

Rescinding the No-Strike Pledge and the Boys in the Foxholes!

By MARY BELL

On December 18, the ranks of the UAW will decide by referendum whether or not they wish to maintain the no-strike pledge. While their convention voted to re-affirm the no-strike pledge, given originally by the union leaders over the heads of the rank and file, they left the final decision to the ranks.

The officials of the UAW were forbidden by the convention to use union time or money to campaign on the issue, but the CIO convention itself was used as a platform by union leaders to sound off against the UAW ranks who are opposed to the pledge. Many other spokesmen, including the President and military leaders, are trying to sway the members to keep the pledge.

We should like to deal with one of the most powerful and, at the same time, fallacious, arguments against labor's once more asserting its right to strike. It is an argument that, in the mind of

the rank and file union member, is often the main or the only one he has against rescinding the no-strike pledge.

That argument is: STRIKES IN WARTIME HOLD BACK SUPPLIES TO OUR BROTHERS AT THE FRONT AND MAY PREVENT VICTORY OVER FASCISM.

Now, first of all, it needs to be pointed out that rescinding the no-strike pledge will not mean a strike-wave. Strikes have occurred, regardless of the pledge, and workers have refrained from striking in the past when they had no pledge against strikes. Strikes are generally the result of intolerable conditions in the shop. No working man or woman who has ever been through a strike embarks upon one lightly. But in the face of an actual pledge not to strike, the employer is given an additional MORAL weapon against labor. He goes blithely about speeding up the work, turning down wage demands, shoving off all griev-

ances to the War Labor Board. In the interests of an all-out effort to speed up the war? No. Solely in the interests of his profits.

Proof that the employer is interested in his profits and not the war effort? Merely the fact that the large industrial concerns went on strike before they signed their contracts with the government to produce weapons of war. They sat down and refused to turn a single wheel for war production until the government met their demand for high profits.

(This comparison of the corporations with labor is most unfair—to labor. When the corporations went on strike they did it to increase the multi-million revenue of the Sixty Families who own and control the country and who, like the lilies of the field, neither toll nor spin nor do any productive work whatsoever. On the other hand, when union members strike, representing hundreds and thousands of workers and their families, they do so for five

or ten cents more an hour, to gain a few more groceries or the down payment on a radio or refrigerator.)

There are some who, aware of these facts, say: "Yes, but regardless of the role of the companies, labor has a responsibility to the men in uniform. They are mostly our relatives. We should keep our pledge for their sake."

Part of this argument is true. Labor does indeed have a responsibility to its brothers in arms. Labor has, first of all, the responsibility of seeing to it that good conditions are maintained for the returning servicemen who will come back, most of them, to take up their jobs as workers again.

What are the servicemen coming back to? What are the conditions that exist in industry which they will face?

The price ceiling pledge given by Roosevelt in return for the no-strike pledge has been broken. But the ceiling on wages, exem-

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Atlantic Charter Just So Many Words on Paper

Third, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.—From the Atlantic Charter of Roosevelt and Churchill.

Belgium

By ALBERT GATES

The absolute meaninglessness of the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms, when advocated by capitalist-imperialist powers was never so firmly demonstrated as in the case of Italy and Belgium. The case of Belgium is hardly unique, except in the speed with which events have piled up in that country to demonstrate the complete and wide gulf which separates the mass of people from the usurpers who rule the country today.

The background of the Belgian events is similar to that of other countries which have lived for years under the yoke of German fascism. The struggle against the foreign oppressor was carried on by the people who remained at home. That is to say, those who made up the Resistance Movement were workers of every description, middle class elements and poor peasants. They were the political parties of the workers, trade unions, cooperative and fraternal societies. These were the people who, with arms in hand, braved the Gestapo, the murderers' courts and the concentration camps to fight the fascist beasts.

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Italy

By JOHN STEWART

For those who still bear the illusion that the United Nations are fighting for democracy and who believe that the signers of the Atlantic Charter proposed that document sincerely and seriously, an example proving the contrary can be given from practically every presumably liberated country in Europe today.

One of the latest flare-ups is in Italy today. Since its invasion by the Allies and the partial ousting of the Nazis, it has passed through a series of crises. Living conditions approach the level of India. The masses of the people, who suffered under fascism, are enduring still worse physical and material privations under the Allies. Yet it was those same masses who only yesterday overthrew the fascist dictator, Mussolini, and toppled the first successor chosen by the Allies, another pro-fascist Badoglio. Then, again by grace of the Allies, a coalition government took control, representing the tops (and not the people) of six parties, including the Communists, Socialists, Christian Democrats, etc.

Its representative was Premier Ivanoe Bonomi, a discredited social-

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LABOR ACTION

DECEMBER 4, 1944

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

WLB Steel Decision Evades Wage Issue!

STOP Collective Begging

Rescind the No-Strike Pledge

(Reprinted from a bulletin issued by Local 654, UAW, Flint, Mich.)

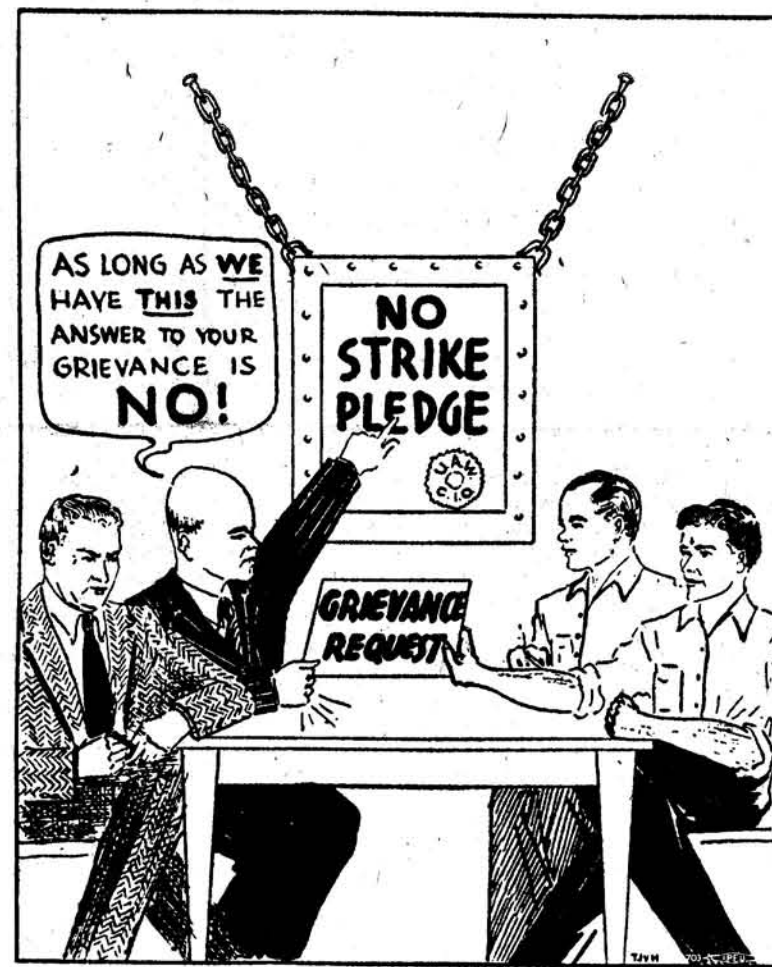
The delegates to the 1944 convention of the UAW-CIO granted the first opportunity yet offered any of the rank and file of the organized labor movement of this country to express their opinions on the no-strike pledge by a referendum vote.

Today the big corporations are convinced that they can win an anti-union victory. They are heartened now because they have reason to believe that they have already scored a preliminary victory. They have their Smith-Connally bill, a friendly WLB and a threatening War Manpower Commission.

LABOR'S SITUATION TODAY

If this were all, it would be bad enough. But the employers and their government have more. They have a no-strike pledge from labor. The employers have also squeezed other concessions from organized labor. While it is true that you were not consulted about the no-strike pledge, it is nevertheless true that you have rather passively accepted the situation.

All of the concessions which you have been pushed into making, including the no-strike pledge, have developed into a millstone about the necks of the auto workers and organized labor in general. You were told that your first duty was to win the war, that you should be prepared to make any and all sacrifices for the winning of the war. We were promised that our union would be unmolested, that collective bargaining would be maintained, that prices would be held in line with wages, that no new crop of millionaires would be born as a result of war profits.



Not one of these promises made to labor has been fulfilled. Any confidence which workers place in promises made to their leaders has been betrayed. It is only wages that have been held down, while hours have been increased. The War Labor Board has taken a steadfast and consistent position that if labor gets more money in the pay envelope, it must come not from an increase in the basic hourly rate of pay, but from putting in longer hours. There is no real collective bargaining today. This

time-honored union-management procedure has been transferred from the factory to the WLB and numerous other government agencies. The cost of living has risen 45.5 per cent—74.5 per cent on food alone, and this since January 1941. Our wages, however, are tied to the Little Steel fifteen per cent formula.

Any man, woman or child should be able to see that the talk about "equality of sacrifice" was pure bunk. The only argument that the sup-

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Philip Murray, president of the CIO and the United Steel Steel Workers of America, hailed the award of "trimmings"—vacation pay, night shift differentials and such-like—handed by the War Labor Board decision to the steel union as a "great victory."

LABOR ACTION can only continue to deplore the "great victory" of the War Labor Board in "trimming" the workers again.

The WLB gloated over the fact that it gave a five-cent average wage benefit without even "bending" the Little Steel formula. Despite its own figures on the cost of living, despite the CIO's proof that at present prices and wages the average steel worker ends up in the red at the end of the year, the WLB will not budge on the Little Steel formula. It left the demand of the steel workers for a seventeen-cent an hour increase up to Roosevelt. But it would not recommend that the President act favorably on this demand.

Union spokesmen said of the seventeen-cent request, "It is still very much alive, and we intend to continue our fight for the

increase and the breaking of the Little Steel formula." How? "I Am As Sure As I Am Living That the Little Steel Formula Will Be Broken" Murray has nothing to go on but his hunch, the WLB and his faith in Roosevelt.

Fraudulent #101 Election Puts Communist In

DETROIT—In a fake poll-tax election in which more than one-fifth of the membership was disenfranchised, John Marmon, Communist-supported candidate for president of Local 101 of the Rubber Workers Union, coasted back into office with the aid of International President Sherman H. Dairymple, who saved him from almost certain defeat.

