of some former "Black Hand" gangster who turned fascist police official is considered by the AMG a sufficient blow against fascism.

The capitalist press dares not tell us the truth about fascism. It tries to make it appear that capital and labor suffered equally under fascism. But everyone who studies Italian fascism knows that this is a lie. Big business in Italy was almost one hundred per cent FOR Mussolini while the working class was almost one hundred per cent AGAINST Mussolini.

Gino Olivetti, of the Manufacturers Association ("Confederazione Generale dell'Industria"), was appointed to the Grand Council of the Fascist Party while Giacomo Matteotti, socialist spokesman of the working class in Parliament, was murdered by the fascists.

The banks and big trusts piled up a mountain of profits under fascism while the trade unions were smashed and workers had their wages reduced to the lowest in Europe.

Fascism was a weapon of Italian capitalism in the class war against Italian labor. Fascism is one of the political forms of capitalist rule. Fascist dic-

tatorship is a means of saving capitalism when the working class begins to understand how to organize for power. To be effective, the war against fascism must be a CLASS WAR.

Will American capitalists sponsor a class war of the Italian workers against the fascist capitalists of Italy? Of course not!

PROTECTING CAPITALISM

On the contrary, the AMG will protect the capitalists from the wrath of the working people. That is one of the most important reasons for having an AMG.

Then who will purge Italy of the fascists?

This will only be done by the real enemies of fascism—the Italian workers and peasants.

But won't this mean "mob law" and "lynch law," as the papers describe the killing of the fascist police official?

No. Such scenes only take place when the people are not permitted to deal with the fascists in an organized fashion. What Italy needs are independent committees of workers in the factories and soldiers in the army and peasants in the villages. An organized workers' militia would seek out and arrest the fascists. Special tribunals, elected by the committees, would give them a trial and pass proper sentence.

Is there a chance that this will be permitted by the AMG? No. There is no such chance. But the working people of Italy who revolted against Mussolini and who today are fighting against the Germans in northern Italy will not stop fighting until Italy is free of all "occupiers" and "liberators."

The history of the last twenty-five years proves that there is only one path open to the Italian people—a government elected from out of the shops, the regiments and the villages. Such a workers' government will not only clean out the fascist scum, but will also pull up the roots of fascism—the capitalist system.

Fascism was born out of the economic impasse of Italy after the First World War. The Italian workers, together with their brethren of Europe, will solve this economic impasse through a Socialist United States of Europe.

Re-Heating an Old Dish at Dumbarton

By W. F. CARLTON

At Dumbarton Oaks, British, American and Chinese delegates are discussing an organization to assure world peace. This is the second phase of the conference. The first ended a few days ago, when the Russians, who had been discussing with Britain and America, departed.

These discussions have one purpose. They are to make the people everywhere believe that this war is the last one. The people must feel that their rulers, who led them into World War I and World War II, are serious about the question this time. Why, we are so serious that, look! before the second one is finished we are actually working out an organization to prevent a third!

LABOR ACTION never under any circumstances allows itself to be deceived by the conferences, speeches, communiques, plans for world peace, world trade, etc., of capitalist governments and capitalist politicians. This Dumbarton Oaks Conference is a huge fake. A huge fake? Yes. Exactly that. Here is the proof.

WHAT STALIN IS TALKING

Stalin, ruler of Russia, has let everybody know that he intends to take over the Baltic states, a part of Finland, a large part of Poland, etc. He says he wants to be sure to preserve peace as he sees it. Obviously Russia does not trust world peace to any sort of organization. Not only that, Stalinist Russia carries these plans to Dumbarton Oaks. The conference has not issued any official statements as yet. But the press is full of news of one disagreement. It is this.

The Big Four, Britain, America, Russia and China, cannot agree as to the use of the veto. Britain and America propose that if one of these nations is charged as an aggressor, that nation should not have the right to vote on the dispute. Russia objected. Why? Because Poland and the Baltic states are still "independent" countries. They have exiled governments, ambassadors, ministers, trade commissioners and what not, representing them at other governments, notably Britain and the United States. Suppose one of them carried a case to the proposed League against Russia for stealing their territory? The fat would be in the fire at once.

Russia does not want the new League constituted in such a way that her plans against the territory and independence of these countries could be checked, exposed and denounced. So for the moment there is no agreement.

