



DEWEYVELT

Detroit Strikes Show Need to End "Pledge"

By MARTIN HARVEY

Two events in Detroit have demonstrated the crying need for the labor movement to rescind the no-strike pledge. These were the strike of the six hundred rubber workers at the U. S. Co. plant and the walkout in all Kelsey-Hayes. A comparison of these two strikes will provide a valuable lesson to the rank and file of labor.

The strike at U. S. Rubber resulted from a cut in piecework rates. The specific issue of the strike, however, is not what is important in this connection. What is significant is the way in which the international union reacted to the attempt of the membership to protect its rights.

At the recent convention of the United Rubber Workers a powerful minority pressed for the removal of the no-strike pledge. The progressive minority, however, was not powerful enough, and with two-thirds of the delegates backing the administration, the no-strike pledge was reaffirmed. As a result of this the confidence of the dictator-minded president, Sherman Dalrymple, badly shaken by the mounting wave of opposition to his administration, was restored. The need for consulting the membership could now be put off for another year. Dalrymple could now continue to appease the rubber bosses without let or hindrance.

"SIMPLE SHERMAN" AT WORK

And then, as if to underscore the arguments of the minority at the convention, Dalrymple takes action in the rubber strike in Detroit. He fined each of the six hundred strikers \$12.50, a total of approximately \$7,500. Only the vote to reaffirm the reactionary no-strike pledge and sustain the policies of the Dalrymple administration at the rubber workers convention made such a vicious response to the demands of the Detroit rubber workers possible. "Simple Sherman" did not inquire whether the grievance of the workers was justified. He did not promise in any way to settle that grievance. There was a strike—and Dalrymple simply cracked down. Not, heaven forbid! on the rubber barons, but on the workers in his own union!

The strike of workers in the Kelsey-Hayes unit of the big West Side Local 174 of the United Auto Workers, CIO, took place at the same time as the rubber strike. There the company had arbitrarily cut out paid lunch periods—which the workers correctly protested as a wage cut. But again, the specific issue of the

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Florida Still Fighting For Peonage

NEW YORK (WDL)—Declaring that "We do not see how you can consider your investigation of our charges complete," the Rev. Aron S. Gilmartin, national chairman of the Workers Defense League, answered Governor Spessard Holland of Florida, who had whitewashed the charges of the Workers Defense League that Sheriff Walter R. Clark of Broward County had "falsely arrested forty-nine Negro workers for vagrancy in Fort Lauderdale and fined them without trials as part of a general attempt to have Negroes continue working at the same menial tasks they had before the war." Mr. Gilmartin stated that Victor Rotnem, chief of the civil rights section of the Department of Justice, is being consulted on the need for federal indictments in the case.

The text of the Rev. Gilmartin's letter to Governor Holland follows:

"We have carefully studied your letter of October 13, in which you declare your investigation of our charges against Sheriff Walter R. Clark of Broward County and his deputies 'does not disclose any facts which would justify the suspension of the sheriff of Broward County,' as requested by us.

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The Daily Worker Presents:

The "Republican" Candidate

By T. R. COBB

As proof of the fact that he is willing to do ANYTHING in the interests of "national unity," Robert Minor, second in command to Earl Browder in the Communist Political Association, poses an insidiously clever theory in the CPA's dope sheet of October 27.

Writing in his column-called (cross my heart and hope to die) "To Tell the Truth" in the Daily Worker for that date, Minor discovers that Franklin D. Roosevelt is a—Republican!

While you pick yourself up from the floor, dear reader, let us hasten to reassure you that the CPA has NOT executed another of its lightning changes in the "party line." The Browder Brigade still goose-steps behind the "Commander-in-Chief." Minor merely suggests that not only is the President a Democrat, with a big "D," but that he is also a Republican, with a big "R," just like he, Minor, is an All-American Patriot, with a big "A."

Minor writes: "A most remarkable event of American history is that the Republican Party has changed its candidate for President two weeks before election day.

"Only a month ago most people were still assuming that the formal nomination of the Republican convention made Dewey the candidate for the party."

FDR—GOP CANDIDATE!

Here we expected a repetition of the hoary formula of the propagandawise CPA that a couple of other guys named Herbie and Ham are in reality the GOP candidates for the highest office in the land. But no—Minor literally means that the Republicans have no nominee in 1944. The whole thing is a Minor illusion. The Republican orators who are slamming the "inefficiency, and bureaucraticism of the New Deal" and making "Clear Everything with Sidney" a household slogan, are chanting an absurd mumbo-jumbo. The millions of dollars being spent by the GOP's National Committee in a desperate effort to unseat the present administration is a mere bookkeeping transaction, a quadrennial disbursement of petty cash. You see, Dewey doesn't really exist. It's wonderful what Minor over matter can do!

"Two weeks before election," writes Minor, "it is revealed that in the logic of history and the needs of the war crisis, the Republican Party's candidate for President is Franklin D. Roosevelt."

How did this amazing state of affairs come into existence? Well, for

one thing, the leaders of the Communist Political Association have all become Master Statesmen. After T-e-h-e-r-a-n this was an inevitable development and the American people will be forced to suffer untold ordeals as a result of Stalin's ascendancy to the position of Master Statesman Over All Dead and Living Master Statesmen.

Are the Republicans reluctant to

crawl into Roosevelt's bed and achieve "national unity" thereby, even if "the needs of the war crisis" indicate an end to the GOP's inhibitions in this regard? This is a picaresque matter which any Master Statesman can easily dispose of. Minor does it in a few lines in the Daily Worker. He states that the Republican Party and its candidate just aren't any

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Pappy O'Daniel Passes the Biscuits -- to Big Business!

By SAM ADAMS

In recent days, some of the papers in the country reported on the testimony given by Senator W. Lee (Pappy) O'Daniel before the Senate Campaign Expenditures Committee. That no wider publicity was given to this testimony by the yellow press is easily understandable. There is a great lesson for labor in the disclosures of the Senate committee about politics, propaganda and big business.

Pappy O'Daniel is an ignorant rogue, a reactionary, labor-baiting, two-bit politician from the state of Texas. He's a singer of ditties and a player of the banjo. But that isn't why he was selected to run for office. That's only the way he runs his campaigns. He was selected to run for office by the reactionary big business forces who run the Democratic Party in Texas because he is the perfect flunkey, the best kind of office boy the profiteers could find. With a good press, good propaganda agents, with plenty of money, O'Daniel swept several elections. Big business put him into office and big business gets its returns—and plenty.

Since being a governor of his

state and now a senator, O'Daniel has used his office for these principal reasons: to organize all reactionary forces in an effort to curb the labor movement; to hamstring the unions; to force them into courts, knowing that most unions do not have funds for extensive litigation; and to bar labor from organizing workers by all kinds of legal restrictions passed in state legislatures by other reactionaries mobilized by this Bourbon from the South.

When the Christian American Association began its campaign in several Southern states to legislate out of existence the trade unions it was learned that Pappy O'Daniel was one of the prime movers of the organization. He used his political office and his big business support to push this anti-union movement forward. Everyone knew who was behind this anti-union legislation and everyone who understood the struggles of the workers knew that Pappy O'Daniel was a nobody who became a somebody only because there were powerful forces backing him, namely, some of the big monopolies and corporations of the North and the South.

Make no mistake about it, it isn't

The wage situation has indeed become a scandal. No sector of the population has made the sacrifices which labor has made for the war. It accepted long hours of work, rotten working conditions, a loss of many of its rights. It gave the President, through its top officials, a no-strike pledge on the promise that there would be equality of sacrifice. The latter meant no excessive war profits, a \$25,000 limit on individual incomes, price control. It goes without saying that none of these have actually taken place. Equality of sacrifice has meant that labor has given all the sacrifices, capital nothing. Labor's reward for these sacrifices has been nothing, while capital has enriched itself from the war.

AFL REFUSES TO SIT

No wonder then that the WLB is in a crisis forced by the AFL representatives, who refuse to sit in on any more case hearings until the board takes a position on principle in the matter of revising the Little Steel formula. The contention of the AFL representatives is that until and unless the formula is revised there is no sense in taking up individual cases. And the AFL is right. The record shows that in all important and decisive cases, the WLB has rejected labor demands and will not budge from its position of acting in all these cases on the basis of the present inequitable Little Steel formula.

What has actually happened in Washington is that no matter how many cases are brought before the board, no matter how much material is presented to enforce labor demands for wage increases, the WLB, like a Missouri mule, says: "Sorry, boys, we can't do anything for you. The President's Wage Stabilization Law does not permit us to grant your demands."