Most major offices in this Detroit local went uncontested in the local's annual elections, including president, secretary, treasurer and most executive board posts, which therefore fell automatically to the Communist union-wrecking group headed by Marmon and Alfreda Bush, the local's treasurer.

Almost all opposition candidates withdrew from the elections before the balloting in order not to permit the phony election to appear as a fair test of the real sentiment of the local's membership. Most of the mem-

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The WLB has spoken its mind eloquently in the steel decision. While granting the much-needed fringe demands it insulted steel workers who are the backbone of war production. They have worked long hours, at wages below the level required for decent living standards, at heavy and often dangerous work. The steel corporations, however, guaranteed their profits by the government, profits that are taken care of by government legislation in the lean years to come. However, the WLB ruled that so far as a guaranteed annual wage for the workers is concerned, that would cause such dislocations in the industry as to make it impossible.

The steel workers, like all others, are not guaranteed a living wage, they're not guaranteed their jobs as soon as cutbacks take place, they're not guaranteed an annual wage. All the more reason why they should receive an increase now! Is Phil Murray content to wait for an increase until cutbacks in hours have reduced the pay envelopes of these workers so that the increase will be meaningless?

The Telephone Operators Know How to Fight for Higher Wages

A Union Statement - -

The Executive Committee, Branch 7002, Federation of Long Lines Telephone Operators, 260 West Broadway, sent the following answer to PM's editorial opposition to the wartime phone strike:

"Sir: We note with great astonishment the Wechsler editorial of November 23, 1944. Coming from a paper which is opposed to seeing little people kicked around, this editorial comes as a distinct surprise and a kick in the teeth.

"We have worked in the Bell System for fifteen years and have seen the union movement develop from out and out company associations into organizations of some measure of independence and strength. Opposing this movement for independence and unity there has been the standard paternalism of the Bell System backed by the might of its billions.

"Throughout the years it has been a constant struggle here for better conditions. Merit systems, discrimination, poor representation, management domination, miserable wages have in large measure gone by the board. In their stead have come wage schedules, fair overtime pay, shorter hours, seniority, labor contracts with anti-discrimination clauses, decent steward systems and the myriad of other things that go to make life in industry bearable. We realize that we have a long, long way to go but we know we have made a good start. We intend to defend that start.

"As to the strike itself, the real issue, as you will know, is one of miserable wages in war boom areas. The importation of operators from the outside at bonus

wages is a typical Bell System attempt to keep down the basic wage rate.

"As you know, both the company and the WLB have had eighteen months in which to eliminate these conditions. Unfortunately the Ohio Bell Co. has not yet learned to take its workers seriously. A new cafeteria or library seems to be the only answer the company knows. As other labor organizations know—Little Steel run-around—in all fundamental issues a glorified legalistic how-de-do is the best that can be expected from the WLB, especially from the industry and public members.

"Further, we have offered to keep open all vital services and to pass military, priority, and governmental calls and to provide the best of service. Our offer to the company was made in all sincerity and in an attempt to expedite all war matters; the same offer has been made in every strike area.

"We desire no strikes. Should one occur it is only because we have no alternative. In fact, as this is written it appears that an agreement has been reached with the management, in New York.

"In any case our support of our striking people and of all striking phone workers remains 100 per cent. We are part of organized labor and our principles remain those of organized labor. The least PM can do is recognize that we live by our principles, present our case FULLY, and place the blame where it belongs.

"Federation of Long Lines Telephone Workers' Executive Committee, Branch 7002, Oscar Jager, Acting Publicity Director."

The Story of the Strike - - The Conditions That Cause the Strike - -

Affecting a majority of the fifty-one operating centers of the telephone trust, the recent operators' strike beginning in Dayton, at the Ohio Bell Telephone and spreading immediately to Detroit and Washington, D. C., focussed the attention of a nation on the serious plight of those girls who operate the switchboards.

Both company and union spokesmen agreed on the issue: more pay. Although the union objected to "transferees" from other cities who received \$18 a week expenses in addition to wages, their resentment can be explained by the fact that the company pays such expenses in order to get employees to meet the labor shortage, but will not raise the wages of old-timers in the company.

The top wage paid to its operators in the entire company by its octopus of industry (all companies are affiliated with American Tel. & Tel.) is \$32 a week! And that only after ten years of service!

Everyone is forced to admit the justice of the grievances of the women. In addition to the miserable wages, they are victims of discrimi-

natory promotions, a fantastic speed-up of split-second timing, lack of seniority rights, etc. The War Labor Board and the company have not acted on their grievances. Yet their strike is attacked by labor leaders afflicted with no-strike-pledge-itis, the WLB, naturally, and the pseudo-liberals, including the newspaper PM.

Statements of the Operators - -

Mrs. N. F. Naughton, chairman Traffic Branch 101: "This is simply a desperate action by the strikers to get a decent living wage. All this blabber the company puts out about the workers being unpatriotic and disloyal to soldiers is untrue. We all have boys in the fighting zones and we've got nothing but encouragement from them in our battle for living wages."

Helen Curley, Brooklyn, junior supervisor: "If I were in the place of those Ohio people, I'd do just exactly what they did. I'd be darned resentful if I found somebody sitting next

The statements below give the lie to the capitalists' propaganda that soldiers are very bitter about strikes in wartime. If they are bitter, it is because the capitalist sources of propaganda—the newspapers, radio, movies, etc.—all tell them one side of the story. They present striking workers, who strike only because they are driven by the profiteering

to me, doing he same work I do, and getting \$18 a week more for it. I'm ready to strike—I just hope I get a picket board that looks good on me."

Mrs. Clara Allen, Jersey City, supervisor: "I'm with the workers in Ohio, and I'm prepared to do anything to help them. I'm ready to strike with them. I have a husband in the service, and I don't think this is in any way harmful to him."

Mildred Klemm, Brooklyn, operator: "If we get a telegram to strike I'm certainly willing. What's the use to help out the operators in Ohio, in having a union if everybody in the

companies to do so, as saboteurs of the war effort.

The real saboteurs are such subversive elements as A. T. & T. They are sabotaging the health and human rights of their workers. They are sabotaging the morale of many a member of the armed forces who knows his wife or sister has to live on such wages.

union doesn't stick together?" Betty Cullen, Brooklyn, supervisor: "I've been working for the company three and a half years, and it's been an uphill struggle for every small raise. If we went out on strike, I'd expect the Ohio workers to support us. I'll certainly support them."

Margaret Reilly, Brooklyn, supervisor and vice-chairman of Branch 101: "The situation in Ohio just got to the point where it was no longer endurable, and the people just had to strike. We'd certainly be a fine bunch of union people if we didn't help those people."

MASS ACTION

By David Coolidge Nat'l Labor Sec'y, Workers Party

Daily Worker and George Bass

Last week we wrote in this column on the defeat of George Bass in the Goodrich Local elections in Akron. We pointed out the fact that Bass was defeated by the most conservative members of the local, who were led by a handful of the reactionary scissorbills, acting in league with the labor-baiting Akron Beacon Journal. As was to be expected, Browder's Communist Political Association (Communist Party) has come out in its Daily Worker in support of these reactionaries and the Beacon Journal.

The Daily Worker for November 27 calls the defeat of Bass "good news from Akron." Bass is a "pro-Trotskyite" who was defeated through "the patriotic understanding of the Goodrich workers." Trade "unionists loyal to the CIO no-strike policy and the national interests which it defends, turned thumbs down on him (Bass) and his Trotskyite henchmen." The "patriotic repudiation of Bass should be a signal to all CIO supporters in the CIO to give the same medicine to his fellow travelers in their ranks." By this the Daily Worker means that what it calls the "patriotic" workers should vote against the rescinding of the no-strike pledge in the coming UAW referendum.

Bass was not defeated through "the patriotic understanding of the Goodrich workers." He was defeated because a small group of reactionaries skillfully and very brazenly played on the backwardness and lack of "understanding" of a large group of workers who for one reason or another were not active in the local. They were taken in by these scissorbill-Beacon Journal stooges who were really not fighting the battles of the Goodrich workers but the battle of the Goodrich Rubber Co. They won, not because these rank and file workers want a reactionary leadership but because the scissorbills organized them and the Bass forces did not. We commented on this in LABOR ACTION last week.

WORKERS PARTY MEMBERS ARE NOT "HENCHMEN"

We are not certain what the Daily Worker means by Bass' "Trotskyite henchmen." If they mean members of the Workers Party, we want to say that Workers Party members don't act as "henchmen" for anybody in the trade unions. Furthermore, members of the Workers Party don't act as henchmen for Roosevelt and the Democratic Party. Neither do we act as henchmen for the Republican Party. We didn't act as henchmen of Hague in New Jersey, for the rotten Tammany leaders in New York City, for Kelly in Chicago, for Bilbo in Mississippi or for Willkie in 1940.

The members of the Workers Party did not act as "henchmen" for Hitler and never will. We have never made a pact with this fascist butcher and never will. We have never made a pact with the FBI nor called on the government to refuse newspaper to a labor paper.

Members of the Workers Party were never henchmen of John L. Lewis. We didn't organize a forty-five-minute ovation for Lewis at the CIO convention in 1941. We didn't oppose Murray for president of the CIO and then spend the next three years crawling up his pants leg trying to make him forget that we were once "henchmen" of Lewis who were now willing, to lick Murray's boots if he would only let us.

No, it wasn't the "Trotskyites" who did these things. It was Browder's Communist Political Association (Communist Party)—henchmen for Stalin, Eric Johnston, Hitler, Democratic Party, Republican Party, National Association of Manufacturers, the cops and the employers.

DEEP DIFFERENCES BETWEEN COMMUNISTS AND WORKERS PARTY

No, the "Trotskyites" don't act as "henchmen." Neither do we crawl through the labor movement with an axe in one hand and slime and filth in the other. Browder, the Stalinists and the Daily Worker have undispensed priority in that field. Members of the Workers Party in the trade unions are against fascism and always have been. We fight against fascism; we make no compromises and no pacts with fascism.

We were and remain against the no-strike pledge. We are for militancy in the unions, for real collective bargaining and democratic decisions by the union membership. We are not supporters of the war, because it is an imperialist war for imperialist gain and aggrandizement. These things should be clear even to the scoundrels who edit the Daily Worker. Our ideas and our program have been published in LABOR ACTION week in and week out.