But the very nature of the disagreement shows that the violent imperialist lusts and greed which wrecked the League of Nations, and the Kellogg Pact for world peace (you remember that one?) are as alive as ever. They will play around this new League until they are ready for war and then it will fall apart.

"HONEST," "SINCERE" IMPERIALISTS

If Russia does not believe in any "world peace organization," the United States does not believe in it either. General Marshall is now busy working out plans for a peacetime army and military establishment after the war. Roosevelt is busy acquiring military, naval and air bases. The League is for the people to look at and argue about and feel some confidence in for the future. But the real business of war-mongering goes on.

You think that this is unfair to the "honest," "sincere" politicians struggling to build "world peace"? Listen to this, from the British representative, Sir Alexander Cadogan:

"We are all anxious to give the new organization life by basing it on the moral ideas on which our civilizations are founded."

Do you think he doesn't know better? Churchill, Cadogan's chief, has said: "We shall hold our own." He has said: "As the war ends it becomes less and less ideological." Does Stalin rage like a tiger through Eastern Europe and Roosevelt grab for bases all over the world, does Churchill hold on to India and defy China to take back Hong-Kong for "moral ideas"? That is bluff—bluff for the people and the weaker nations. Conscious bluff.

Cadogan said this while welcoming the Chinese delegate. China is weak. Chiang Kai-shek and his government can plunder only the Chinese people. In the capitalist scramble the real gangsters are the big imperialist powers. Dr. Wellington Koo, Chinese statesman, knowing that the Big Three can turn on China at any time, said as follows:

"The proposed structure should have at its disposal an adequate force which it can promptly use whenever and wherever it may be needed." He wants an international police force or international army.

But there was Sir Alexander had already made it clear that there was a certain lack of agreement. He said: "We... recognize that responsibility should be commensurate with power. It is for us to find the methods by which power may be rightly applied in the best interests of all nations."

ANOTHER LEAGUE

In other words, the strong nations have the power. They haven't yet worked out how it will be used. We can tell in advance. They use it for themselves and to support friends. They form pacts and break them as soon as convenient.

They formed a League in 1919. When Japan and Germany found that the League didn't suit them, they left it. Italy remained, but when Mussolini wanted Ethiopia he left the League also.

The big ones use the little ones to advance their own interests. Britain and France used the last League to maintain their own imperialist domination. But they would not apply sanctions against Japan or Germany and they played with sanctions against Italy. All through the Ethiopian War, Russia, while shouting loudly for sanctions against Italy, sold oil steadily to Italy.

In those days, however, Russia was the enemy. The imperialist powers still believed that Russia was a fomenter of world revolution. So as soon as Russia attacked Finland, Britain got Argentina to make a motion to expel Russia and Russia was unanimously expelled from the League. Now that Stalin has proved that he is a counter-revolutionary as the next man, the Big Three are busy cooking up another "world peace" organization which will play the same games as the last until the imperialist rivalries explode in war.

We shall get rid of war when we get rid of imperialism. Not before. That is why, the workers should not concern themselves too much with the number of big nations which will be on the council and the number of small, and whose vote will veto aggression and whose will not. That is the basic aim of the conference. To make the people believe that the capitalists are really going to organize world peace this time. It is a lot of stuff and nonsense.

Lenin, the great leader of the Russian Revolution, had an immortal phrase for the last League. He called it a thieves' kitchen. We cannot do better. That is what Dumbarton Oaks is. Thieves' Kitchen No. 2. And Lenin did not use this phrase for mere abuse. It was his way of saying: Let the capitalists carry on their dirty tricks in their own way. Let us not be distracted from our task—the overthrow of capitalism. The advice is as good today as when it was given.

Egad! Stalin Fears "Contamination" of Red Army by--Rumanian "Luxuries"!

By J. R. JOHNSON

For some years now Stalinist Russia has maintained the great masses of the Russian people in strict isolation from the rest of the world. The borders of that country are guarded by barbed wire, pill-boxes, machine guns, dogs and men, in place as well as in war. Foreign magazines are carefully examined and pages torn out before they are publicly sold.

Today, in "one world," the great masses of the Russian people are as effectively isolated from foreign nations as were feudal serfs or Roman slaves. The difference is that in one case it was due to lack of technical and scientific development. In the Russian case it is the opposite. Such is the poverty and oppression of the people that all the advantages of science are used to isolate them and keep them at the mercy of their rulers.