Time and time again the labor representatives have voted for wage increases only to find that they could not overcome a mechanical majority on the board composed of industry representatives and the so-called "public" members, whose thinking and position on wages is indistinguishable from that of industry.

Thus the demands of the workers in auto, rubber, textile, steel, mines, etc., have met rejection by the WLB. The vote: always eight to four.

EFFECT OF CONVENTIONS
The wage situation came to a head this year. When the union conventions were taking place and when it

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Progressives Take First Steps to Fight Communist Control of FEMWU

CHICAGO—In recent months an opposition has been growing against the dictatorial policies of the Communist gang in control of the Farm Equipment & Metal Workers Union, CIO. The workers were especially disgusted when six opposition leaders from Tractor Local 101 were expelled by the International Executive Board for the crime of caucusing (!) and for calling Communists "Communists" (!). The local found these six not guilty, but the Stalinist Executive Board expelled them anyway.

The opposition came to a head at the recent international convention held at South Bend, October 14-16. But there was no housecleaning at the international office. Instead the Communists very deftly used this convention to tighten their stranglehold on the union. The presence of an opposition, led by McCormick Local 108, only forced the Communists to dig deeper into their bag of tricks, with which they completely and unscrupulously steam-rollered the convention.

A few big locals have a large part of the membership, and in each of these locals there is a strong opposition to the present international leadership, which seems to be much more interested in the war and the PAC than in the workers' immediate problems. These locals could have organized this resentment and cleaned out the union. However, they failed to prepare their campaign carefully, nor did they have a progressive program to offer the farm equipment workers. Thus their only planks were to run out the Communists and to make the union and its constitution more democratic. Their failure to take a stand on other important issues sometimes gave the

City	Quota	Week	Total	Pct.
New York	1,000	37	409	41
Akron	150	—	108	73
Buffalo	150	26	103	72
Chicago	300	34	152	50
Cleveland	200	—	26	13
Detroit	750	25	575	74%
Los Angeles	200	35	119	58%
Louisville	25	—	25	100
Philadelphia	175	11	50	28%
Reading	50	8	16	32
St. Louis	50	—	16	32
San Francisco	200	—	87	43
Seattle	150	72	104	69
Streator	50	6	50	100
Youngstown-Warren	50	—	0	—
National Office	500	18	82	16
Totals	4,000	272	1922	48

impression that they were an unprincipled power caucus.

Against the weak program and lack of organization of the opposition group, the Communists presented a tight, aggressive organization and a bag of low tricks, such as the following:

PATROLLING CONVENTION
1. The whole staff of the international union, entirely Stalinist, was thrown into the field, at the union's expense, to line up the small locals, scattered over the country. They were warned against Local 108. The delegates were told that their future would be ruined if they had any dealings with 108 or with Joe Hanley, its militant president, who led the opposition. Organizers "policed" the convention, keeping an eye on the delegates to enforce this advice. (The constitution gives the smaller locals votes out of proportion to their size, and they were thus able to outvote the larger locals.)

2. Delegates who did not come from the locals which they represented were seated and given votes. The president of the international union, Grant Oaks, voted for several small locals. One delegate even forgot which local he was from, but the other delegates recognized him as an office worker from one of the large plants.

3. The McCormick delegation was

4. The big delegation from International Harvester Tractor Local 101 was stolen by the Communists in an unfair election.

5. The appeal of the six expelled delegates from Local 101 was ruled out on a technicality and they were not allowed to present their case to the convention.

6. Many opposition delegates were not allowed to get the floor.

7. The financial report was brought to a vote before it was shown to the delegates. After it was accepted it was made public—the first report in two years. It showed a deficit of \$10,000.

split, as the result of an election campaign in which the Communists printed the lowest lies and slanders ever seen in a union election.

LOCAL 108 FIGHTS ON
The only hopeful sign was the fact that Joe Hanley and Local 108 led a good fight to revise the constitution in order to make it more democratic. Although they lost this battle too, they gained stature in the eyes of the delegates. Those from the smaller locals began to wonder why they had been warned away from 108. There was ample indication that with a better prepared campaign based on real, vital issues and backed up by some practical organization in the various locals, the Stalinist misleaders can be thrown out of this union.

Halfway Mark Reached in Sub Drive; Almost 2,000 New Labor Action Subs!

The halfway mark in time for the campaign has been reached this week but are seventy-eight subs short of 2,000, halfway marks to our goal of 4,000 subs. But past experience shows that the real pace is hit in the latter half of a drive.

For instance, Reading is just now beginning to produce, and its work to bear fruit. Our Reading comrade in charge of the campaign informs us that they have made contact with various workers in the city and surrounding area who are sympathetic to LABOR ACTION and who distribute copies to their friends. Subs have now begun to come in from these sources. We feel that this experience will duplicate itself in other cities.

Some weeks ago we printed a challenge from Seattle to Akron in the sub drive. Akron condescendingly accepted and then magnanimously offered to let Seattle withdraw if she had cold feet. Well... a glance at the score-

board will show that Akron had better look to its laurels for otherwise it is heading for a fall. Of course we have think that the best ending would be a tie of 500 subs each. But then, we were always dreamers. Remember, Akron and Seattle, the stake is \$10 worth of books from Labor Action Book Service.

It is to our readers that we now address ourselves for aid in the campaign. Every reader has friends who have seen LABOR ACTION who would be interested in a paper like LABOR ACTION. We request only a small effort on the reader's part. Ask your friends for a sub, show the paper to your other friends. If you wish subscription blanks for your friends, drop us a request. For every four subscriptions your friends obtain, they will get their own free. Five subs for one dollar! If you want a few more copies to hand about we will send them to you. Do your small bit to spread the ideas of LABOR ACTION.

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

High Time For Labor to Get Off the WLB --

(Continued from page 1)

appeared that the rank and file workers were going to upset the no-strike pledge and force their weak officials to make a real fight on wages, the Administration began to prepare propaganda to the effect that it would revise the formula. Roosevelt himself gave credence to many rumors floating about the country.

But since August, when the UAW convention was held, the position of the President and his WLB has been made clear. They have no intention of revising the formula now, nor in the immediate future.

What a mockery! And what a blow to the policies pursued by the labor officials, which have staked everything on a handout from the White House rather than use the million-headed and powerful labor movement to fight for its rights.

It is necessary to remember, too, that the failure to grant wage increases during the past two years has resulted in a loss of billions of dollars to labor.

Observing that the WLB would only continue to reject wage increases in the individual cases presented to it, the AFL took the position that it could no longer sit in on such cases where the cards were stacked against it.

But labor weakened its own fight when the CIO refused to go along with the AFL members not to sit in on any more cases until a revision of the Little Steel formula took place.

With that power gone, the bargaining power of the unions rests on secret and semi-secret negotiations at the top. The members cannot any longer press for new demands, for improved conditions in contracts.

No-Strike Pledge --

(Continued from page 1)

strike is not what we are considering. How did the international act in the situation?

The auto union leadership of R. J. Thomas, Walter Reuther and George Addes is no less interested in upholding the no-strike pledge than is Dalrymple.

At the UAW convention in Grand Rapids, under the leadership of the Rank and File Caucus, the delegates overwhelmingly called for a referendum of the membership on the no-strike pledge.

So what did these gentlemen do in the Kelsey-Hayes strike? Thomas, who never lost an opportunity to publicly attack workers who struck to settle their grievances, kept his mouth shut this time.

MEANING OF THE PLEDGE

There is a clear lesson in this for the auto workers--and the rest of the CIO, too. When the no-strike pledge was given, labor gave up the only weapon it had to settle grievances and bargain for better wages and working conditions.

CIO STAYS ON

The AFL and CIO representatives were indignant at this kick in the teeth which they received from Chairman Davis and his watchdogs of profits on the board.

The WLB refused to act on any of its wage demands in the steel case and it refused to act on any of the fringe demands on the ground that they went beyond the wage stabilization policy.

But both the CIO and AFL are wrong in not following out the conclusions of their criticisms of the WLB and the wage stabilization policy by withdrawing from the board altogether.

FDR the "Republican" --

(Continued from page 1)

more. The twenty million or more votes that Dewey will probably receive will in reality be votes for FDR, because he, not Dewey, is the Republican candidate.