Members of the Workers Party are loyal supporters of the labor movement: of the CIO and the AFL. We give these workers our ideas and our program: the program of democratic and militant unionism, the program of revolutionary socialism. We stand for independent political action by and for the working class. We have advocated and still advocate that the trade unions organize a mass independent Labor Party.

THE PROGRAM NECESSARY FOR PROGRESSIVES TODAY

We are not "henchmen." We go to the ranks of labor as an integral and loyal part of the trade union movement. We propagate our ideas and our program. This is our right, our duty and our responsibility. The Workers Party does not agree with the present program of the organized labor movement on the war, the no-strike pledge, the WLB and the relinquishing of collective bargaining. We believe, and there are thousands of militant workers who agree with us, that such a program can only lead to defeat for labor.

This is what we were saying in this column last week to George Bass and to other militant rank and file leaders in the unions. They have a duty and a responsibility to consider these things seriously. We are not living in the horse and buggy age of the class struggle. The demands on a trade union leadership are different. They must become not only militant trade union leaders but political leaders guiding the labor movement on the road to independent working class political action. If they fail in this the unions cannot and will not escape the clutches of Stalin's henchmen or the victory of the most reactionary and backward scissorbills.

Philadelphia Readers, Attention!

PUBLIC MEETING

FUTURE OF LABOR'S POLITICAL ACTION

FRIDAY DECEMBER 8th 8:15 P. M.

GRAND FRATERNITY HALL

1626 ARCH STREET, PHILADELPHIA

AUSPICES: LABOR ACTION FORUM

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

UAW Rank and File Organize For No-Strike Referendum

DETROIT—The rank and file campaign to rescind the no-strike pledge in the United Auto Workers referendum to be held in December is gaining momentum. Reports coming in from numbers of UAW locals indicate that the deep-seated resentment against the pledge among rank and file auto and aircraft workers will find expression in leaflets and other material distributed by local groups and the national Rank and File Steering Committee.

In Flint the educational committee of Chevrolet Local 659 has issued a four-page, two-color leaflet explaining the importance to the union of rescinding the no-strike pledge. Coming out clearly for strong, aggressive unionism, the leaflet, which is reprinted in this issue of LABOR ACTION, asks UAW members to vote against continuing the no-strike pledge.

Also in Flint, Buick Local 599 is running large ads in its local paper asking the membership to support the traditional policy of the Buick Local: opposition to the no-strike pledge.

DEVELOPMENT AT FORD

An interesting development in the campaign is taking place at the huge Ford Local 600. Under the leadership of the militant aircraft unit, whose chairman is Larry Yost, chairman of the Rank and File Steering Committee, the hold of the Communist Party on the local is being broken. At a meeting of the aircraft unit the membership voted to raise funds to support the campaign against the no-strike pledge in the local and in the international.

Following this, at a meeting of the General Council, Local 600, a motion to support continuation of the no-strike pledge was tabled. The significance of this is indicated by the fact that the Council has for a long time been dominated by the anti-union Communists whose stooge, Grant, is president of the local. Ford workers are turning away from the reactionary policies of the Communist Party which demand that labor tie itself to the National Association of Manufacturers.

The defeat of several prominent CPers in recent elections is a further indication of this trend. A vigorous drive against the no-strike pledge in Local 600 should also serve to unite all progressive elements in the local to root out the Communists and their stooges who are the loudest and most vicious defenders of the pledge.

In other locals in the Detroit area similar events are taking place. At Chrysler at Fleetwood, at plants large and small, groups of workers have joined to raise funds and plan their campaign.

It is important that the campaign extend beyond the Michigan area. An indication that it will is the report from Buffalo that a local Rank and File Committee has been set up there. The Buffalo committee meets regularly and is extending its work into all UAW locals in that city.

It is safe to say that similar activity is going on in other locals in all parts of the country. Unfortunately, there is not enough co-ordination between the local groups and the national campaign. If all active unionists who are doing something in their locals to free the union from the no-strike pledge would contact the Rank and File Steering Committee in Detroit, they could get valuable advice and assistance and in turn could give information regarding their local situations to aid in the campaign in other locals. This would result in a well-rounded national campaign.

No-Strike Pledge and Soldiers-

(Continued from page 1) The best by the recent insulting decision of the WLB in the steel workers' case, remains intact. Is that what the ex-steel worker now on a gunboat in the Pacific, is fighting for?

Behind the recent strike of the telephone girls were wages of \$18 and \$21 a week. Is that what their brothers and husbands in the armed forces are fighting for?

This is most emphatically NOT what the workers in uniform are fighting for. This fact can be documented by thousands of letters from men overseas, some printed in union papers, some testified to recently by the telephone operators—letters of encouragement to strike for a decent living wage against the offensive of big business.

SOLDIERS OPOSE STRIKES

Now, it is also true that many soldiers are bitterly opposed to strikes in wartime. But their reaction is the result of the propaganda campaign of big business, which is on a union-busting and profit-making spree. All types of anti-labor propaganda have been used among servicemen and it is regrettable that much of it has had effect. Naturally the capitalist press is the worst offender. But it is also a result of the failure of the unions to put their case vigorously before the armed forces. What would be the reaction of these soldiers if they knew the truth of the matter—that while they are living in slit trenches, crawling through jungles, fighting and dying, big business is making the biggest profits of all time!

These same soldiers and sailors are supposed to be liberating the countries oppressed by fascism. What does "oppressed by fascism" mean? The working class is the first victim of fascism. Its right to strike is taken away. Its unions are destroyed. The profiteers, the wealthy, the business men—they get along well under fascist oppression. They can do—and have done—business with Hitler!

Strikes would take away weapons from the front, they say. But what a weapon is handed over to Goebbels by taking away the right to strike! The plutocrats rule in the democracies, he would say, and the workers do not have the right to strike. So what hope do the German workers have at the hands of their democratic "liberators"? They fight all the harder against our doughboys.

On organized labor's shoulders rests the responsibility for securing and maintaining conditions for the veterans. Business won't do it. When a strike occurs, or when there is talk of rescinding the no-strike pledge, and business spokesmen squeal, "Think of the boys in the fox-holes," they are simply hypocritical and desirous of creating antagonisms between labor and servicemen. They didn't think of the boys in the fox-holes when business held up the war contracts, and when they peddled goods to Japan, Germany and Spain. And they don't think enough of them now to give them severance pay, cumulative seniority for the time they are in service, vacation pay. They don't think enough of them to guarantee them, or any workers, jobs after the war is over. And the politicians in Washington of both parties

don't think enough of them to give them a clear right to vote.

What rights the veterans have now are due largely to the efforts of organized labor. But organized labor hasn't done enough. Organized labor has to go forward to a guaranteed annual wage, to full employment, to make an end of poverty in the midst of plenty.

But for labor to stand still today means to go backward. Big business is out to "get" labor. Since labor made the no-strike pledge, big business has the Indian sign on unions. It has experienced the supreme delight during the war—for the first time in years—of making profits hand over fist without having to jump the workers' pay. The no-strike pledge is the root cause of the offensive of big business against labor and the plight of the labor movement today.

Labor has produced the goods for the war. Every government body and especially production boards, have been compelled to praise American workers for the colossal production of war goods. This alone gives the lie to their propaganda against strikers. Of that there can be no question. But business has taken the gravy. In order to smash the vicious Little Steel formula, which is holding up increases, and restore collective bargaining, it is necessary to rescind the no-strike pledge. This is the key to progress in the labor movement today. If labor resumes the offensive, raises wages and better conditions, it aids the veterans of World War II. If it remains subservient to big business, it only helps betray them.

Labor Action Sub Drive Hits 70% of Goal; 299 This Week

We're still a little shy of the mark in our weekly totals to reach the full quota in the drive for 4000 new subscriptions to LABOR ACTION, but the pick-up is very promising.

Last week we reprinted two letters from readers of the paper who sent in four subscriptions each. They showed us one of the ways in which our friends can help boost LABOR ACTION.

Workers Party branches jumped back into the drive with a raft of new subs too, so that last week we reached a total of 261. New York led the field with 88 subs which were obtained primarily as a result of a "Labor Action Sunday," where a house to house campaign was carried out. This week, New York did it again. The Workers Party of that city went out in an effort to duplicate the success of the previous week and New York led the field again with 88 subs.

As a matter of fact, and this is what gives us heart in the drive, the weekly total jumped up to 299—just one shy of 300! It has brought the drive within 31 per cent of completion.

The heavy work has been done. As you can see from the scoreboard, 71 per cent of the drive has been completed. That's just a little short of 3000 new subscriptions.

Some of the branches of the Workers Party have already gone over the top: There is Akron with 108 per cent; Louisville with 100 per cent; Reading with 102 per cent, and Streator, which tops the list with 112 per cent.

Other branches are pretty close to it. Buffalo needs a little less than four per cent to reach a perfect score. Chicago is not far behind. And so is Detroit, which leads the whole country in the number of subs obtained. These cities are followed by San Francisco, Seattle and Youngstown-Warren. They're all a cinch to complete their quotas before the campaign is ended—and we have no doubt that in the final weeks they will go beyond their quotas.

But we still need help from Cleveland, Philadelphia, St. Louis and the National Office. What do you say, are we going to get it? You don't have to reply by letter. Send in your subs and we'll understand! The big thing in this drive is for all branches and

agents to do what New York has done in the last two weeks. Organize "Labor Action Sundays." Get your friends together and work out a cooperative campaign. Your results are practically guaranteed.

Put it a little differently and you will see why we are so confident. The following list of cities and figures indicate how many subs each needs to fulfill the national goal:

City	Subs to Go
Akron	Over the Top
Buffalo	5
Chicago	39
Cleveland	132
Detroit	92
Los Angeles	34
Louisville	Over the Top
National Office	347
New York	371
Philadelphia	105
Reading	Over the Top
St. Louis	25
San Francisco	24
Seattle	16
Streator	Over the Top
Youngstown-Warren	8
Total	1,161

SUB BLANK

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R. J. Thomas: Caught in WLB Revolving Door

By SAM ADAMS

It takes a great deal of patience and fortitude to follow the thinking of some labor leaders on the War Labor Board and the Little Steel Formula. It is no secret, of course, that Labor Action is unalterably opposed to the War Labor Board, the Little Steel Formula and the No-Strike Pledge which has bound labor's hands and made possible the maintenance of a wage freeze robbing workers of their wages.