The same thing has taken place in Germany under Hitler. It is the necessary accompaniment of the totalitarian state, which, in all circumstances, is directed against the masses of the people.

But alas! The Red Army is now reaching European civilization. True, it is not very advanced civilization. It is miserable, backward Rumania. But Bucharest, poor as it is, is a European capital. The Red Army men are seeing with their own eyes what "bourgeois civilization" is like. And this has caused serious concern in the Kremlin. What if the stalwart men of the Red Army should be driven to make comparisons between Stalin's "socialism" and "fascist-minded" Bucharest?

THE PRAVDA ARTICLES

Two articles in Pravda raise the alarm. Skobelev, a Russian journalist, describes the "fat bodies, flabby cheeks and baggy eyes" of the men. But the Russian soldiers would hardly be too interested in the men. The women, unfortunately, are "attractive," with "cunning" hair-do's. They wear dark red lipstick, which gives them "sinister mouths." Shades of Theda Bara and Clara Bow.

Two Russian soldiers in Bucharest discussed these women, and Skobelev reports the discussion: "What can you say? They're very attractive."

The Russian soldier was unduly bold in expressing this opinion. Who knows? Tomorrow he may be accused of Trotskyism. For his comrade, a true Stalinist, rebukes him. Says this hero:

"Wash off all that paint and then see what they're like." (Presumably

Russians Toast King Carol

Russia has its fingers in the Balkan stew—up to its elbows, at least. In Rumania, not content with merely bringing the Rumanian people to their knees through reparations levies, the latest advances have it that the Russians are now plumping for the return of the notorious ex-King Carol to assume the throne. It is of no moment to the Communists that a few months earlier they cursed Carol as pro-Nazi and despotic. The Russian diplomats in Mexico now toast him at cocktail parties. His restoration to power in Rumania would provide a bulwark against pro-British interests there and clear the field for Russian influence. And what about the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter for the Rumanian working people? Plainly, that dish is not on the menu being served up by the Russians.

this unpleasant task would be assigned to the GPU.) But our patriot went on to point an immediate moral which could be drawn without waiting for the results of the washing.

"No, brother, the girls from Ryzan (a town near Moscow) are more reliable and without deceit." More reliable! To which his friend could easily say: "How do you know?"

Yet despite the absurdity and propagandistic crudeness of the articles, certain indications are worthy of notice. One soldier attributes the toothless shoe to lack of material. What a story that tells, not only of the poverty—no one laughs at poverty—but of the carefully nurtured ignorance in which the bureaucracy keeps the people!

One house, a soldier notes, is packed with "luxuries." These luxuries are "toilet articles, cooking utensils and vacuum cleaners."

HIDING THE TRUTH

Skobelev does not only deal with Bucharest. He also is preparing the Red Army for what it will see in Germany—ruined, war-torn Germany. He notes that the culture of a country can be measured by the quantity of soap consumed. Then he remarks that Germany normally consumed more soap than any other country in Europe. This is a problem. But he solves it. His conclusion is to note what "well-washed, cultured

DECEIT AND LIES

As usual with Stalinist propagandists, there is one thing which they always leave out. We shall remind them of it. There is a class in Russia which uses lipstick freely and wears shoes without toes. To supply this class, a Russian agent made a special trip to Western Europe seeking perfumes and such-like decorations for the Russian rich. The perfume industry of late years had become important. For its head and traveling agent was no less a person than Madame Molotov, the wife of "Fascism is a Matter of Taste" Molotov. Obviously the Red Army soldier had had no opportunity to wash the paint off the face of her and her friends to see what lay beneath.

Ilya Ehrenberg, Skobelev and the other hired apologists of the Kremlin are as crude and scoundrelly defenders of the Russian bureaucracy as the Westbrook Peglers of the American press are of America's parasitic rich. But history moves on. The Russian soldiers, we hope, will use their eyes and see that if in Europe there is greater wealth than in Russia it is divided in the same way, the great bulk of it for the ruling class and the rest for the workers.

We hope they will see not only the class divisions but see how class divisions are destroyed, by revolution. We hope too, that they or their representatives will soon have the opportunity of driving out Skobelev and Ehrenberg and their bureaucratic sponsors of the Stalin regime from the columns of Pravda and from state power and fill the space with an accurate and balanced account of what they saw in Europe and how they helped their European comrades to change it.