And by what system of logic did Minor deduce all this? By the "logic of history," of course, that supple instrument of reasoning that was especially invented and patented for the exclusive use of Stalinist liars and distortionists--or so they would have us believe.

NEW CLASS UNITY

The Republican Party historically has been the active organ of American capitalism not less than the Democratic Party, says Minor. He goes on to add: "Many people assumed that the Republican Party, would, in this election, again take the role of representative of big business with Dewey as its standard bearer.

And of even greater significance than this is Minor's interpretation of the late Wendell Willkie's unwillingness to commit himself to the GOP ticket.

Florida Still Fights For Peonage --

(Continued from page 1)

"We do not see how you can consider your investigation of our charges complete. We are amazed that your investigator did not ask us for copies of fourteen affidavits of arrested persons, secured by our investigator, which we offered to you on request in the third paragraph of our letter requesting your investigation.

"You declare in your letter, 'The court records were inspected, and I find that in each instance where there was a conviction the fine was fixed and imposed by the county judge.' We respectfully call to your attention the fact that the true story of the false arrests of forty-nine Negro workers in Fort Lauderdale cannot possibly be found in the court records unless those records have been falsified, for the victims were never brought before the courts at all.

"We fail to see how you could be satisfied with such an investigation, and we certainly are not. Upon receipt of your letter, our national secretary went to Washington, where he conferred with Victor Rotnem, chief of the civil rights section of the Department of Justice, on the need for federal indictments of the guilty persons in this case.

demands. The WLB is stacked against labor. It represents industry's interests. It represents profit interests.

Minor's claim is not unfounded. The House of Morgan and the New York Times, spokesman of American big business, recognize full well the role of the Roosevelt regime. It took no prodding from Minor and the Communists for them to join the unholy church of "national unity."

FDR the "Republican" --

Dewey and the Republicans are no longer the traditional representatives of conservatism and reaction, the conscious leaders and tools of America's ruling class, the standard-bearers of U. S. imperialism and "America's destiny to rule the world."

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N. Y. Workers Party School Opens With Two Classes

The opening of the 1944-45 sessions of the Workers Party School was very successful. Both classes have now been running for three weeks and students in each of them are full of praise for the instructors and the manner in which the classes are conducted.

In the class on The Principles of Marxian Economics, the students have discussed what Marxian political economy is, what the basic laws are, and what Karl Marx, the founder of scientific socialism, was analyzing in his books of economics.

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The Business Manager.

Ford Instrument Bosses Try to Wreck Grievance Set-Up

By RUTH PHILLIPS

The Ford Instrument Co. of Long Island City, which recently fired Mary Ellen Swanwick, shop steward of the electrical assembly department, when she, with twelve other girls, protested the speed-up on the conveyor belt in the department, continues adamant in its refusal to reinstate her.

The latest move of Local 425, UERWMA, was to invoke the services of the commissioner of conciliation of the United States Conciliation Service. The company refused the services of the conciliator, insisting that it would not discuss reinstatement of the steward, and demanding that the case go to arbitration. The union has refused arbitration until the steward is first reinstated.

In a series of leaflets to the membership the union explained that it rejected arbitration because "if this case is arbitrated before the steward is reinstated, it would be an open invitation to the company to fire stewards and union representatives at will, and then call for 'arbitration.'"

"We cannot permit the company to break the contract first and then arbitrate. This would wreck the union machinery and bankrupt the union treasury." The leaflet goes on to explain that while the contract gives the company the right to fire an employee in his capacity as a worker, it specifically states that the company cannot take action against any employee acting in the capacity of a union representative, as was the case with Mary Swanwick.

COMPANY AIMS

In an article in a previous issue of LABOR ACTION, it was pointed out that this case is part of the company's plan to throw a monkey wrench into current negotiations for a new contract, but weakening the union through the destruction of its grievance machinery. The article also indicated that the company must be fought by the militant action of a united membership and a courageous leadership.

That the company understands this only too well is clear from its pres-

ent uncompromising stand. Failure of clear action by the membership meeting stiffened the company's attitude. Over 4,000 workers attended the meeting, all in a fighting mood. They left the meeting disunited, intimidated and confused, after having voted down a proposal to give the company thirty-day strike notice (in accordance with Smith - Connally law) and referred the whole matter back to the executive board.

WHAT LOCAL MUST DO

The confusion of the board was transmitted to the members, who were further confused and intimidated by the speech of Commander Yandell of the Navy and the demand of the flag-waving Communist Party group in the union for arbitration.

The Communist Party group in the union has been giving aid and comfort to the company by its support of incentive-pay methods of production, less fancily known as the piecework system.

Norman Huff, industrial relations manager of the company, stated in a newspaper interview that national officers of the union approved of the use of the assembly line. It should be pointed out, however that Local 425 stands opposed to incentive pay. The trouble is the the UERWMA, of which Local 425 is a part, is controlled nationally by the Communist Party.

Now that the company has rejected the services of the conciliator, the alternatives again become arbitration or some form of decisive action if it refuses to reinstate the steward.

It is now abundantly clear that the company will reinstate Mary Swanwick only if it is met by a united membership ready for militant action. The chief responsibility for rallying the membership to action lies with the union leadership.

Pappy's Biscuits --

(Continued from page 1)

to fighting the New Deal and Roosevelt and fostering the reactionary policies that interest them. And who could tell, maybe the biscuit-eating Pappy might turn out to be a pretty good second-hand man-on-horseback. You don't believe that? Well, just take a look at the men and the companies which back his foul rag:

Republican Senator E. H. Moore of Oklahoma. A senator! So what? Well, it just happens that Mr. Moore is a wealthy oil man, besides being in the business of making huge profits is also in the business of fighting unionism. He gave \$25,000.

Next, H. R. Cullen, another wealthy oil man who comes from Texas. He too gave \$25,000.

These two men contributed almost half of the \$109,000 raised by Pappy to put out his paper!

Who else is on the list? Marrs McLean, GOP treasurer in Texas, a wealthy oil man, gave \$2,500; \$1,000 came from Lamar Fleming, Jr., of the Anderson-Clayton cotton firm owned by Will Clayton; Surplus Property Administrator in the Roosevelt government.

Another \$2,500 came from Representative Richard M. Kleberg, owner of the King Ranch and lobbyist against the OPA in behalf of the rich cattle producers.

J. M. McCauley, a New York produce dealer, campaigner against price controls, contributed \$1,000. He raised \$12,000 among business associates to fight price control, too.

Thomas R. Armstrong, vice-president of a New York oil company and a big rancher, gave O'Daniel \$2,500.

J. S. Birdwell, owner of the Birdwell Oil Co., gave \$1,000.

R. J. Morgan, assistant to the chairman of the C. & O. Railroad Co., contributed \$1,000.

Kay Kimball, a big milling plant owner, gave \$2,500.

The H. E. Butt Grocery Co. gave \$1,000; the Mission Provision Co. gave \$1,250; C. Starace & Bros. contributed \$1,000, and among other contributors are the Anderson & Son Dairy Co. of Wheeling, West Va.; William Randolph Archer, director of the South Texas Feed Co.; J. M. Bennett, director of the National Bank of Commerce, San Antonio, and A. M. Veder, secretary-treasurer of the San Antonio Coca-Cola Co., etc.

In addition, Maco Stewart, president of the Stewart Title & Guarantee Co. of Galveston, contributed \$2,500.

As a matter of record, \$80,000 of the \$109,000 O'Daniel reported he had raised through contributions, came from wealthy business interests in denominations of \$1,000 or more.

THE SEEDS OF FASCISM

This fact alone shows that his movement and his paper are not supported by "the people." They are supported by big business interests who will always organize and finance anti-labor agitation and organization.

There is the real lesson in the Pappy O'Daniel affair. We have always said that if you want to know how the reactionaries, the labor-baiters, the semi-fascists and the real fascists come into existence, carry on their work and finance themselves, the Pappy O'Daniel affair is an example. Big business is behind them. It was behind fascism in Italy; it was behind fascism in Germany. It has backed every anti-labor, reactionary and fascist movement that ever came into existence.

There is a warning to labor in this case. It is: on guard against all these reactionaries, semi-fascists and outright fascists. Organize labor defense against them. Labor has the power, the numbers, the ideas and the will to defeat fascism wherever it raises its head.



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Spain: Maquis Fight Franco Dictatorship

By JESSIE KAAREN

The history of American "non-intervention" in the Spanish Civil War is about to be repeated. The tight clamp put on Allied news agencies makes it difficult to know just how extensive the fight is that is going on now between the Spanish republican forces and the fascists, but one fact seems pretty definite. The United States military authorities have sent a few divisions of the army to the French-Spanish border to prevent Spanish maquis from entering Spain.