We are not alone on at least two counts of the above position. Nearly all of the labor leaders feel as sharply as we do about the wage freeze and the activities of the WLB. Their trouble is that they do not see or, more correctly, they refuse to see

of the Board, especially Mr. Taylor, whom the President of the CIO held responsible for the Little Steel Formula. Thomas said in effect:

I am even more critical of the WLB than Murray. I apologize for my membership on the WLB, having joined the board "under the false pretense" that the Board would give an even break to labor. Labor has not received fair treatment.

Then, after declaring how hard he worked for the reelection of Roosevelt, Thomas stated:

"Here is an issue which I think the President himself must move on and move quickly. We cannot go out to the workers much longer and sell them on the idea that the President is the greatest man in the world unless the President moves to equalize conditions of all classes of society."

Just read that over again. The President must move quickly on the matter of wages. Why? Is it because the workers need higher wages in order to live? We are sure Thomas believes that. But the reason he gives is that he "cannot go out to the workers much longer and sell them on the idea that the President is the greatest man in the world unless the President moves to equalize conditions of all classes of society." Who told Thomas to go out and sell the workers the President?

Why didn't Thomas go out and tell the workers the truth, namely, that the President is responsible for the wage freeze, for the Little Steel Formula and for the War Labor Board?

Why didn't Thomas quit playing boss politics in supporting and working for a capitalist political party and a capitalist candidate?

Why didn't Thomas spend some of his time and energy working for a party of labor and for labor candidates?

Why didn't Thomas try working for a program for labor that would defend and advance the interests of the workers?

Why didn't Thomas try thinking like a worker and a genuine labor leader rather than thinking like a capitalist politician and acting like a capitalist agent in reality? Why doesn't he stop thinking of getting a capitalist President to act like a socialist?

Then the issues would have been clear cut. Instead, Murray, Thomas, Hillman, Green and others worked like Trojans for Roosevelt, without even a promissory note. They gave everything toward Roosevelt's campaign, just as they have supported him through thick and thin all these years while labor was getting it in the neck—all for nothing except endless insults.

Well, now, you would think that Thomas, after having unburdened himself on the WLB, would sit down satisfied with having made the record. No, the man must needs talk on. And we get this:

He is critical of public members Davis and Taylor and referred to Davis, the chairman of the WLB, as "a weak, worn-out old man." But then he declared that the CIO had made a mistake when it did not send telegrams of congratulations to the three public members of the WLB who submitted their resignations to the President.

Let us rest here with this repetition: Thomas thought the CIO made a mistake in not sending a congratulatory telegram to the three men on a board (for which he apologized serving on), who were mainly responsible for refusing to recommend a revision of the Little Steel Formula, who were mainly responsible for labor's run-around, who remained adamant in their refusal to grant wage increases, and who consistently maintained the wage freeze. "Nuff said, we think."



R. J. THOMAS

that the maintenance of the one-sided no-strike pledge, for which they are responsible, is what has made possible the wage freeze and the WLB.

MURRAY'S POSITION

However, taking them at their word, we cannot help but conclude that the minds of these labor leaders operate in a most peculiar and disastrous way for the workers. Last week we showed this to be true in the case of Phil Murray, president of the CIO. We quoted at length from Murray's speech to the CIO convention in which he castigated the WLB for maintaining the wage freeze and refusing to budge on the question of revising the Little Steel Formula, at a time when all facts showed it to be out of line and a means of cheating the workers.

Murray cited chapter and verse to show that the figures of the WLB justifying their refusal to grant overall, general wage increases were false; that these figures were at least 15 per cent below the real figures; and most important of all, by the Board's own figures, a nation-wide increase of 30 per cent in the Little Steel Formula was indicated. Murray's position, like that of the rest of the labor leaders, was unassailable.

But what did this leader of millions of workers then conclude? Mustn't quit the WLB, mustn't break the political alliance with Roosevelt, who is the person first of all responsible for this situation, and mustn't, of course, break the no-strike pledge, which is, finally, responsible for the whole situation.

R. J. THOMAS IN A WHIRL

Now, take the case of R. J. Thomas, president of the largest union in the world, the United Automobile Workers, which decided at its last convention to take a referendum on the no-strike pledge. Asserting his agreement with Murray's criticism of the public members

A LECTURE

Sponsored by the New York Workers Party School

Dec. 8 Has France Been Liberated?

- Disarming the FFI
- De Gaulle and the Workers
- Allied Intervention
- The French Communists

Albert Gates

Editor, Labor Action

TO BE HELD AT:

LABOR TEMPLE
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NEW YORK CITY

8:15 P. M.

ADMISSION 25c

The Atlantic Charter at Work

Belgium - -

(Continued from page 1)

The Belgian ruling class, the capitalists, monopolists, financiers and the King's followers were, by and large, collaborators with the Germans. The industrialists and financiers stayed behind to do business with Hitler at a profit. As in all other capitalist countries which the Germans occupied, the capitalist class were the collaborators; the workers, the fighters.

It is no small wonder then why the mass of people in Belgium have just risen against the government of Prime Minister Hubert Pierlot. Pierlot headed a pre-war government. He and his aides have been out of Belgium during the years of German occupation. He and his aides returned when the Germans were driven out by the combined struggle of the Allied soldiers and the Belgian workers in the armed resistance forces.

CONDITIONS IN BELGIUM

The situation in Belgium is acute for the people. They have little enough food, clothing or shelter. They live in great privation. But they might be willing to understand this situation in the midst of the war, and willing to accept such conditions if they knew that this was true for everyone else in the country. But they know that the Belgian rulers—the monopolists—live well, and that they lived well under the Germans as they now do under the Allies.

And now? Now that the Germans have been driven out, the Belgian people want to punish those whom they regard as traitors. But the government of Pierlot says "No." Even worse, the government, having decided not to do anything about the German collaborators, turns its attention and guns against the people, against the Resistance Movement. The first important act of the Pierlot government was to demand that the resistance forces turn their arms over to the government and in effect dissolve themselves. The reasons are obvious. The government of Pierlot, which in no way represents the Belgian people, is afraid of the masses, afraid that the demands of the masses may win out if they have the force. And the first thing this government of the Belgian capitalists wants is to disarm the people.

The masses demonstrated against the order disarming the Resistance Movement. Their demonstration was fired upon by the hired troops of the government. Several workers were killed and others wounded. The unions of Belgium called strikes against the government, demanding that Pierlot resign. Pierlot the hiring of Belgian imperialists, called upon British troops to guard his cabinet and Parliament against the people. And while these troops stood guard he won a vote of confidence from a Parliament that no more represents the people than does he.

The workers of Belgium, in addition to their opposition to the order of disarmament, demand other things. According to the New York Times of November 29: "The strikers demanded wages adjusted to the cost of living, revised working hours, food, coal and the punishment of the collaborators." Unreasonable, these workers, aren't they? The Times goes on:

"Today's marchers were street car conductors and motormen, postmen, railwaymen, shop clerks and telephone operators. Bitter cries were raised against the government for its alleged failure to oust 'traitors' from the public services. More bitter were the demands for bread, butter and coal."

WHO IS GUILTY?

The main culprit in this whole situation is the Société Générale de Belgique, the biggest monopolistic combine in the country. All the directors of this company, with the exception of one, remained in the country to work with the Germans. As one writer put it: "During the war one group in Belgium grew wealthy and ate well." This was the Belgian capitalists, personified by Société Générale. It profited from the Germans in Belgium and from the United Nations in the Congo. And now it wants to go on profiting from the exploitation of the Belgian workers without assistance from the Germans—as if nothing had changed.

Italy - -

(Continued from page 1)

ist lived in retirement during the reign of fascism. This government, still by grace of the Allies, operating under the aegis of the Constitution, recognized the monarchy in the form of allegiance to Prince Umberto, "lieutenant general of the realm."

No wonder the terms of the armistice between the Italians and the Allies were never made public! It now appears that one of those terms is that the Allies shall have the right to pass on Italian government nominations! Contrast this ugly reality with the winged words of the Charter: "The right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live;... the sovereign rights of self-government."

In the new Italian crisis the Allies are again asserting the right to choose Italian governmental representatives that they got through negotiations over the heads of the anti-fascist Italian people.

Now, although the representatives in the Bonomi government do not EXPRESS the aspiration of the people, they REFLECT their pressure. They forced the resignation of Bonomi due to a number of differences, all of which have not yet been made clear. They do, however, object to the liquidation of the High Commissariat for the Punishment of Fascist Crimes. This demand of Bonomi would seem of a piece with the strategy of the Allies in their support of Badoglio, their collaboration with reactionary elements in France and their support of the Belgian pro-Nazi, Pierlot. The fascist traitors are not the people. They are the industrialists and financiers—and it is they with whom the United (Big Business) Nations can do business. It is the people who desire swift justice for the Nazi collaborators.

Another demand, stemming from the desires of the people, and opposed to Bonomi's program, is for the assumption of more government authority by the local committees of liberation. This is far removed from the desires and the armistice provisions of the Allies.

WHY THEY OPPOSE SFORZA

In opposing Bonomi, Count Carlo Sforza has taken the lead among the coalition group in supporting these demands. These demands, it must be remarked, still do not represent what the Italian people need and desire. They are far short of self-government. They are short of the promise made in the Atlantic Charter. But even Sforza, a conservative who happened to be an anti-fascist and who was out of the country during the Mussolini regime, has been VETOED by the British Minister, Sir Noel Charles! (The U. S. has remained officially silent so far, although it, too, has the right to pass on Italian government representatives.) And all that the Sforza supporters ask is a LITTLE MORE democracy! Not the abolition of the monarchy, which practically every Italian desires to be rid of. Not real self-government, as that radical Atlantic Charter promises, not free elections by all the people of Italy. Heavens, no!

But even Sforza does not please the British. They apparently want to stick with Bonomi, the "socialist" (what kind of "socialist" he is, is obvious when a conservative aristocrat is a "left-winger" in comparison to him).

The Italian people have had little time, after twenty years under fascism, to get politically oriented again and to form their own parties with a program for the people of Italy. But actions of the Allies and their servants in Italy can only speed the recovery of their ideas, program and parties.

They overthrew Mussolini as soon as the first crack appeared in the outwardly imposing structure of Italian fascism. They refused to allow the fascist Badoglio to be imposed upon them by the Allies. They are seeing the dictatorial role of the Allies in the present parliamentary struggle going on. They are learning their lessons fast and, we are confident, will soon press forward for genuine free, democratic elections in Italy, the first and essential step without which any socialist aspirations they have cannot breathe.