It is obvious that Skobelev is not defending the Kremlin against the devastation of Russia caused by war. If that were so, there would be no need to write as he has done. The Russian soldiers would know and understand. What he is doing is to discredit the pitiable culture of Bucharest in comparison with what the Russian workers accept as their normal way of living. As long as they were cut off from contact with Europe they could be bluffed into thinking that their poverty was nothing exceptional. In fact, Kaganovitch ac-

hands can do." Ah, this unprincipled manner of living, says Skobelev, can offer few temptations to the Red Army man.

The whole thing is a pathetic attempt to make the Russian soldiers glory in their poverty, in the destitution to which Russia has been subjected.

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Wage Increases? 4th Term Propaganda--

(Continued from page 1)

the line has meant holding down wages. It has meant that one-third of the workers in this country have not had a wage increase since the war began. It has meant that for the rest of the workers, their wages long ago were outdistanced by rising prices and a skyrocketing cost of living. Yes, the President and his Administration have done a "credit-able job of holding the line"—

AGAINST WAGE INCREASES.

Mr. Johnston would favor progressive wage increases "as improved methods permit increased production." What period is he talking about? The outstanding feature of the war economy has been the astronomical increase in production, made possible by improved methods, and by the great skill of the American workers. But these gentlemen talk with tongue in cheek, because they know that despite the tremendous increase in production of the past several years the American workers have been

robbed, have not been paid wage increases corresponding to the increases in production.

The bulk of the increased payrolls comes from greater employment, Saturday, Sunday and holiday work, longer hours, overtime, speed-up and other methods which result in tremendously increased profits for big business. Johnston's object in making this statement is to postpone wage increases to another time, AFTER THE WAR, when American labor will be told that there is not enough business or production to permit any wage increases.

WORRIED ABOUT THE FUTURE

With great feeling for the American capitalist, Mr. Johnston stated, according to the New York Times, that "post-war industry would be handicapped if hourly rates are increased now to offset decreased weekly earnings when war work slackens."

Is he worried about what will happen to the workers and their families when this occurs? No, he is wor-

ried about the profit-bloated industries which would have to pay wage increases. He is not concerned with the unemployed, the worker whose earnings decline—to those to whom the problem of merely existing is a great one. He is worried about the well-being of those who live off the fat of the land. And that is typical of the capitalist mind!

Mr. Gaylord, representing the views of the National Association of Manufacturers, echoed the words of Johnston. He, too, saw no need to change the Little Steel formula.

The agitation of these two gentlemen from the ranks of business indicates the readiness of the American capitalists to fight against any changes

in the Little Steel formula and the wage freeze.

What weakens the struggle of the workers for precisely such a change is the obviously unintelligent and cowardly stand taken by the labor leaders, who rant and rave and fume against the formula and the wage freeze, for which Roosevelt and the Administration are entirely responsible, while at the same time they call upon the workers to put all reliance on these same forces to bring about a change!

Labor faces another stab in the back if it does not at once get into motion against the hypocritical promises coming from Washington in order to bring out the "labor vote."

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Editorials

Remember--FDR Vetoed Smith-Connally Bill Because It Wasn't Strong Enough!

One of the biggest lies being peddled in the present political campaign is that Roosevelt vetoed the Smith-Connally anti-strike law because he is a "friend of labor."

Although the veto was written over a year ago, the union leaders have ever since purposely concealed its content from the workers. We are, therefore, having consulted the *Congressional Record* once more, publishing a summary and some important direct quotations from the veto message.

"Let there be no misunderstanding," began the President, "of the reasons which prompt me to veto this bill at this time."

Then, after commending the labor movement in general for keeping the no-strike pledge so well, he went on:

"But laws are often necessary to make a very small minority of people live up to the standards the great majority of people follow... I understand and sympathize with the general purpose of the... bill."

Then he discussed the first seven sections, which include the harsh criminal penalties of the bill. Of these he said, though doubting that they would fully prevent strikes: "If the bill were limited to these seven sections, I would sign it. But the bill contains other provisions which have no place in legislation to prevent strikes in wartime an which in fact would foment slowdowns and strikes."

His main objection was to the provision allowing a strike ballot after thirty days' notice.

"In wartime," he said, "we cannot sanction strikes with or without notice... Far from discouraging strikes, these provisions would stimulate labor unrest and give government sanction to strike agitations."