In a speech made before a conference on world peace recently which was conducted by The Nation, J. Alvarez Del Vayo, Foreign Minister in republican Spain during the last civil war, complains bitterly, as liberals always do, about the treatment that his countrymen are getting from the United States. He cautions America, with its imperialist designs in South America, to see the error of its ways and not repeat the mistakes made during the Spanish Civil War, lest the people of South America be offended.

"In every Latin American capital," says Del Vayo, "people are waiting hour by hour for news from Spain, as they did from 1936 to 1939. This is something that Washington should keep in mind. Nothing will antagonize the people of Latin America more than to see the United States take sides against Spanish republicans."

The action of the American government in trying to disarm the Spanish maquis, who, having finished their work in France, are now anxious to put their own house in order, is exactly in line with American policy since Franco came to power. That policy has consistently been directed toward stabilizing the Franco regime to the extent even of permitting Franco to export large quantities of war materials to the Germans. Several months before the American invasion of Normandy, when Spain was practically a vassal of Hitler, the State Department sponsored an American commercial exhibit in a Spanish world's fair. All through the war years the American government had its official representative in Spain, Ambassador Carleton J. H. Hayes, notoriously known to be pro-Franco and anti-republican. The excuse given by American diplomacy for this policy of appeasement was that it was necessary to win Spain's support in the war. The excuse is very thin. If anything, Franco was able, with Allied protection, to pursue better his policy of aiding the Germans.

The civil war in Spain, capped by the victory of the Falangist dictator, Franco, in 1937, is not over. Even after the defeat of the Loyalist republican forces (a defeat aided by the Stalinists and sanctioned by Allied non-intervention) the underground struggle went on. Even after Franco's fascist forces executed or jailed the Spanish revolutionists, guerrilla fighting took place in the Asturias, Galicia, Andalusia and along the Pyrenees.

But there are indications that the Communists are launching the civil war through their "Supreme Junta," a national front that includes elements from left of center to the extreme right. These same Communists called the Warsaw uprising "premature" and sabotaged it while thousands of Warsaw workers paid the extreme penalty at the hands of Hitlerite murderers. Hitler's accomplice was Stalin, who deliberately neglected to order the Red Army to besiege Warsaw because he was not in control of the Polish resistance movement.

But in Spain, Stalin has forces. The situation is not yet most favorable to the Spanish maquis and guerrilla fighters. We have ample proof from past examples that the Allies will give them no aid. But the Communists nevertheless resort to this putschist effort in order to win credit for themselves. A period of preparation of the struggle lies ahead.

Nevertheless, "premature" or not, socialists and all not, socialists and workers can only hope for aid and the struggle of the Spanish anti-fascists to unseat another progressive workers can only hope for aid and not going to aid them—that's sure.

A DICTIONARY FOR WORKERS

By STANLEY GREY

Insert your finger into the lapel of a capitalist and ask him what he thinks is the meaning of "equality." He'll tell you that under capitalism everyone is equal, has the same right to work hard, save, improve himself and eventually become the vice-president of a big corporation.

A French writer once offered a different definition. He said that the poor and the rich had absolutely equal rights to sleep under the bridge when they couldn't afford a night's lodging in a flop house.

Same words, different meanings. The first definition glorifies capitalism, the second exposes it. It all depends on the point of view.

Now there is a real need for the workers' "dictionary." Every day, a ocean of ink are poured into the capitalist presses—a chief of staff composed of editors, authors, reporters, columnists, commentators and, of course, "experts" who dispatch armies of words into the field to fight the battles of capitalism. The words, like so many soldiers, are uniformed, paid and maintained by the ruling class. "Liberation," "free enterprise," "wage stabilization," "equality of sacrifice" and dozens more strut about on the pages of the daily press, little major-domos leading a parade of lies and distortions.

What we propose is a workers' handbook, a dictionary of words from a worker's point of view. This will strip the little major-domos of their gaudy uniforms, break up the parade and reform the line of march in the direction of the truth, the truth as it affects the life of every worker.

Everybody has a little bundle of his pet definitions. Contributions to the dictionary are very much in order and welcome.

THE FOUR-YEAR CYCLE

Presidential Elections: Every four years the American people (except for those poll-taxed out of the election) have the right to choose which group of capitalist politicians will rule over them.

Election Campaign: Conducted by a candidate

for President. Always characterized by smiles, handshakes and arm-waving. Sometimes involves baby-kissing, cow-milking and hay-pitching, depending on the temperament of the candidate and the people he is trying to amuse at the moment. Intent is to prove (a) he was born of a mother and father like the common people, (b) he loves the common people, (c) he could be very happy as President of the common people. Generally, he is exceedingly proud to be an American.

He delivers many speeches, in which he promises sunshine for the haying season and rain for the drought. If elected, he suffers an affliction known as "presidential amnesia," where the patient remembers only the opposite of what he had promised and makes few of the promised changes. This makes him the ideal choice of the capitalists who, except for a rise in profits, do not like to see any change.

Some candidates call themselves Democrats, some choose the title Republicans, for some prefer an elephant to a donkey as an animal of good will. As far as the worker is concerned it is all one and the same to him for both animals come from the same zoo which is owned by the people who exploit him, the capitalists.

BUCKING INTO POLITICS

Political Action Committee: (PAC) Can be called the Political Auction Committee, for it is putting labor on the block and selling it to the highest capitalist bidder. It is an organization which crusades to "unite" the workers—only to deliver them in one package to Wage-Freezer Roosevelt. It wants to bring "labor into politics"—only to have it wait on the table of "Slave Law" Roosevelt. In the name of "political action" of labor, it is the bitter enemy of genuine independent labor action. Itself a handmaiden of the Democratic Party, it seeks to install labor as liverman in the capitalist stable.

The dynamo of the PAC are Sidney Hillman, whose connection with labor is his weekly pay check from his union, and the Communist Politi-

cal Association (alias Communist Party) which regards labor in the manner that a butcher surveys the meat in his icebox. The CPA, through its anagram, the PAC, is trying to sell the labor movement for the price of Roosevelt's unqualified cooperation with the Soviet Union. As for Hillman, he'll fight to the last shred of labor's independence to keep his seat as labor's favorite son at the capitalists' table.

GAMING SEASON ON LABOR

War Labor Board: (WLB) Composed of three capitalist members, three "public" members (whose capitalist sympathies are "private") and three labor members who serve as window dressing. The board's function is to create an illusion of impartiality between labor and capital while it rigidly enforces the President's wage freeze and permits profits to soar almost limitlessly.

The initials WLB have confused some people who know the board by its deeds alone into calling it the Waylay Labor Board. Its outstanding achievement has been to extend the normally short life of labor's claims to as much as a few years. The stretch-out technique consists of an endless chain of filing, considering, hearing, re-filing, reconsidering, fact-finding, more fact-finding, investigating, statements, and so on—like a merry-go-round in which the bosses sit on the bouncing wooden horses and put iron hooks in the nose of labor at each turn—to the gay tune of "equality of sacrifice."

The only medicine which shakes the WLB from its lethargy is a shot of strike action. Such a hypodermic resurrects the claims interred in the cemetery (known as "files") to give the impression of temporary placement) and engenders activity such as only a humorist would previously attribute to the board. The sudden spurt of action is focused on getting the men back to work. When, with the aid of the labor "leadership," the strike is broken, the merry-go-round starts up, and labor is once again taken for a free ride.

Where Are 4 Freedoms in Romania?

The Stalinist government did not hesitate to make capital out of the Lublin death chambers which they discovered when they invaded Poland. Every skeleton was exposed to public view to prove that the Germans were a sadistic people and needed to be exterminated by the Russian heroes, or at least to be used as slave labor in the Soviet Union.

But on the subject of what happened to the Polish Jews when they escaped before the advancing Germans into the Soviet Union, there is a conspiracy of silence. A few first-hand accounts from survivors give an inkling of the callousness, the indifference and the brutality with which the Jewish refugees were left to starve and die of the cold. Those refugees who did succeed in getting out to the Middle East had literally to walk across the thousands of miles of Soviet territory.

Another such instance of callousness now comes to light. Written in Istanbul, a dispatch by Joseph M. Levy to the New York Times reveals

the horrible condition of the Rumanian Jews who were "freed" from concentration camps when the Red Army took over control of Rumania.