Results of a Timid Step - -

MCF in Michigan Elections

By GRACE SCOTT

DETROIT—The first very rough estimates of the results of the elections in Michigan show that Matthew Hammond, Michigan Commonwealth Federation candidate for Congress in the 17th Congressional District, polled up to 2,000 votes. The victorious Republican candidate, George A. Dondero, received about 119,000 votes and his Democratic opponent, John W. Hicks, 92,000. Hammond's vote is large enough to insure the MCF a place on the ballot as a legally certified party without the circulation of petitions.

In Flint, where a small group of union militants put on a vigorous campaign, Andrew A. Michelson, MCF candidate for State Legislature, polled about 1,000 votes, while 17,000 votes were necessary to secure election.

FRAUD IN COUNTING BALLOTS

An accurate accounting of the MCF strength will be impossible. In the few precincts where the MCF had watchers, they had to fight hard to have the vote of the MCF and other minority parties counted and recorded in the official returns. The counting of the ballots, charged Hicks, was noted for "grave mistakes, inefficiency and, in some cases, deliberate fraud in all parts of the (17th) district. Although he was defeated by 27,000 votes, he is challenging the elections and demanding a congressional investigation.

The State CIO Council has protested against the electoral procedure in Michigan as depriving thousands of voters of a true expression of their opinions. The first returns in the state gave it to Dewey and only after protests and a recheck of the bal-

lots was it determined that Roosevelt really carried the state. Many MCF ballots have undoubtedly been lost in the confusion.

PAC POSITION

Several of the candidates of the MCF received the endorsement of the CIO Political Action Committees, including Hammond, Ben Garrison, its candidate in the Fifth Senatorial District, and Michelson.

This action however, remained a purely formal gesture. No real effort was made by PAC to get out votes for the MCF.

Although the election period should have shown a big rise in the activity and enthusiasm of the organization, actually it has continued to lose ground constantly since its founding conference in March, 1944. Two hundred and fifty delegates greeted the formation of the MCF in March. But during the elections only forty people could be mobilized at any one time for activity in Wayne County. And by now over half its membership is an inactive, paper membership.

Part of this decline was inevitable. The PAC, with its powerful resources and influence in the labor movement, made the main issue of the campaign the re-election of Roosevelt and "progressive" Democrats to support him. The leaders of the CIO proclaimed that "now is not the time for a Labor Party" and denounced the supporters of independent political action as splitters. The Communists, following their latest line of unity with the monopolists and bankers, denounced the MCF as "fascist."

LEADERSHIP LINE

The leadership of the MCF, however, did nothing to counteract this

pro-Democratic Party trend and, in fact, capitulated to it. They stated over and over that they favored the reelection of Roosevelt. They voted at the Wayne County PAC convention for support to "progressive" Democrats. They refused to fight for bloc affiliation by local unions to the MCF and deserted the field to the PAC and its pro-Democratic Party line.

They insisted upon running MCF candidates only against "bad" reactionary or corrupt Democrats who were not endorsed by the PAC. They refused to run an MCF candidate for Governor against both the Republican Kelly and the PAC-endorsed Democrat, Fry. By these policies they cut the heart out of the movement for labor political action and undermined its morale, influence and strength, and made it a simple matter for the CIO leadership to put over their anti-Labor Party policies.

These policies have not been abandoned. A resolution, belatedly proposed at a post-election meeting of the MCF State Council, stated that the MCF must turn its face toward the labor movement and seek to become the official arm of the labor movement. This was voted down. The MCF leaders insisted that the MCF must be a "common people's" party and not a Labor Party.

The initiators of the above resolution themselves at the state convention opposed nearly all motions designed to steer the MCF along the path of a Labor Party. That is why their resolution was both vague and belated.

Continuation of the old policies by the MCF will doom it to stagnation as a liberal sect standing on the sidelines while the fight for a Labor Party goes on inside the labor movement.

RUSSIA

Twenty-Seven Years of Foreign Policy

By CARL DAVIS

On November 16, the Russian Embassy published its Information Bulletin containing an article by Col. A. Galin, in which the author lists six basic principles of that nation's foreign policy, which, he contends, have been followed consistently for twenty-years of its existence. The six basic principles are summarized in this way:

1. Peaceful relations with all states, irrespective of their political systems.
2. Economic and political co-operation with all states on the basis of sovereign equality and independence of the contracting parties and the co-existence of two systems.
3. Alliance with any state with the purpose of protecting both partners from acts of aggression.
4. Categorical renunciation of imperialistic expansion at the cost of other nations.
5. Non-intervention in the internal affairs of other states.
6. Strengthening of the coalition of freedom-loving nations in the fight against fascist aggressors.



The program described by Col. Galin is NOT the "consistent" foreign policy which that country has followed for "twenty-seven years." Workers' Russia under Lenin and Trotsky followed a foreign policy that was totally different from that which is followed by Stalin's Russia. After the Russian Revolution the country followed a foreign policy whose aim was to promote the interests of the workers all over the world. Workers' Russia renounced all imperialist possessions of the Czar. Certainly, Workers' Russia made alliances with capitalist-imperialist nations. Stalin's Russia does the same, but with these differences:

IT'S NOT A CONSISTENT POLICY!

Under Lenin and Trotsky, it was made clear that any alliance which Russia made was usually forced upon her by adverse circumstances. But Lenin always made clear to the Russian people and the masses of the world that such alliances did not mean that the workers of other countries must accept the rule of their capitalist-imperialists, or that those countries suddenly ceased being imperialists and had become "peaceful," "freedom-loving" nations. On the contrary, Lenin continued to call upon the oppressed of the world to overthrow their rulers and establish real freedom, security and democracy.

The foreign policy of Russia certainly changed since Stalin destroyed the workers' state and established the rule of the bureaucrats. Examples? There are many.

1. After Hitler came to power in 1933, Litvinov became the Russian spokesman for collective security of the "democratic" capitalist countries and Russia against Germany. That was one policy.
2. When Hitler continued to expand and threaten war against the Allies while they were unprepared and impotent, Russia began to play ball with him. She gave Germany the go-sign to begin the war by signing a pact which became known the world over as the Hitler-Stalin pact. Russia and Germany became great friends. Foreign Minister Molotov then said that "fascism is a matter of personal taste." Russo-German friendship was "sealed in blood." They jointly invaded Poland and divided up the country. That was another stage in Stalinist Russian foreign policy.
3. When Hitler reached the Atlantic Ocean, only to falter in his invasion of England and turn on Russia, drawing her into the war against her will and in spite of her pact with the Nazis, a new foreign policy was adopted. Russia now became an integral part of the United Nations. She was welcomed with open arms by Britain's Churchill at a time when that country stood alone in the war against Germany.

NEW ALLIANCE, NEW LINE

It must be remembered too, that up to the fatal day when the Wehrmacht crossed the Russian borders, the Stalinists all over the world blamed Great Britain and the United States for the war, exonerating Hitler from all responsibility. It was a time too, when Churchill and Roosevelt were called "war-mongers and imperialists."

The new foreign policy changed all that. Now Germany was responsible for the war; Churchill and Roosevelt were great peace-loving benefactors of humanity.

This, then is but a brief illustration of the "consistent" Russian foreign policy which it has followed for "twenty-seven years."

Now let us relate Russia's stated war aims to the facts:

1. "Peaceful relations with all states irrespective of their political systems." Examples: The war on Finland; the war on Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. Finland ceded large territories to Russia. Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania have been incorporated into the borders of Russia.
2. "Categorical renunciation of imperialist expansion at the cost of other nations." See, again, Poland, Finland, the Baltic states, Rumania and Hungary.
3. "Non-intervention in the internal affairs of other states." See Iran, Poland, Jugoslavia, etc. When Russian foreign policy is examined concretely it is easy to see that it does not differ essentially from the foreign policy of the capitalist powers with empires to defend and territories to seize.

Forgetful Phil and the WLB--

(Continued from page 1)

utive order. So Murray has "respectfully" requested Taylor to "give more sound reasoning to the well-being of the American people or... resign your job."

That Taylor and the rest of the board now merely follow "the directives of the President himself" (quite willingly, to be sure)—about this Murray no longer says a word. How could he? According to Forgetful Phil, the 1944 convention of the CIO was a "victory convention." What victory? Have you forgotten that CIO's Political Action Committee insured Roosevelt's victory?

That was a great victory for labor, wasn't it? Therefore, it stands to reason that Roosevelt could no longer be responsible for labor's greatest defeat, the continued existence of the Little Steel formula. Somehow or other, in spite of Brother Murray's own words of 1943, which, unhappily for him he cannot erase from the record, the blame has gone flying merrily away from Roosevelt to a fellow named George W. Taylor.

But perhaps Roosevelt has changed his mind since November, 1943, and this little Taylor is really defying or deceiving the President? Let's have another look at the record:

On October 11, after a year of "investigating," the board announced that it would not make any recommendation to Roosevelt on modifying

the Little Steel Formula. The labor members, as on a hundred previous occasions, said that they were very, very angry. Soon after, in a campaign speech at Chicago on October 28, Roosevelt himself showed where he stood:

"During the war we have been compelled to limit wage and salary increases for one great objective—to prevent runaway inflation. You all know how successfully we've held the line by the way your cost of living has been kept down for the necessities of life. Sometimes, as even I know, that doesn't apply to the luxuries of life."

Could any words be more clear and more shameless? Naturally, Murray and the other labor leaders did not go around telling their members about this part of the Chicago speech but confined their attention to some pie-in-the-sky promises about sixty million post-war jobs.

We pass over here, having already reported them in LABOR ACTION, several other occasions during the past year on which Roosevelt expressed his satisfaction with the "stabilization" program. Suffice it to say that in this very period a committee, appointed by him, was supposedly investigating how great the rise in the cost of living actually was. The President, obviously, had made up his own mind months in advance what, the result of the in-

vestigation was going to be. You could hardly expect any "public" member of such a committee, holding an appointment from the President, to be a disappointment to the boss.

Now, the bright Murray picks out the least of the gang, Taylor, and demands that Taylor resign all over again—or, at least (let's not be hot-headed) "turn over a new leaf." Of course, the three other public members rushed into print, saying that they support Taylor 100 per cent, that he is a savior of mankind—but no more so than the rest of them.

Now, LABOR ACTION has some less comic suggestions about resignations—suggestions that really meet the requirements of the situation.