He also stated that the prohibition on political contributions by labor organizations had no place in an anti-strike law. (This was one point that the labor leaders could safely quote as progressive.)

The very important concluding sections of the veto we quote almost in full:

"There should be no misunderstanding—I intend to use the powers of government to prevent the interruption of war production by strikes. I shall approve legislation that will truly strengthen the hands of government in dealing with such strikes....

"I recommend that the Selective Service Act be amended so that persons may be inducted up to the age of sixty-five years. This will enable us to induct... all persons who engage in strikes or stoppages or other interruptions of work in plants in the possession of the United States.

"This direct approach is necessary to insure the continuity of war work. The only alternative would be to extend the principle of selective service and make it universal in character. (Here is one of Roosevelt's favorite ideas—a slave labor "national service" law.—Ed.)

"I recognize that this bill has an entirely praiseworthy purpose... But I am convinced that Section 8 (allowing strike ballots.—Ed.) will produce strikes which otherwise would not occur...."

Two months after Congress had passed the bill over his veto and the labor leaders had humbly kissed his feet, as the saying goes, in thanks for the veto, Roosevelt proved his sincerity to doubters by issuing an executive order, which added to the already harsh penalties of the law provisions for induction of strikers up to forty-five, for blacklisting of all strikers of any age, and even for outright cancellation of union contracts. These penalties have thus far been used in full only against the West Coast machinists.

Before concluding we must add the following facts: The bill was formulated by Democrats in Congress but was strongly supported by Republicans and Democrats alike. Dewey recently denounced it but instead of suggesting its immediate repeal, as even a half-way honest opponent would, he said that it should be allowed to die on its expiration day—that is, at the end of the war.

The Warsaw Defeat: Unmasking of the Four Freedoms and Atlantic Charter

Warsaw lies bleeding. The lone stand of the noble Warsaw workers for sixty-three days against the Nazi Wehrmacht has ended in surrender. Over 300,000 glorious warriors are casualties to the German army. History has rarely recorded such a determined stand against such superior odds.

The history of this war, however, is becoming more accustomed to the type of betrayal wreaked on the people of War saw by those self-styled exponents of the Four Freedoms—the Allies of East and West. The two governments in exile of Poland, one fighting the Nazis from the diplomatic chambers in England, the other issuing orders from Russia, played a tug of war, with the rope firmly twisted around the neck of the Polish resistance movement.

The Polish Committee of National Liberation, backed by the Stalin government, claimed that General Bor, leader of the home resistance army in Poland, acted without consent or consultation with the Russians. The London committee claims Bor had the authority to act in concert with the advance of the Red Army. General Bor insists he informed Red Army commanders that he was ready to begin the fight and that no opposition was voiced by the Red Army commanders whose legions had already invested the Polish capital.

Facts disprove the Russian charges. Last July, War and the Working Class, a sounding-board of Russian policy, predicted Warsaw would be the first capital of Eastern Europe to fall. For months prior to the Warsaw uprising, the Russian radio blasted away, calling upon the people of Poland to revolt against the Nazis. Before the uprising took place, the roar of Russian tanks could be heard from the capital city, according to home army leaders. Russian military leaders did nothing to discourage the attempt of the Polish workers. They too were confident that Warsaw would fall in a matter of days. All the surrounding circumstances indicate that the revolt was generally timed to correspond with the advance of the Red Army, already in the suburbs of Warsaw.

Once begun, the revolt could not be halted. The Polish masses had nowhere to

retreat. Poorly armed and equipped, they faced the mighty military machine of the Germans. They made desperate and repeated pleas for weapons and assistance from those lovers of democracy, those fighters for the Four Freedoms—the Allies. In response to the uprising and the cries for help of the Poles, the two committees began a series of statements and counter-statements, charges and counter-charges, recriminations and counter-recriminations. A few planes from London dropped completely inadequate supplies. Russia refused to permit planes to shuttle-land in Russia. When the latter finally moved, it was too late. The betrayal was complete.

The valiant fighters of Poland—the workers and socialists who remained to face the Nazi foe while their "leaders" fled abroad—were a sacrificial offering to the gods of imperialism. England and the United States, backing the London committee, want to establish an independent (of Russia) Poland, friendly to them. Russia is for an independent (of the Allies) Poland. Both groups showed by their failure to render aid to the Poles their antagonism toward a genuinely independent Poland.