"Out of the 70,000 Rumanian Jews who survived massacre, deportations and forced-labor camps, 150,000 face starvation or death from cold. They are without clothes or food and without roofs over their heads. A vast majority of the children are undernourished and rachitic, while their parents are on the verge of tuberculosis. Medical supplies are non-existent and most of the sick are left to die.

"Although six weeks have elapsed since the Rumanian armistice was signed, all appeals to the government to enact a law forcing employers to reinstate Jews in their former jobs remain unheeded.

"Even the leaders of the Communist and Social-Democratic Parties, the so-called banner-bearers of 'justice for all in Rumania, refuse to intervene on behalf of these Jews.

These leaders are courting non-Jewish Rumanian wage-earners, who must not be antagonized," I learned during a recent visit to Rumania.

"Leading Jews in Bucharest told this writer that the entire Jewish population of Rumania was hoping that the United States Department of State would hasten to grant permission for representatives of the American Joint Distribution Committee to proceed to Rumania to help alleviate the sufferings of Jews there.

"Obviously, the anti-Jewish laws in Rumania have been abolished, but the government is not taking any action to restore Jewish property and normal rights, like those enjoyed by other Rumanian citizens. Abrogation of the anti-racial laws has freed the Jews from concentration and forced labor camps, but they are able to do little with this freedom.

"The government even refuses to restore Jewish institutions, such as schools, homes for the aged, and hos-

pitals, some of which are actually vacant.

"This writer saw the Goldfarb Jewish School, accommodating 1,200 pupils, which was confiscated by Antonescu's henchmen and subsequently converted into a music institute. This school, which is now vacant, would serve as sleeping quarters for hundreds of homeless Jews, but the military authorities have declined to release it on the ground that repairs would cost too much."

In fact, Congressman Celler of New York publicly charged that with the signing of the Russo-Rumanian armistice, "the rights of the Jews were restored on paper but not in actuality." He was answered by the Soviet Ambassador in the United States, Andrei A. Gromyko, with a denial that anti-Jewish laws were still in effect in Russian-occupied Rumania. When being informed of the denial, the congressman said: "It is the old dodge of the voice of Jacob but the hand of Esau."

Churchill, N. Y. Times, N. Y. Post, Sforza and the Roman "Mob" --II

Lessons for the Peoples All Over the World

(Part I of this story appeared in last week's issue of LABOR ACTION. We have printed this lengthy story on an important Italian event because we believe that what happened in this case contains a lesson for the American workers. The affair itself has been and continues to be widely discussed in this country.—Ed.)

By EDWARD WARNER

Then, writes the New York Post: "But depriving Italy of the little self-government it has would only cause more lynchings, more revolutionary acts.

"The answer is to allow the Italians to set up a really democratic government of their own, one that is responsive to the needs and desires of the Italian people. The answer is to stop making of the Allied occupation a device for saving fascists and thwarting democrats."

Dear editors of the New York Post, you simply don't understand. Just read the remarkable book of Col. T. E. Lawrence on Arabia. In that book you will find the pattern of how to deal with "guilty" peoples. The answer is that we are in a vicious circle.

The only thing the Allies CAN do is to "allow" the people to fall into a tyrannical regime. To do this, they must have fascists. Without fascists, the people cannot become "guilty." If the people are not guilty, they might try to stop inflation, to make agriculture and industry responsive to their own needs and desires. Of course, this is directed against the spirit of the Atlantic Charter, against the needs and desires of the Allies. They don't want a "good" job done for nothing. So they thwart democrats and save fascists. And in this way the people become "guilty" in a vicious and brutal fashion, which fits right in with the needs and desires of the Allies. And there it is, according to Mr. Churchill's democratic logic. The whole thing starts all over again.

Poor New York Post! Your description is not so bad. But don't you think it would be wise to explain to your readers HOW to stop the Allies and to get out of this vicious circle? You don't have much time to waste. Discard your illusions about Stalin's "justice." Think out the lessons of Italy, Russia, Germany and the Balkans. You are traveling the same road. If you are not ready to fight to the end against the bourgeoisie here in the United States, then you may look forward in time to a nice concentration camp. You will then fall into the most tyrannical regime imaginable. And the Stalinist gang will be the first to help you into it. For Stalin has the same logic as Mr. Churchill—even more convincing in his viciousness and brutality.

BACK TO THE "FAIR" MR. MATTHEWS

And so we leave the New York Post and return to Mr. Matthews, whom, in all fairness, we had to leave just when he decided to be fair. Although not fair enough to explain to us the deeper reasons for the explosion (the business the Allies have to cover up), he recognized the spearhead of the mob to be relatives of the victims of Caruso. Before deciding to be fair, however, he wrote:

"After all, this is different from the sort of things I saw in Marseille, where the passions of the people were aroused to heat for just a few days. This happened three and a half months after the liberation of Rome."

"This" is astonishing! Even if we did not know what "every Roman knows," we should think with Mr. Matthews that "hated and passion smoldered week after week." Count the weeks and

you obtain just three and a half months after the liberation of Rome. Then the volcano "broke into burning flame," because every Roman knows that it smoldered just three and a half months. "This" explains all, you mean? Not at all! Mr. Matthews is obviously an admirer of Mr. Churchill's logic. He counts on his fingers. He puts one of his fingers into his nose and, counting the thumb for only half a finger and with the finger in his nose invisible, he easily gets the sum of three and a half fingers on one hand. With the other hand he beckons to the readers of the Times: I appeal to your fancy! "This" is why it is "different."

Alas! The real difference lies in the facts presented by Mr. Matthews. We don't say that he understands what kind of difference it is. Beware! He has his horrified opinion, he is "objective," and he follows Mr. Churchill's logic. Armed with such obstructive virtues, he gives us the facts:

"The mob went to court clearly determined to take justice into its own hands and lynch Caruso. The Allied authorities deliberately kept all their MP guards and soldiers away, since this was a purely Italian affair directed by the high court of justice."

All right! The mob wanted to lynch Caruso and the Allies deliberately kept away, since this was a purely Italian affair.

Mr. Matthews says explicitly: "It was obvious from the first moment that mob passions were high and the Italian authorities were incapable of maintaining order."

ITALIAN OR ALLIED AFFAIR?

The difference now lies in the fact, believe it or not, that the "purely" Italian affair is NOT a purely Italian affair. It WAS a purely Italian affair and the Allies didn't have to worry about "order" as long as it was "obvious" that the Italian authorities were INCAPABLE of maintaining order. We, for our part, think that the Allies know their business, and in keeping away all elements of "order" they did a "good job." But that is not the point. The point is that the foreseen "disorder" is a purely Italian affair (Allies, keep out!), the ACTUAL "disorder," however, is NOT (Allies, move in!). You can put it this way: The incapable authorities belong to Italy; the mob belongs to the Allies. This was "obvious" and yet Mr. Matthews must confess:

"The government now faces the necessity of speedily asserting its authority and its ability to maintain order, administer justice and try Caruso legally. If this is not done within the next few days, it is generally agreed the government must resign, presumably turning back the maintenance of order to the Allied army—the last thing that the Allies want."

Don't worry about the "last" thing that the Allies want. Why? Because Mr. Matthews is an "objective" reporter. When he is "fair," he takes the side of today's mob. When he is "unfair," he is on Mr. Churchill's side. For the "last thing" he has one (one!) witness: "Poor" Italians! one Italian said. Unless the Americans come to defend us, they will kill us all."

And that alone is clear: To defend "us" is a purely Allied affair. The mob will see what that means. One witness and one "last thing" is better than nothing at all.

Now, what about Carretta? After talking of the "spearhead of today's mob," Mr. Matthews continues:

"But he was killed in so cowardly and vicious a fashion that none can help entertaining fears for the future of Italy. What, it is being asked, about the cities of the North, which are accustomed

to more violence even than the Roman mobs, who often in history have shown their savagery?"

Poor cities of the North, the writer of these lines thought. You are accustomed to more violence "ever" than the Roman mobs! You have often shown your "savagery"—for instance, in 1922. At that time, you cities of the North "even" occupied the factories in Turin and Milan. At that time the situation was, as Mr. Matthews said about Rome, "ugly. Inevitably thoughts of the Bastille rose in all observers' minds." It was the height of savagery and, in the minds of both Mussolini and Churchill, there "inevitably" rose the thought of how to "allow" you to fall into the tyrannical regime. They trapped you and the history of fascism shows how you were "accustomed" to more and more savagery. Whatever you do, poor people (alias "cities"), you are always considered savage and guilty. "They" think you ought to be shot in any case.