First, how about having the LABOR MEMBERS resign from the WLB? That would really mean something. And no more mere threats to resign. There have been plenty of those, and they arouse the same kind of laughter as the great Taylor revelation.

Second, how about having the Political Action Committee resign from the hopeless game of capitalist politics? Labor is strong enough to go into politics for itself instead of depending on treacherous "friends."

Third, how about a retirement as well? How about giving the no-strike pledge the dishonorable discharge that it deserves?

Rubber Local 101 Election - -

(Continued from page 1)

bership realized that the elections were a farce. Less than 400 cast votes this time in contrast to the 2,500 of the local's membership of 5,000 that voted in the last two elections. For the first time in a long while the local leadership refused to post the number of votes cast.

Marmon had been elected president of the local in a special election in June but was headed for almost certain defeat by the membership, which is becoming increasingly aware of his sell-out policies and failure to give the men real backing in their efforts to defend conditions in the shop against the provocations of the company. But Dalrymple, whose suspensions of members and seizures of local unions is earning him quite a reputation as a would-be dictator, intervened to save Marmon's skin. Just before the elections, over 1,000 members of the local were barred from participating in the elections either as candidates or as voters.

These 1,000 had been fined \$12.50 a head by Dictator Dalrymple as the result of a short union work-stoppage by Negro and white members of the local, caused by a cut in piece-work rates by the company. Instead of rushing to the defense of the men in the shop, Dalrymple hastened to the aid of the company and decreed the fine without consultation with anyone and without regard for the wishes of the other members of the local.

But to levy the fine is one thing. To collect it is another. The deadline for payment of the fine was Monday, November 20, and to date the men almost unanimously refuse to pay. Dalrymple and Marmon can both go whistle for the money. This time it seems as though the would-

be Napoleons have gone a little too far.

LEADERS WITH COMPANY

Marmon and Dalrymple are working hand in glove with the management in imposing the fine. The list of members allegedly participating in the stoppage and to be fined by the union WAS DRAWN UP BY THE COMPANY and included several hundred names of men who were on sick leave or not involved in the stoppage in any manner whatsoever. To escape paying the fine these men were told by Marmon to clear their cases with the company!

To be eligible to vote in the just-concluded elections these 1,000 men would have had to pay a \$12.50 poll-tax and that they refused to do. Dalrymple thereupon suspended them from all union activities.

The local executive board, not controlled by Marmon appealed to Dalrymple to withdraw the fines and allow these men to vote and run for office. This frightened Marmon and his aides, who feared that Dalrymple might reconsider his rash act. They jammed across a motion at a poorly attended membership meeting from which all of the 1,000 were barred, to rush through the elections within five days of nominations and voted down all proposals to postpone the elections and allow the 1,000 to get in good standing. It was soon after this Marmon shyster trickery that the anti-Marmon forces withdrew from the elections.

Indignation is high throughout the shop against Marmon and Dalrymple. Marmon feels the tide rising against him and has made a pitiful attempt to clear himself in a mealy-mouthed letter to Dalrymple in which he places the blame for the

stoppage, not where it belongs, ON THE COMPANY, but, as he says, on a small group of "agitators" who coerced the majority. Marmon has learned the language of the bosses excellently.

He slyly suggests in his infamous letter that the fines be withdrawn from the majority of the men and that the LEADERS in the affected departments be penalized. No doubt Marmon would be the first to serve as stool-pigeon.

But Marmon will not succeed in covering up his own responsibility together with Dalrymple. He supported Dalrymple for president of the union; he insists on resolutions in praise of the no-strike pledge; he is quick to capitalize on the suspensions and deny his opponents the right to vote.

PRICE OF BUREAUCRACY

The tragic aspect of the entire situation is that there has been no leadership in the local qualified to take up the fight against Dalrymple and Marmon in an effective and systematic manner. Hundreds of members of Local 101 are turning away from the union.

In calling this move a mistake we do not intend for a single moment to deny that the MESA is a genuine, bona fide union. However, for the members of Local 101 to leave the Rubber Workers Union would only isolate the Detroit rubber workers from those in the rest of the industry and in particular from the militant fighters in Akron. Progressive unionists must stay inside the United Rubber Workers Union and organize a fight for new policies and a new leadership. Anything else will help Dalrymple continue his hold over the International.

Of Special Interest to Women

By SUSAN GREEN

By SUSAN GREEN

Get out those bank books and those war bonds and stamps. Take them out from under the mattress or from the jug on the top kitchen shelf. Take them out and open them up and let us see —for somehow or other wartime savings of around \$130,000,000,000 to be accounted for.

Yes, that's what we are told. During the three-four war years \$130,000,000,000 have been salted away in savings. A nice, comfortable, back-log! No big bad wolf can scare us Americans with those \$130,000,000,000 to use against a rainy day.

But wait a second. Do "us Americans" share and share alike in these savings from the war boom? Harvey E. Runner, business editor of the New York Herald Tribune, gives us an idea of how this enormous wartime swag is divided. He says: "Estimates place only from \$7,000,000,000 to \$8,000,000,000 in savings with families earning less than \$3,000 annually. This group represents about seventy-five per cent of the entire population."

No wonder your bank account and your few war bonds look like less than a drop in the bucket. According to Mr. Runner's figures, seventy-five per cent of the population has only a five to six per cent share of the wartime savings. The other ninety-four or ninety-five per cent is in the war chests of the twenty-five per cent minority—and the richer they are the more they have salted away.

So we see once more how imperialist war plays favorites!

If we break down Mr. Runner's figures a bit more, what have we?

The seventy-five per cent of the population in the less than \$3,000 income bracket consists of over 20,000,000 American families—and since the Lord blesses the poor with children, these are the largest families. Doing a little long division, we find, according to Mr. Runner's figures, that during the three-four war years, over 20,000,000 families could save on the average only \$300. That's how rich the war has made them!

Now what becomes of some of the pipe dreams of post-war buying? Who is going to do the buying? Are the mothers of these 20,000,000 families able to get washing machines, vacuum cleaners, much-needed furniture, clothing for their children, vital doctors' and dentists' services—to say nothing of that piano for the little girl to take lessons, a down payment on an automobile, or perhaps also

on a post-war house which everyone is supposed to buy lickety-split?

Working class housewives have learned to stretch money far—by dint of necessity, but they can't perform miracles. The small minority whom the war favored, will enjoy those things which workers need—while mothers stand guard over their paltry \$300 for use in a family emergency.

The big talk about the flow of milk and honey after the war, fools no working class housewife as she stares at her microscopic bank balance. Her hope lies in labor's demands for a guaranteed annual wage, for full employment, for ample social security. Her efforts should be exerted to win a workers' government through which labor's demands can be fulfilled.

Paris is today a city of poverty and privation, as everyone knows. Not only is the population gaunt and emaciated from years of Nazi blood-sucking, but present prospects are gloomy indeed. Bread is so scarce it is a luxury; coal and other fuel for the winter practically do not exist; warm clothing or clothing of any kind is conspicuous by its absence. That is one picture of Paris.

Another is brought to us by the lady reporters writing about the gorgeous fashion shows in the Paris salons and by the photographs of the lovely creations displayed there. Nothing is too luxurious for fashions the working women will never wear. There are handsome fully-cut coats, stunning furs, dresses with skirts yards and yards wide and with billowy sleeves, big hats—all indicating no lack of cloth for those who can pay for it.

And there are those who can. Salons are jammed. Couturiers are doing a bonanza business. Prices are unbelievably high, not in terms of the franc but of the American dollar. And the customers are all French; there are no customers from foreign countries today.

That is another picture of Paris! The earnest elements making up the French resistance movement, composed of working people, don't like either picture. Misery-as-usual for the workers—luxury-as-usual for the exploiters! That is not why they fought Nazism. They want the kind of society that will supply the needs of all first, and then later luxuries also for all. However, de Gaulle, and Roosevelt-Churchill-Stalin, who back him, are out to disarm the resistance movement and take all the resistance out of it—so that the class society of poor and rich can be maintained.

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Troops Protest 'Foreign' Draft in Canada

By MIKE STEVENS

Demonstrations by members of the armed forces and civilians opposed to the government's new policy of compulsory overseas duty have broken out in many cities and towns in Canada. The traditional policy has been that all men who are conscripted into the armed forces serve only in Canada, and they cannot be sent overseas unless they themselves volunteer to do so. The government's departure from this policy came last week when the new policy was pushed through in a special session of Parliament.

SOLDIERS, STUDENTS DEMONSTRATE

The first demonstration was by soldiers from the Vernon Military Camp in the Province of British Columbia. For over an hour more than a thousand soldiers paraded four abreast through the streets of the town of Vernon shouting their slogans, "Down with Conscription" and "Conscript Wealth and Industry as Well as Manpower," and "This is only the beginning."

They threatened to tear down the new Canadian Legion Hall, because of the Legion's support of the new policy. An army captain and a lieutenant who tried to break up the parade were roughly "pushed" aside. Most of these soldiers are from the English-speaking provinces and only a sprinkling of them were from Quebec. No French-speaking units are at this camp. This is quite an answer to the lie of some of the papers in the United States and to all of the newspapers in England that this is a "racial squabble."

The soldiers' demonstration in Vernon is also significant because these men belong to the Sixth Division, whose officers only a week before in an unprecedented breach of army regulations came out with a public statement for compulsory overseas conscription because "the soldiers want it." It is now quite obvious that they were doing this to give the government some assistance in pushing this through, but the soldiers' demonstration proves that the officers certainly were not speaking for them.

Demonstrations were also held in the city of Quebec by more than seven hundred young men and university students in which the bulletins in front of a newspaper office announcing the "order in council" were torn off. Their attempt to continue their demonstration to the St. John Street army recruiting office was halted by the police. Another seven hundred youths demonstrated in the town of Chicoutimi, where a British flag was torn from its staff. In Rimouski, three union jacks were burned in a parade led by soldiers.

Over the week-end, Canadian troops in five different camps in British Columbia, in addition to the Vernon soldiers, staged anti-conscription demonstrations. In all six camps, Terrace, Nanaimo, Chilliwack, Courtenay and Prince George, the soldiers had printed signs, "Let them conscript wealth too," "Down with conscription," "No conscription" and "Down with the Legion." At Terrace the 1500 French-Canadian troops have demanded that they be returned to Quebec and are performing only essential camp services pending a reply. The army is calling them "mutineers" and has ordered their pay stopped.