It has been reported that among the supplies dropped by Allied airmen over Warsaw were some funeral wreaths. A fitting tribute from their Allied "friends" to lay upon the graves of the Polish heroes!

The Allies Are Authors Of--

The Tragedy of "Freed" Italy

By GEORGE TABER

This is the picture of Italy today, one year after the armistice with the Allies and three and a half months after the conquest of Rome:

The death rate for all ages is skyrocketing. Almost half the babies born in Rome are now dying before they reach their first birthday!

Tuberculosis is on the increase.

Unemployment and inflation are terrific. With prices of food soaring, the Allies are paying laborers eighty-five cents a day.

A Rome newspaper writes that "at least two-thirds of the population of Italy will pass this winter in houses without roofs or barracks without fire."

The food supply for the masses is so low as to threaten famine for thousands.

Pietro Nenni, editor of the socialist newspaper *Avanti*, wrote recently: "The very fiber of society here is becoming unraveled. Nobody works. In many cases, nobody can find work. But even in the administration of government, nobody works. All proposals to bankers and industrialists to start work fall on deaf ears, because nobody has any faith in this country's money."

Allen Raymond reports from Rome in the Saturday Evening Post of September 23: "The daughters of Italy, by the hundreds of thousands, have turned to prostitution as the only way they can eat."

Amid this general misery and chaos, the tiny minority of capitalists, landowners, officers and high government officials manage to keep up the standards of high society. They get the expensive wines, frocks, silk stockings, plenty of food, on the black market. Says Mr. Raymond:

"These conservatives are wine and dining American and British officials, exactly as they formerly wine and dined the Germans, absolutely convinced in their little minds that Britain and America will really rule Italy, and that the way they can save themselves and their properties is to curry favor with Englishmen and Americans."

The black market, graft and bribery have encompassed the entire administration of Italy, from the lowest officials to the highest.

WHO RUNS ITALY?

The U. S. and Britain are the real bosses in Allied occupied Italy today, with Moscow also having a finger in the pie. The armistice terms are kept secret, to prevent the people from knowing the extent to which they are controlled by foreign powers, with the political and economic degradation that control implies. It is known that the Allied Control Commission has agents in every branch of Italy's government and economic structure, who control EVERY DETAIL of action and policy. The senile and degenerated capitalist class of Italy and its government (appointed by the

King and never voted on by the people), can not longer stand on their own feet. They have sunk to the status of puppets or Quislings for the Allied conquerors.

Such is the picture of the Four Freedoms in Italy today under Allied military occupation. Such is the meaning of the promises of Roosevelt and Churchill that self-government would be given to the Italian people.

The workers and peasants, who by their strikes and demonstrations overthrew Mussolini's regime last year, still want bread, peace and freedom, and are determined to fight for these objectives. Resistance to the native and foreign oppressors is mounting. The Allied officials are afraid of "large scale rioting and social disintegration" this fall and winter, and are scurrying about looking for ways and means to prevent the discontent of the masses from upsetting the bosses' apparatus.

The General Confederation of Labor, in Southern Italy, has raised demands for a minimum wage and living allowance for all, adjusted to the cost of living; workers' representatives to share in the control of prices; a public works program; workers' control in plants whose owners refuse to start work; heavy taxes on the profits of the capitalists and landowners.

MASSES IN MOTION

Reports during the past week indicate that the masses are beginning to take action. The New York Times reports from Rome on September 22 "that peasants in various parts of Allied-ruled Italy are seizing abandoned lands. In an attempt to protect the property rights of the landowners, the police are filling the jails with hungry peasants."

Violent fights between workers and reactionary forces are becoming frequent. The city capitalists and the landowners are seeking to organize a new reactionary force to be used as a club against the workers and peasants.

Many thousands of workers who fought in the Partisan groups in Southern Italy have retained their arms, despite the attempts of the Allies and the Italian puppet government to disarm them. Says the Saturday Evening Post's reporter:

"And something even more than bread is going to be required. Before there can be any real peace in Italy, these ragged, hungry little men—many of whom will not surrender all their guns—are going to have some social order more nearly attuned to their ideas of justice."

Last week's execution of a fascist prison official by the masses of Rome is another sign that the people are losing patience with the puppet government.