ENTRANCE OF THE COUNT

At this point, Count Sforza makes his appearance. According to Mr. Matthews, the Count commented on the incident with the memorable words:

"This is inadmissible and must never happen again. This is like the lynching of Negroes, and we will not have it in Italy." As a first reaction on the part of the Count, these words sounds like a defense. After all, speaking to Mr. Matthews, he was speaking to a "thwarting" ally. Actually he was saying to the "objective" reporter: "Don't shout so loud, shut up! Don't think the world knows nothing about savagery in the United States. You have plenty to do at home. Shut about your lynching of Negroes."

In this respect the Count is correct. But in all others he is mistaken. The Negroes never subjected the American people to a tyrannical regime. Lynching of INNOCENT Negroes (or Italians; remember Sacco and Vanzetti!) is one thing—lynching of fascist CRIMINALS by DEEPLY AND JUSTLY revolted people is another. In brief: The white lynchers in the United States are CRIMINALS—the "mob" in Italy is RIGHT, No, sir! Don't place the Negroes in the same pot with the fascists!

Later the Count told the press: "The inquiry that we made showed that Carretta was one of the most violent and most hated jailers, and in the court room this morning he was imprudent enough to behave badly. Then the mob got out of control. . . . While, as an individual, I must condemn the Carabinieri for their failure, as a private individual I must recognize that men who make only enough to eat one meal daily can with difficulty be expected to act as they should."

Memorable words, indeed! First: The mob got out of control because Carretta "was imprudent enough to behave badly." Yes, sir, to drive a car or a "mob" you invariably need some explosive "gas." We dedicate this new "difference of opinion" between us and Mr. Matthews to . . . Mr. Matthews.

Secondly: "Men who make only enough to eat one meal daily." We kiss your hand, Count! Your speech is wonderful, marvelous, a revelation! We note with great pleasure that the police can only be sent out AGAINST THE PEOPLE if (Ha!), if (Hee!), if (Ho!), if . . . IF THE POLICEMAN HAS A WELL FILLED STOMACH. If there is a "self-ruling" mob and a cop with a well-filled stomach, the people may expect to be shot at. If the police-stomach is empty, the "mob" can hardly expect the policeman to act as he

Japan: Not A Mysterious Land At All

By CARL DAVIS

When Hitler came to power in Germany and set up the fascist state, many people thought that a new social order had come to Germany. The capitalists, so it was said, were now curbed and completely under the control of the Nazi regime. The market was ended, profits were wiped out, production was carried on in the interests of the state. But when the facts about German economy leaked out and the whole story of Hitler's rise to power became known, it was clear that what happened in Germany was something altogether different from what many thought.

It became clear that the revolutionary socialists, the Marxists, were right: fascism was not a new social order, but a new type of political rule of capitalism, arising on the basis of a severe social crisis in the country, the aim of which was to save capitalism and the profit system under the domination of the big monopolies and trusts.

In addition to that, it is now known that the forces behind Hitler, those who gave him financial, moral and physical support, were the German capitalists, the steel, iron, coal and chemical producers. Hitler had carried out their program of preparation for war in order to gain for Germany what other capitalist nations had: markets, raw materials, land for expansion, etc. The aims of German capitalism are essentially the same as those of all other capitalist countries.

But in the case of Japan, many legends were built up during the course of the war. Some of them would have you believe that Japan is a backward, uncivilized country, inhabited by "monkey people." It never occurs to the paid propagandists who write these things of Japan that they do not square with the tremendous military forces of that country which could never have been built up without a highly developed industry and skilled labor. No, Japan is an advanced capitalist country, even though it has many strange traditions to those who live in the Western world. Japan just happened to have developed her capitalism later than other countries and, in order to expand, she, too, went to war against those countries to take what they had taken long ago.

This fact was given prominence in one of Drew Pearson's columns of recent date. Pearson spoke of the conflict between the military and the industrialists, likening it to the struggle between the Army and Navy with the WPB in this country. Says Pearson:

"Three months before Pearl Harbor, Japan formed the 'New Economic Structure.' Most foreigners thought this a plan for military rule over business. It was the reverse.

"NES, created September 1, 1941, worked well during the easy victories at Pearl Harbor and thereafter. But when Japan began to lose in the Solomons in the fall of 1942 and as shipping was decimated by our subs, the Jap economic structure buckled. . . . Tojo . . . demanded powers to deal with the crisis. The cartels resisted. . . . He was so slow getting control of industry, his methods were resented by the 'National Socialists' and left wing of his military-fascists. Some, headed by Seigo Nakano, urged nationalization of all industry.

"Tojo made a new attempt to strengthen his grip on economy. Calling a special Diet session, he formed a Munitions Ministry, headed it, placed all war production under it. But Tojo's power didn't last long. Big business moved in and forced business men into the cabinet. They cancelled the Army's industrial power. . . . Premier Koso, who replaced him, played with the cartels. Business took over all Army, Navy arsenals."

Look behind the mask of propaganda and lies that are told in this war and you will find, no matter what the country, that this is a gigantic struggle between the capitalist powers for land, raw material, markets, cheap labor, in a word, for PROFITS!

"should." A very revealing revelation by a venerable Count. It is an honor to policemen all over the world that our Count bares two souls in one breath. "As a private individual" he must recognize the close connection between the stomach and "duty." As an "official" he CONDEMNES the carabinieri for having "recognized" this same connection before he did. Therefore we dedicate this revelation to the police. And not only to the police. . . .

THE PEOPLE WILL TEACH THEM

It seems that some people who did not belong to the "mob" already understood what was going on. We quote from our lamentable reporter:

"Lieutenant Borgomaneri and another Carabinieri lieutenant dragged Carretta, now unconscious, to a command car with an American soldier at the wheel that stood a few yards away. The soldier refused to take the burden and drove off.

"The two officers made one more effort to get Carretta away. They picked him up, carried him to where a British truck stood and asked the driver to take them and Carretta off. The Britons refused and drove away."

Sorry, very sorry, dear Mr. Matthews! We think that all these drivers (and the Carabinieri and the finance-guards who did not shoot at the people) were on the right track. They were fine fellows with understanding, and they have our good wishes. Their attitude toward the thwarted people may be taken as a guide by millions like them throughout the world.

But is there nobody around to testify for the horrified reporter and thus put an end to this lamentable story? Yes, here is the bitter end:

"When I [Matthews] bitterly kept telling the crowd around me that this was worse than fascism and that Italy would get a black name through the world for this sort of thing, some shamefacedly admitted that it was bad.

Too bad for our reporter! He bitterly begged for someone to admit that this was "worse than fascism" and all he got was that "it was bad." He forgot all about the lynching of Negroes in the United States and that this country has gotten a black name for this "sort of thing" throughout the world. Really, it is bad! Imagine some experienced Italian answering the "bitter" reporter:

"For men like you there is no help! Philistines have always had a hypocritical 'moral' attitude toward the oppressed peoples, for they are in the service of the oppressors. You like 'well organized' outbreaks. The monstrous killing of millions of people, you call a 'war for freedom,' and those who are forced to do the killing, you call an 'army.' But you never call the 'mob' an army, because there is a big difference between the two. You see, my dear young man, an army IS RULED by and serves in the interests of the Churchills, Stalins, Hitlers, Roosevelts and Mussolinis. The 'mob,' however, RULES ITSELF in its own interests. The armies of reaction will sooner or later think over this difference and become a self-ruling mob. As for you, Mr. Matthews, don't go telling us what is worse than fascism. With your forefinger in your nose, go back to school, and we hope that you find the right one. Here, we who have suffered under fascism don't care for your ignorance and well-paid opinion. Keep your black name and your opinion to yourself. They are worthless to us. Goodbye, Mr. Matthews! Take care of your finger! And you might learn some lessons from history! The people will teach you!

Editorials

Romania Joins Allied Camp But Facist Practices Remain Intact

Elsewhere in this issue of LABOR ACTION there appears a story on the situation in Romania, the former Axis ally, now joined with the United Nations. Romania is a laboratory of Allied policy in general and Russian policy in particular. Since the Russian occupation of the country we have had a picture of what the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter mean in practice. All that has actually changed is that Romania, instead of fighting alongside of the Nazi armies, is now fighting alongside of the Allied forces, i.e., the Russian army.