The Prime Minister of Canada, Mackenzie King, has asked for a vote of confidence from Parliament. The discussion will drag out all of this week. King has very cleverly worded his brief motion as confidence in the government "in its policy of maintaining a vigorous war effort." This is to make it difficult for anyone who supports the war to vote against him.

ROLES OF VARIOUS PARTIES

King's party, the Liberal Party, has been pushing the war measures inch by inch because much of the party's influence lies in Quebec. The Progressive-Conservative Party is all for pushing into the war at top speed. They welcome the present crisis because they hope it will break up the Liberal Party. The Communist outfit, the Labor-Progressive Party, has stood for compulsory overseas conscription since Russia's entry into the war. Three weeks ago, sensing the feelings of the workers and having a political rival in the Canadian Commonwealth Federation, they changed their line and came out for voluntary overseas duty. But more on that later.

The role of the Canadian Commonwealth Federation's members in Parliament has been weak, at best. The only objections they have been raising are that they want to study the whole question a little more. They will probably present a compromise amendment to King's motion sometime this week.

We hope that the CCF convention this week-end in Montreal will condemn the policy of their members in Parliament, by giving vigorous support to the soldiers.

The A. T. & T. Empire

By RUTH PHILLIPS

The American Telephone & Telegraph Co., whose employees were out on strike in Ohio last week, is the Colossus among the giant companies of American industry. It is larger than the United States Steel Corp. and the Pennsylvania Railroad Co. put together. It is the largest aggregation of capital in the world. It consists of two hundred subsidiary corporations and controls from eighty to ninety per cent of local telephone service and ninety-eight per cent of long distance telephone wires.

Through the Teletype Corp. it controls the supply of teletype machines in the U. S. Motion picture producers depend on it for sound-film equipment which is produced by its subsidiary, the Western Electric Co. Telegraph, telephotograph, press news, television are in its hands. In short, it has a virtual monopoly of all communications systems in the United States.

The gross assets of the A. T. & T. are over five billion dollars. Its annual gross income of more than one billion dollars is larger than that of most governments in the world. It is the largest private employer of labor in the U. S. Over 300,000 people work for this industrial "kingdom."

The highly paid public relations men, hired by the A. T. & T. to take the taint of monopoly control off it, have succeeded in fooling a number of people. They have succeeded in convincing some people that the A. T. & T. is democratically controlled by its large number of small stockholders. The real control is in the hands of a few, its real connections are with Wall Street and its steady dividend of \$9.00 a share a year since 1921 benefits not the thousands who own two or three shares, but the smaller group who own 100 shares and over.

A. T. & T. INCOME AND SALARIES

Figures for 1937 reveal:

Net Income	Dividends	Surplus
\$179,834,815	\$168,180,906	\$11,652,909

Figures for 1943-44 reveal:

Total Income	Taxes Paid	Net Income	Dividends Paid Out
\$700,000,000	\$400,000,000	\$300,000,000	\$81,000,000

Income after taxes and dividends, \$219,000,000.

Salaries as of 1938 (if anything, they are higher now):

President Walter A. Gifford	\$209,350
Vice-President Cooper	102,699
General Counsel	75,000
Vice-President Page	67,500
Vice-President Jewett	66,000

A DICTIONARY FOR WORKERS

By STANLEY GREY

This week, the dictionary continues with some definitions in international relations. In this field, one must step carefully, for diplomacy and statesmanship are exceptionally refined techniques of double-dealing and deception. The skill of the diplomat is measured by the sincerity with which he can tell a lie, of the statesman by his ability to make domination and exploitation look like "leadership" and "management." The words these masters of the tongue manipulate at their trade are obvious candidates for a workers' dictionary. It is important that no worker be fooled by them.

Consider first the peaceful and pleasant sounding words, "international relations." Well-married, good-spirited professors sometimes describe the world as a large family of nations with big and little brothers and infants living in their separate rooms. Of course there will be misunderstandings and quarrels but basically they all love each other and strive to enhance the happiness of the family.

Such a homey picture brings to mind an epigram contributed to mankind by a lively French writer. A family, he wrote, is a group of people living under the same roof who are constantly abusing one another. Adding this realist stroke to the professors' picture still leaves distorted two important aspects of international relations.

First it would be a masterpiece of understatement to consider "saturation bombing" or bayoneting merely a form of abuse. Secondly, and most important, international concerns affairs between nations. But a nation, like so many other items in diplomatic language, can be many things at the same time. For example, when a "nation" dies on the battlefield, starves or suffers heavy taxation then the word "nation" refers to the masses of working people in it. But when a "nation" declares war, sits at a peace conference, invests in foreign markets then the "nation" means the capitalist

ruling class, the class that owns the wealth and the sources of wealth in the country.

The only "international relations" the ordinary American can have are either the dead or dying of starvation in "liberated" Europe. The capitalists on the other hand are always having "international relations" for they are always competing with other capitalists for larger shares of the world's wealth.

DEFINITIONS OF IMPORTANT WORDS

The following definitions are intended to catch the capitalists in some of these "relations."

War: a regular feature of capitalism in which millions of working men simultaneously slaughter one another for the sake of the empire and profits of their capitalist exploiters.

Peace: "time-out" between wars during which the fighting teams are reorganized, the weapons modernized, multiple ocean-and-sky navies built, new generations of human machines conditioned, and minds compressed into molds of hate and prejudice. When the conflicts between the ruling classes of various countries become unresolvable by diplomacy and politics, the whistle shrieks, the peace is ended, and the belt-line of mass murder moves again.

Peace conference: a group of victorious nations coming together for the purpose of dividing the spoils of war. The actual division takes place during the war. The conference merely makes it official and dresses it up for display. The Versailles Conference, for example, doled up the colonies and introduced them to fashionable society as "mandates." If the art of diplomacy has advanced as fast as the science of killing, there is much to hope for from the forthcoming conference.

THE ART OF PEACE PLANNING

It is possible that statesmanship has progressed so rapidly that the old-fashioned conferences will be completely antiquated. President Roosevelt is

reported by Pierre van Paasen (N. Y. Times, September 25) to have said "The peace conference is going on now. It has been going on for a long time. Solutions are being applied piecemeal... I tell you that I don't see any peace conference. I don't see any line of demarcation, war on this side of the line one day and peace the next day on the other side. As things crystallize at present that is going to be their shape in days to come."

In his own "diplomatic" language, when he used the word "piecemeal," Roosevelt no doubt had in mind a picture of Stalin, Churchill, and Harriman (representing the U. S.) washing down huge helpings of Europe and Asia with equally huge draughts of vodka and wine.

Peace-planning Conference: representatives of all "peace-loving" nations congregate for the purpose of telling each other how peace-loving they really are. The advertised purpose of the assembly is to demonstrate to the people of the world that "this time" the war makers have really become transformed into peace-makers.

Speeches, testimonials of friendship, solemn promises gush from the conference hall like oil from a newly sunk well. The atmosphere is drenched with the love of peace and the delegates tenderly embrace each other careful not to dislodge the fluttering doves on their shoulders. The delegates "get to know and understand" one another and, thus lay the spiritual groundwork of peace.

"Other" problems such as action to be taken if two major powers suddenly take a dislike to each other and a great liking for each others trade and empire, or if a major power "should" aggress on a small nation are not "solved" by the conferences. The major powers generally can't seem to agree.

The conference generally adjourns as a great success although nothing lasting has really been achieved.

Increase Reward in Tresca Murder Case

Almost two years have passed since Carlo Tresca, noted working class and anti-fascist leader was assassinated on the streets of New York. The case, it is charged by his friends, is political. Tresca's fight against Stalinism and the Italian fascists led him into sharp conflict with them.

He especially earned the enmity of Generoso Pope, friend of Mussolini, Democratic Party politician, notorious in the Italian community of New York.

No progress has been made in the case, although several of the New York newspapers printed stories saying that a break was imminent and that the authorities knew who the murderer was as well as his backers. Others intimated that the person behind the Tresca murder was a powerful political personality and held that this was the reason why the case was an "unsolved" crime.

It is obvious that the Tresca case cannot be permitted to go by the board as an unsolved case. If one such crime against a working class leader goes "unsolved," it can only lead to others.

LABOR ACTION supports all en-

deavors made by Tresca's wife and his friends to bring the case to a head and, therefore, we print below the latest statement issued by them.—Editor.

NEW YORK, Nov. 22.—Five thousand dollars' reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the person or persons responsible for the murder of Carlo Tresca, anti-fascist editor, was offered here today by a group of his friends. Five citizens announced it, speaking for a committee of more than 100.

The five are Morris L. Ernst, former Municipal Court Justice Dorothy Kenyon, Roger N. Baldwin, Edward C. Lindeman and John F. Finerty. Messrs. Ernst and Finerty and Miss Kenyon are attorneys. Mr. Baldwin is executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union, and Mr. Lindeman is a member of the New York School of Social Work faculty. All acted as individuals.

"We join in this offer," they said in a formal statement, "to hasten the possibility of solving the Tresca murder, perpetrated more than twenty-two months ago. We hope that our

action will strengthen the hands of the Police Department and the District Attorney's office in their investigation of the Tresca case.

"Because we and our associates believe that the plan for the killing of Carlo Tresca was carried out by hired gunmen, we stand ready to pay the \$5,000 as an inducement to some one to give information about that. In the underworld there is always talk after such a murder; gossip is exchanged; word about 'who did the job' gets around. There are persistent rumors to the effect that 'many people' know who committed this assassination."

Full protection for anyone furnishing the desired information was pledged in copy for a leaflet to be broadcast through the police department. "His or her identity will never be made public. The information will be received in absolute confidence.... If more than one individual volunteers information which leads to the conviction indicated above, the District Attorney of New York County will be the sole judge of the manner in which the reward

is to be divided and to whom it shall be paid."

Announcement of the reward offer was made at a press conference in District Attorney Frank S. Hogan's office. Those present included Miss Kenyon, Mr. Ernst, Mr. Finerty, Mr. Hogan and Assistant Attorneys Jacob Grumet and Eleazar Lipsky. Mr. Lipsky is now in direct charge of the Tresca investigation, under Mr. Grumet, who heads the Homicide bureau.

Certain new lines of inquiry in the Tresca case, suggested by Mr. Ernst and his colleagues, are being pursued by Mr. Grumet and Mr. Lipsky. Mr. Ernst told the reporters his group believed it probable that this was a political crime.