Although this report is primarily concerned with Allied-occupied Italy, it should not be forgotten that the industrial areas in the North, still under Nazi rule, are inhabited by work-

ers even more militant than those in the South. The workers in the factories and the Partisan military forces are waging a large-scale campaign against the Nazis. The Partisans have their own organizations and choose their own leaders. They are made up chiefly of workers. These forces will certainly be a factor to be reckoned with when the North and South are united. They represent the flower of Italy's working class.

The masses want a sharp change from the past. All their present actions indicate how deep that feeling is. They want real freedom, security and peace. And they are fast learning that these goals are impossible under the present regime and social order. All reports agree that the bulk of the working class is looking for political leadership to parties which claim to stand for socialism: the Socialist Party, the Action Party and the Communist Party.

NEED A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

Those workers who expect the leadership of these parties to achieve real freedom for the working class are doomed to disappointment. The present labor and socialist leaders are committed to a policy of collaboration with the Italian capitalists and the Allied conquerors. They are afraid to come out and lead a real independent struggle of the workers and peasants for freedom, against the native and foreign oppressors.

The Moscow-controlled Communist leaders are nothing but agents of Stalin's imperialist politics and are trying to increase Moscow's influence in the Italian government. Anne O'Hare McCormick recently reported in the New York Times that ex-members of Mussolini's Fascist Party are finding refuge in the Communist Party. It is clear that the Stalinist leaders are trying to build up a counter-revolutionary force with which to fight the revolutionary struggles of the workers and peasants, as they did in Spain in 1936-38.

The greatest weakness of the Italian working class today is its lack of a clear understanding that the present policies and leaders can only lead to disaster. This weakness expresses itself in the absence of a strong revolutionary workers' party, which comes out clearly for independent struggle of the masses, for the formation of workers' and peasants' councils to take control of the factories, the land, means of transportation and communication, and the banks, in order to start production going to meet the needs of the people. Such a revolutionary party would point out that these workers' and peasants' councils, by taking over the economic life of the country and setting up a workers' government, would really put an end to the starvation and unemployment and provide real freedom, peace and security for the people. They would have real freedom because they, the workers and peasants, would be the government.

British Socialist Victims of Tory Justice Win Freedom

The latest British labor papers received in this country reveal that the British workers won a tremendous victory against repressive measures taken against them by the Tory-Bevin coalition government when the Court of Criminal Appeals reversed the convictions of three members of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyists).

The three leaders of the RCP, Jock Haston, Roy Tearse and Heaton Lee, were convicted several months ago on charges of having furthered the strike of mine apprentices at Tyneside. They have now been freed.

Taken into custody at Newcastle and refused bail, the three were sentenced to terms of six months to a year's imprisonment without one shred of evidence produced against them by the Newcastle police.

British labor rallied to the defense of these victims of capitalist class "justice" and organized a broad committee to protest and fight the frame-up. Some labor Party members of Parliament and organizations like the Independent Labor Party joined the battle to provide bail, legal aid and to secure eventual freedom for the arrested comrades.

Scores of protest meetings were held and hundreds of resolutions by trade union bodies were passed demanding freedom for the victims of the previously dormant Trade Disputes Act of 1927, which provides for imprisonment of any person aiding or abetting strikes.

In an effort to crush the mounting militancy of British workers, which

has expressed itself in numerous strike actions in the past year, the Tories and the capitalist press, aided by their pals in the Labor Party, Ernest Bevin and Herbert Morrison, whipped up a "Trotskyist scare" of major proportions.

Quick to recognize this reactionary threat against the ENTIRE labor movement of Britain, progressive elements made haste to counter the drive on working class rights and struggles.

In an inspiring display of class solidarity, the Defense Committee for the RCP leaders finally obtained bail and pressed the appeal to the highest courts. The success of the appeal, which brought complete exoneration for the defendants, will go down in British working class history as one

of its most signal and important victories.

Commenting editorially on the fight and its lessons, the New Leader, organ of the Independent Labor Party, says the following:

"This trial and its final result teaches this lesson: that when a ruling class controls the state, it controls also the whole judicial machine, and the 'justice' which is dispensed is frequently tempered by the interests of the dominant class.

"By exposing this reality the workers who helped provide the money which saw that justice was done in this particular case have rendered a service even greater than that of freeing men who were innocent of false charges made against them by the state."