WHAT THE NEW YORK POST REPORTS

The *New York Post* reports that since Russian occupation no real domestic changes have taken place in the country. "Fascists still hold high office: the new chief of the secret police, just appointed, is the same fascist who served the Germans, the Undersecretary of State in the 'new' cabinet is the same general who ordered the massacre of 15,000 Jews in Jassy on November 29, 1941.

"And there are 150,000 Jews in Romania, who, at this moment, face death from starvation or cold."

That is the way this same newspaper describes the real situation in the country. The same notoriously reactionary, barbarous and anti-labor forces which governed the country before Russian occupation govern it today. The only difference is that other parties, with the same ideas of the old governing groups participate in the same kind of reactionary regime. Stalin's new Communist Party, which is in the government, in Romania, does not differ essentially from the other parties, except that it is closer to the Russian government and will carry out its desires quicker, better and with more subservience than any other party. It has no roots in the masses; more important, however, it does not even pretend to represent the interests of the masses.

Four Freedoms Don't Apply to Greece; British Aid Reaction

The British Empire is vast. Its possessions stretch over the entire earth. It exploits hundreds of millions of people in India, Africa and island possessions. To retain these possessions, Great Britain built a powerful navy. To give strength to this navy it acquired bases and control over certain seas. One of these is the Mediterranean Sea. Thus Great Britain retains a stranglehold at Gibraltar, the gateway to the Mediterranean Sea, and the Suez Canal, leading into the Indian Ocean. In between, she possesses certain islands and "influence" in Egypt and other parts of Africa. To enforce all of this she had "influence" in Greece.

The British "influence" in Greece consisted of loans and support to the most reactionary, fascist elements in the country. It consisted of foisting a foreigner onto the throne of Greece, which never had a native royal house and whose every King was imported. The maintenance of a royal house in Greece with a foreign monarch subservient to the British Empire was insurance for the British, who would have a "friendly" nation situation in the middle of the Mediterranean Sea to protect their interests.

It is this imperialist interest which promotes British policy in that part of the world. When the Russians swept into the Balkans to establish their position there, the British suddenly invaded Greece to drive a retreating German force from the country. And everyone knew the reason for this move. The capitalist press wrote frankly that the invasion was political, not military. The British sought to prevent any Russian influence over Greece and to retain their own position there.

But the Greek people have some ideas of their own about their country, and here is where the British run into trouble. The Greeks seriously want their freedom, their independence, their own government. The Greeks do not want a return of the monarchy. They don't want fascist King George and his blackguard entourage back in the country. They want their democratic rights and nothing less.

Who don't the Greeks want King George, whom Churchill loves so much? Because he

The vicious Nazi racial laws which went into effect long ago still remain. And when Representative Celler protested because the Russian government permitted these things to exist, he was replied to by the local Stalinists, in their usual lying way, that this wasn't true. But it is true. The anti-Semitic laws remain; anti-Semitic practices remain; the same butchers are in power. Only this time they are bolstered by Stalin's so-called Red Army.

ROMANIA, FOUR FREEDOMS' CRUCIBLE

What happened in Romania is not a mere episode. It is an extension of the same general policy pursued in Italy. There Allied policy is calculated to prevent the Italian masses from asserting their real desires. To prevent a general democratization of the country which would sweep away the remnants of the old fascist regime and the gang of incompetents who are trying to rule now. To prevent genuine rule by the people of Italy. It becomes clearer every day that what the Allies mean by liberation and what the people want are two different things.

In exchange for liberation, the Allies want a guarantee that no social changes shall take place, that no excesses against the former ruling butchers shall take place, that the people shall not "get out of hand." They want "strong" regimes to keep the masses in their place and to retain the rotten system of capitalism in existence. In these aims the Western powers have the support of Stalin, who, in exchange for this support, is receiving concessions from them. These concessions give him the Baltic states, part of Poland, controlling influence in Eastern Europe and a substantial part of the Balkans. It is power politics all over again. The people of Europe will have to pay the price unless they take power into their own hands.

is a reactionary whose acts in the interests of the Greek ruling class against the people. Because it was he who liquidated the democracy and replaced a democratically elected Parliament with the fascist, John Metaxas. Metaxas, the dictator, destroyed the Parliament, liquidated civil courts, the trade unions, the political organizations of the workers, free speech, free press and free assembly.

In that respect the regime was no different from other fascist regimes. Unlike the Greek people, who lived under the Nazi occupation, he was safe. He fled to live his luxurious existence, first in London and then in Cairo.

Here is another chapter in United Nations policy. This time England is the central figure. There is a stated policy which the Allies proclaim but which has nothing to do with life itself. In real life the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter do not mean a thing. Churchill wants King George on the throne of Greece even though the people do not want him. If he persists in forcing a foreign monarch or a monarchy over the Greeks he will only unleash the fiercest kind of resistance from the Greek masses. And we say, all power to the Greek workers, peasants and fighters for real freedom, peace and democracy.

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On the Anniversary of:

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

By MARY BELL

November 7 marked the twenty-seventh anniversary of a unique event in history—the Russian socialist revolution of 1917. Of what interest is this event to American workers today? This question is of special importance in view of the fact that, as the readers of LABOR ACTION know, we, together with militant workers, are opposed to the practices of the Communist Party, which takes its line from Moscow, and equally opposed to Russian imperialism which in the course of this war is adding to its national prison most of the populations of Eastern Europe.

WHAT IS A REVOLUTION?

In a revolution, the power and wealth of society change hands. They are transferred from one class to another. In our time, there are two fundamental classes in society, the working class and the capitalist class. The minority class owns the wealth, profits from it, keeps down the standard of living of the majority class which has no wealth. In order to protect its wealth from competitors and to secure new sources, the capitalist class is compelled periodically to go to war. The workers are caajoled, propagandized, and conscripted to fight the war in behalf of "their country"—whose wealth is owned by the ruling class!

The theory of revolutionary socialists is that if the enormous wealth of society, controlled by the few, were controlled by the majority of the people under a government representing the majority, poverty could be eliminated, an end could be made to the mass murder of war, and mankind could live in peace and plenty.

To achieve its final goal, this kind of revolution would be necessary on a world scale, since, as long as a capitalist country of any importance existed, it would fight to maintain the profits and privileges of the ruling class. Also necessary is a party representing the interests of the majority, the working class, to lead the workers and intermediary masses of the people, farmers, middle classes, etc., to victory. And finally, that party must have a program which speaks the needs and desires of the class it represents.

FIRST WORKERS' STATE

As a party with a workers' program and a will toward the socialist goal, the Workers Party looks with reverence toward the Russian Revolution. For it was the first successful socialist revolution of all time! No matter if it was later turned off its course, no matter if its leaders were imprisoned and shot, no matter if it is now a monstrous caricature of a "socialist fatherland." The victory of the workers in Russia over their oppressors proved for all time the possibility, feasibility and advisability of the socialist revolution.

Russia, in 1917, had all the essential ingredients of a revolution. The workers and peasants were fighting in the trenches, suffering severe defeats and dying while the profiteers were fattening on the war profits. At home, industry was booming under government war orders, while the workers in the factories and the peasants on the land were paying the costs of

the war. In addition to these things that all workers "normally" suffer in wartime, Russia happened to be more backward than the United States or England, for example. She was ruled by a Czar, mass lynchings of the Jews was an accepted thing, her standard of living was among the world's lowest, her illiteracy rate among the world's highest—that is, for the majority. For the tiny minority, her luxury was on a par with the most advanced countries of the world.

In the era when the capitalist class was the new, progressive revolutionary class which destroyed feudalism, it overthrew the vested powers of monarchy, clergy, but Russia's rate of development had been so slow that its capitalist class grew up under the feudal government of the Czar without being able to overthrow him.

Then capitalist industry brought as elsewhere, something new to Russia—a class without any land, without any property, without any stake in the old society—the working class. It was this class that was destined to form the army to lead the assault against czarism and against so-called democratic capitalism, which lived for a day in Russia after the Czar was overthrown.

Out of the modern development imposed on the backwardness of Russia, there also developed sterling revolutionary leaders and an indomitable revolutionary party: Lenin and Trotsky and the Bolshevik Party. Lenin combined the character, talent and revolutionary insight to make him the commanding authority without peer in the revolutionary party and among the masses, to lead them to victory. Trotsky possessed the intelligence and skill to form a Red Army out of raw recruits and war-weary workers and soldiers to fight off and successfully defend the revolution from the combined armies of the rest of the world. Without these leaders and without the Bolshevik Party, it can confidently be said that the Russian Revolution would not have occurred, or, at least, not at the time it did.