"The larger committee for whom we speak," said the five immediate sponsors of the reward offer, "is made up of friends of Carlo Tresca who remember his courageous militancy against those whom he considered enemies of society, his loyalty to his ideals, and his great concern for the welfare not only of the Italian people but of the working masses everywhere."

A Great Figure in American History

By J. R. JOHNSON

I wish to begin this column with a tribute to a man to whom I shall often refer. His name is Frederick Douglass. He is known as a great fighter on behalf of the abolition of slavery, as a great orator, great propagandist, etc. I want here to emphasize his career as a political strategist.

The leaders of the Abolitionists were, of course, William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips. It is not often remembered that for some twenty years before 1861 their policy for the abolition of slavery was that the South should secede. Day in and day out they preached that doctrine, and when, after Lincoln's election, the Southern states began to secede one by one, the Garrisonians rejoiced. It was only when the Civil War began that they changed their line and supported Lincoln.

SECESSION AND NO POLITICS

Their basic theoretical argument was that the Constitution was a pro-slavery document. As far as I understand their practical argument, they believed that a seceded South would not be able to hold the Negroes as slaves for any length of time.

They staunchly upheld another important doctrine of their creed. They were non-political. They held politics to be corrupt. Participation in politics meant inevitably the manipulation of the abolition crusade for base ends of wealth and political gain. Therefore they and their followers abstained from joining such parties as the Liberty Party and

the Free Soil Party, which sought to abolish slavery by political action. Not only that. They abstained, and taught their followers to abstain, from voting.

DOUGLASS AND GARRISON

Frederick Douglass was in his early years a follower of Garrison. The Garrisonians educated him, gave him opportunities which made him famous sent him abroad. He was one of their paid lecturers. Like so many other escaped slaves, Douglass for years preached the Garrisonian doctrine—secession by the South, non-participation in politics. But after a few years Douglass broke with Garrison and evolved his own policy.

He claimed that the aim of the Abolitionists should be to form a government which would abolish slavery in the United States—in all of them. He opposed secession, he advocated political action, he joined the Free Soil Party and later worked heart and soul for the victory of Lincoln and the Republican Party.

The Garrisonian slogan was "No union with slave-holders." Of this Douglass wrote: "...Its logical result is but negatively anti-slavery. [The] doctrine of 'No union with slave-holders,' carried out, dissolves the union and leaves the slaves and their masters to fight their own battles, in their own way. This I hold to be an abandonment of the great idea with which [Garrison's] society started. It started to free the slave. It ends by leaving the slave to free himself."

Put a Stop to Collective Begging - -

(Continued from page 1)

porters of the "no-strike pledge" can give is a lot of phony flag waving. They try to move us to tears about the "boys in the fox holes." What they refuse to see is that the only way to defend the interests of the men and women in the services, the only way we can help them here at home, is to build a strong, militant, fighting union. THAT IS PART OF THE FREEDOM THEY ARE FIGHTING FOR.

The men and women in the services are OUR brothers, sons, and sisters, and we are the only ones who can put up a real battle for their rights. Who else is going to do it? A. P. Sloan, J. P. Morgan, H. Ford, or their stooges in Congress? NO! We are the allies of the service men and women—and it is our job to safeguard their future as well as our own.

The fundamental and basic weap-

on of the trade union movement is the right to strike, without it labor is not free. Rescinding the "no-strike pledge" does not mean a strike over every grievance and dispute. We want the RIGHT to strike. Now with our hands tied behind our back by the pledge we are absolutely defenseless.

Big business does not say, "There is a war, on therefore, we will sacrifice our profits and wealth to win it." Do they say, "We will not make any demands for our protection or extension of our economic and political power. We will not make a fight over any question affecting this power, no matter how important."

On the contrary the "war crisis" is a BOOM to them. They mean to come out of the war with greater economic power and with a stronger political position from which to protect his power than they ever had

before. They fight every inch of the way for bigger profits, for firmer control of the government machinery. They fight every inch of the way to DEPRIVE LABOR of its rights. They know perfectly well that the stronger they are the WEAKER labor is, and the other way around.

FIGHTING SPIRIT

There is no need to go any further with facts and figures. If there is going to be any improvement in our union such improvement will have to come from the pressure of the RANK and FILE. The overwhelming majority of the workers are against the "no-strike pledge" and have always been against it. The only people who have been for the "no-strike pledge" are the top leaders of the labor movement, Communist Party, the employers, and the government.

If you take back your "no-strike pledge," you will demonstrate, not

irresponsibility, as will be charged, but genuine responsibility and loyalty. Then your union will mean something and you will be in a position, if the need arises, to enforce your demand for a good standard of living, and the other demands which you have on your program.

The U.A.W. was a strong, militant union; we had to fight, bleed, suffer, yes—and some died fighting for labor's rights. These are the things that made a great union. Leadership may come and go, but these militant traditions must go on forever. Our duty to each other is clear, we must vote to rescind the "no-strike pledge." The right to strike and the right to threaten a strike would send the enemies of a living wage scurrying for their rat holes. If you vote to repeal nothing can stand between labor and the fulfillment of its just demands.

No Place in Dearborn for Negro Housing

By MARTIN HARVEY

The Mayor and City Council of Dearborn, Mich., have issued a protest against the establishment of a federal housing project for Negroes in that city. Despite the miserable housing conditions in the Detroit metropolitan area, Negro residents apparently are not welcome in Dearborn.

This vicious Jim Crow policy flies in the face of all reason and can only be called a deliberate and conscious attempt to ignore a crying human need.

CONDITIONS IN DETROIT

The housing situation in the Detroit area is notoriously bad. Innumerable families, white and colored, live in stores, in abandoned schools, in shacks that do not provide such necessities as plumbing and heating.

For Negroes the situation is much worse than for the general population. They can only live in segregated areas. They pay five and ten dollars a month more than whites for the same accommodations. Small flats are crowded with two or more families because additional space is not available or is beyond the means of a worker's pay check.

In addition to the general need that exists, there is a specific need in Dearborn for additional housing. Thousands of Negro workers are employed at the Ford River Rouge plant in Dearborn. At least 12,000 workers commute daily to and from Dearborn. Yet the Dearborn City Council and Mayor Orville Hubbard protest a Negro housing project! Even a segregated housing project is distasteful to them.

The solution to the housing problem in Detroit and Dearborn can only come through full equality for Negroes in the use of housing facilities and new developments. This means not the allotment to Negroes of a proportionate share of the available housing but the full and unrestricted use of ALL housing. This requires an end to the Jim Crow restrictions of the landlords and city administrations of Detroit, Dearborn and the surrounding communities.

A housing program of this kind requires more than continual requests for an additional project here or there. These requests are always directed to politicians who are interested in preserving racial division and Jim Crow for the benefit of the capitalists and landlords whom they represent. An example of what not to do can be found in the editorial in the Detroit Tribune, weekly Negro paper, on the action of the Dearborn city administration. They appeal to none other than Henry Ford for aid in the situation.

HENRY FORD AND NEGROES

"Henry Ford," they say, "has a golden opportunity in this emergency to lift his voice in opposition to the intolerance of his white fellow townfolk who are protesting against the proposed government house units for Negroes near the Rouge plant."

It is difficult to imagine anyone appealing for aid to Henry Ford. It is even more difficult to understand why a Negro paper should appeal to Ford for help on Negro housing. Ford's record on the Negro question, established over many years, should be clear to everyone. He has on many occasions used the Negro question to divide the workers in his plants. He has fomented racial discord to keep the workers fighting each other and thus prevented them from uniting against their main enemy—the Ford Motor Company.

At times he has made gestures to the Negroes to win their support. For example, he employed George Washington Carver, the eminent Negro scientist. It should not be forgotten, however, that this was in line with his policy of racial division—to get Negroes to look to the company for support as against their white union brothers. And Mr. Carver's work for the Ford Motor Company, it should also be remembered, was worth much more to Ford in terms of profits than Mr. Carver's salary.

NEGRO HOUSING AND LABOR

No, the Negroes will not receive aid from Ford or from any other big capitalists. But they do have a great natural ally. That is the labor movement. In Detroit this means the United Auto Workers, which has, in fact, been in the forefront of the struggle against Jim Crow and for adequate housing for Negroes and all workers. Together with the working class, organized in the unions, Negroes can wage a powerful struggle against the reactionaries like Mayor Hubbard and Mayor Jeffries and can achieve decent housing without discrimination and segregation.

Profits Rise Only 10%

By SALLY HOWARD

The Securities and Exchange Commission last week issued a report containing hitherto unrecorded facts about soaring wartime profits of last year. It stated that total net profits, after taxes, in sixteen industry groups manufacturing wartime products increased ten per cent in 1943 over 1942.

Ten per cent increase in profits in the face of the continued ravings of big business stooges about "equality of sacrifice" and "crippling taxes" and of President Roosevelt's sphinx-like silence over union labor demands for an upward revision in workers' wages!

Ten per cent increase in profit in the face of the War Labor Board's refusal even to admit that there has been a sufficient rise in the cost of living since the beginning of the war to merit substantial wage raises for labor and of their piling decision to the steel workers denying any such substantial pay raise!

Just in case a ten per cent rise in profits doesn't sound like much to you, let's put it in terms of dollars and cents. Looking again at the SEC report, we find that total net profits, after taxes, in 1943 were \$900,000,000, while in 1942 they were \$546,000,000. So a ten per cent rise means an increase of fifty-four million dollars cold-profit in one year's time for a handful of industrialists!

WHERE THE PROFITS COME FROM

These profits were made in industries manufacturing exclusively wartime products... they were made in war plants selling their goods either directly or indirectly to the U. S. government. No matter how the big business representatives rave and yell about "crippling taxes," the SEC report shows all too clearly what is really happening. Far from limiting industry's profits, the government is pouring money into the coffers of the munitions makers of this war at the rate of six hundred million dollars a year, and is increasing its give-away ten per cent in a year's time!

While their bosses sock away these scandalous profits and prices soar out of all proportion, workers in the factories owned by these same profiteering industrialists have been denied anywhere near a ten per cent raise in pay. While one government agency reports sky-rocketing profits, another cold-shoulders the united pleas from all labor fronts for a decent wage increase to meet everyday living costs.

These facts should make it glaringly evident just which side President Roosevelt and his pet agency, the War Labor Board, are on.