HOLLAND Big Business and Queen Plan Corporate State

By JIM TANAKOS

With the retreat of Hitler's armies from each occupied country—we find the governments in exile retreating just as rapidly from their promises of yesterday to the people who stayed behind and fought Hitlerism.

In Holland the workers have been fighting Hitler and his agents for mthe day they arrived. The list of martyred Dutch workers is very long. Today Queen Wilhelmina is gathering her baggage and government to return to Holland, and the Dutch capitalists are preparing their plans for a FASCIST Holland!

PLANNING THE CORPORATE STATE

The proposals for a corporate state are embodied in a seventeen-page document which is being distributed by the heads of the Phillips Eindhoven companies to the other Dutch capitalists, who are discussing it. The size and influence of the Phillips companies can be determined by the following description which appeared in the *Knickerbocker*, the Dutch business men's magazine: "The Phillips organization is a formidable empire in itself, wielding considerable power over the fate of the nation."

The influence of the heads of Phillips Eindhoven, O. M. Loupart, H. van Walsem and P. F. Otten, is considered on a par with the "Cabinet Ministers in the Dutch social hierarchy." P. F. Otten is also president of the North American Phillips Company, a branch of the Dutch parent body, and has been making millions in U. S. war orders for electrical goods supplies.

The plan proposes a typical fascist corporate state. It wants to limit the functions of the local administrations and super-centralize all authority under the national government. The upper chamber of the Dutch Parliament is to be abolished and a Chamber of Corporations is to take its place. The Crown, which is tied to the corporations, is to be given more power, and under the proposed plan, if the cabinet turned down any proposal by the Chamber of Corporations, the Crown could overrule the cabinet.

The plan stresses the doctrine of hard work and emphasizes that there are differences in ability among men. The importance of the individual, his obedience to recognized government, the family as the cornerstone of the state, are integral parts of the theory.

Some of the above sounds very innocent, but workers have learned what underlies these phrases. When capitalists talk of the "doctrine of hard work," "the differences in ability" and "obedience to recognized government," they mean they are against any struggle for social legislation, shorter hours, equality of pay, workers' organizations and any attempt by the workers to better themselves.

THE QUEEN IS READY

It is obvious that the Dutch capitalists are worried since the Dutch underground has been making demands about the future. They don't want to go back to the poverty and unemployment of a few years back. They have also been making some stiff demands for the colonies, whose treatment by the Dutch capitalists resembles the methods of Hitler.

Queen Wilhelmina, during the past three years, in order not to arouse any serious organized opposition to the return of her government, has been trying to give the Dutch workers the impression that their demands are being seriously considered. In one of her radio speeches she praised the underground press for its demands and criticisms as invaluable "... for a new community and the stimulation it gives to the study of the problems of the future."

But the Queen and her government are ready, just in case the underground have any ideas about real democracy. The New York Times correspondent, after reporting the above radio speech, added: "What the Queen did not tell the Netherlands—yet could have—is that recently Netherlands, training for their own MILITARY ADMINISTRATION, took over an area of the English Midlands to hold a mock return to their homeland." This is a dress rehearsal of the way the Dutch government intends to suppress the democratic demands of the Dutch workers.

If the Dutch capitalists think for a moment that the workers fought Hitlerism because it was of foreign import, but that they will accept a "made in Holland" fascist regime, they have a lot of surprises coming to them.

U. S. Business "Morals" Alarms British Press

The British capitalist press, discarding its customary "good behavior," has gone so far as to accuse its American ally of engaging in business practices that are not quite cricket. A member of Parliament thinks this so important that he intends to raise the question in Commons. These newspapers say the Allied Supreme Headquarters has allowed American business men to go to Paris in military uniform to make business contacts and conduct private enterprises. No civilians except Allied government personnel are supposed to be allowed to be in this area as yet. Naturally U. S. government officials have denied this but in such very diplomatic language that the denial is not at all convincing.

By its superior military and financial position among the Allies the U. S. can attempt to give its business men a break. The early bird catches the fattest contract. Obviously other capitalists want these markets and raw materials for themselves. It disturbs Britain, especially since she considers Western Europe her cut for fighting on the winning side. If anyone is to exploit that region, it should be England, thinks England. Imagine their dismay then when their brothers-in-arms muscle in—and jump the gun on them in the bargain.

Once more the Allied powers are at each others' throats over who is to exploit what. This war is not done yet. It is such 'incidents' among the victors that are laying the groundwork for World War III.

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