TWO REVOLUTIONS

In the February revolution which overthrew the Czar and which was accomplished by the workers, the slogans expressing the needs of the masses were (1) the democratic republic, (2) confiscation of the landed estates, and (3) the eight-hour day. The workers led this revolution, since the capitalists were joined with the feudal nobles and too weak to defeat czarism. The workers set up their own soviet committees, what we in America call workers' councils, and seized the factories; the starving, land-hungry peasants took over the estates; the soldiers, sick of the war, left the front.

A provisional, "democratic"—really capitalist—government emerged, tried to stop the oppressed people, refused to divide the landed estates; continued to prosecute the war. In June, 1917, the first congress of the soviets, the workers and peasants and soldiers' own councils, occurred. Representing millions, directly elected by and responsible to the workers, it was the most demo-

cratic parliament the world had ever produced.

This new power of the workers challenged the government of the capitalists, who were unable and unwilling to meet any of the demands of the workers, until they toppled the old regime in November, 1917, in an almost bloodless revolution. Led by the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky, they took over under the slogans of all power to the soviets, an end to the war, land to the peasants, and bread to the people.

Capitalism was dead in Russia. A genuine government of the workers was in existence. The land belonged to the peasants who tilled it. The factories belonged to the workers who toiled in them. The people were willing and able, despite the long years of war and civil war, to fight off for several years more the internal and external enemies who took up arms against the new workers' government.

THE DEGENERATION

To understand how Russia changed from the workers' fatherland to the prison of the peoples it is today, it is necessary to recall one point in the theory of revolutionary socialists. That is, socialism must be accomplished on a world scale. But the expected world revolution did not occur. Russia was isolated, surrounded by capitalist enemies. Stalin, representing this reaction, enunciated the theory of "socialism in one country." Russia alone could not produce plenty for all which socialism should guarantee. This caused the regrowth in Russia of the "have" and "have-not" classes. It also generated a policeman, the Stalinist bureaucracy, to keep the "haves" on top and the "have-nots" in their places.

An understanding of the Russian bureaucracy explains the role of the Communist Political Association today. Believing in "socialism in a single country," which means no socialism at all, they are the abject tools of the Soviet government. Whatever serves Stalin, the leader of Russian "socialism," they do. That means fomenting strikes in the "imperialist democracies" in the period of the Hitler-Stalin honeymoon. Today it means carrying out the no-strike pledge more vigorously than the leaders of the labor movement or the employers themselves. Tomorrow, after Hitler is defeated and if Stalin does not get all he wants of the spoils of war, it may mean a resumption of strikes before the conclusion of the war against Japan. All in the name of "socialism."

SOCIALISM TODAY

Real socialists today rally to the ranks of the Workers Party, the bearers of the traditions of the Bolsheviks. The program of the Workers Party serves the "have-not" class, workers, poor farmers, the exploited middle classes. It stands for the abolition of the profit system, workers' management of industry, a workers' government, the end of wars growing out of the profit system—peace and plenty for all.

Despite the Stalinist destruction of the Russian workers' state created in November, 1917, the glorious example of the Russian heroes proves that socialism can and will be accomplished!

MURALS AND MORALS

Siqueiros and Rivera: Triggerman and Turncoat

By JOHN STUART

American workers are quite familiar with the crimes of the Communists in the union movement. They know them as the saboteurs of labor's rights and interests. They know them as the proponents of a permanent no-strike pledge. Many workers, who, in fighting for progressive unionism, have come in conflict with these terms in the labor movement, know how the Communists slander them, call them "Trotskyite!" link them with fascists and in general engage in the most vicious character assassination.

Not so familiar to most American workers are the actual assassinations of the Communists carried out by their Moscow-paid gunmen, the GPU. Their victims, leaders of the socialist and labor vanguard, not merely in Russia, but in practically every country in the world, number by thousands. They kill off the genuine fighters for labor militancy and socialism because Stalin is no longer interested in labor's struggles or in socialism. He is interested in preserving his bureaucracy in power. Since a workers' victory in any country would be a challenge and an inspiration to the enslaved Russian workers to get rid of Stalin, it is necessary for him to get rid of these socialists.

At the top of Stalin's list of enemies, i.e., champions of socialist freedom as opposed to Russian totalitarianism, was Leon Trotsky. His name was finally crossed off the list when Frank Jackson, a GPU agent, murdered him.

SIQUEIROS—TRIGGER-MAN

A fellow GPU agent had made a previous attempt on the life of Trotsky, but succeeded only in murdering one of his comrades, Sheldon Harte. This versatile person, David Alfaro Siqueiros, combined the profession of mural painter with that of trigger-man. While he did not have the "honor" of actually slaying Trotsky, he was the "brain" behind the organization of the murder.

Siqueiros' "talents" blossomed in Spain, where, as a colonel in the Spanish Republican army, he helped round up and assassinate Spanish revolutionists.

Now, back in Mexico, still charged with murder, Siqueiros not only goes free, but is engaged on a mural in the Palace of Arts in Mexico City. Such are the resources of the Communists and such are the morals of our times that the immunity of this assassin has been paid for!

But further than this, Siqueiros has been invited to give lectures at the Buffalo Institute of Art! We do not know if this invitation is the result of some misguided lovers of "art for art's sake," or the result of the intervention of Siqueiros' friends who tried to bring him here once before via an invitation from the Rockefeller Committee on Inter-American Affairs. At that time he was prevented by an exposure through liberals and socialists. The foul reputation of this artist in crime should not be rehabilitated now by permitting him to lecture on his less facile talent—painting.

Diego Rivera—Turncoat

Another Mexican muralist turned traitor to the cause of the working people is the famous Diego Rivera. Rivera has fallen farther than his compatriot, since he started higher. He at one time was a member of the Central Committee of the Mexican section of the Fourth International and helped to attain asylum for Trotsky in Mexico. Diego Rivera today takes his place as a comrade of Siqueiros, perhaps tomorrow of Jackson. "He has his photograph taken," states the Mexican socialist paper, La Lucha Obrera, "beside the assailant of Trotsky, with that smile of a Judas who has sold his political honor not merely for pieces of silver... He makes common cause with other Stalinists in the farce of defending 'freedom of artistic expression,' as if that were possible under the totalitarian Stalinist regime, over the blood of the hundreds of thousands of revolutionists assassinated by the GPU, of whose ranks Siqueiros and his friend form a part."

Rivera is no defender of the "freedom of artistic expression." He has sold his integrity for publicity, financial gain, access to the high official circles, influence with Soviet diplomacy.

All that remains of Rivera's revolutionary past are scenes such as the one in the mural of Fine Arts, where Trotsky and the Fourth International appear as the culmination of historical evolution and as leaders of the only progressive way for mankind. Today, Rivera substitutes for the phrase in this painting, "Workers of the world, unite in the Fourth International," "Renegades of the world, unite under the boot of Stalin." Perhaps some day some revolutionary artist will preserve in canvas the evolution of Diego Rivera: from opportunist to a Judas without honor.

NEXT WEEK:

THE SITUATION IN FRANCE

By V. F. Jensen

COMMUNIST PLANS FOR GERMANY

By Reva Craine

OUT OF THE PAST

By Ruth Phillips

ALLIES AND JAPAN

By Don Bateman

LABOR STORIES, POLITICAL ARTICLES

AND OTHER FEATURES

For Active Unionists—
In the October issue of
THE NEW INTERNATIONAL
An Analysis of—

- **AUTO**—Max Shachtman, National Secretary of the Workers Party, discusses "Politics Among the Auto Workers" from first-hand observation of the UAW Convention and long experience in the labor and socialist movement.
- **MINERS**—David Coolidge, National Labor Secretary of the Workers Party, in an article, "Lewis Keeps Control in the Miners' Union," gives an analysis based on many years' attendance at Mine Workers' conventions.
- **SHIPBUILDERS**—Ernest Lund, author of "Plenty for All," and a close follower of the struggles of the Shipbuilders, gives an account of their progress in "Behind the Shipbuilders' Fight."
- **ELECTRICAL WORKERS**—Albert Gates, editor of *Labor Action*, tells "What Happened at the UE Meeting."
- **RUBBER WORKERS**—Mary Bell, assistant editor of *Labor Action*, presents a first-hand account of "Progressives at the Rubber Convention."

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