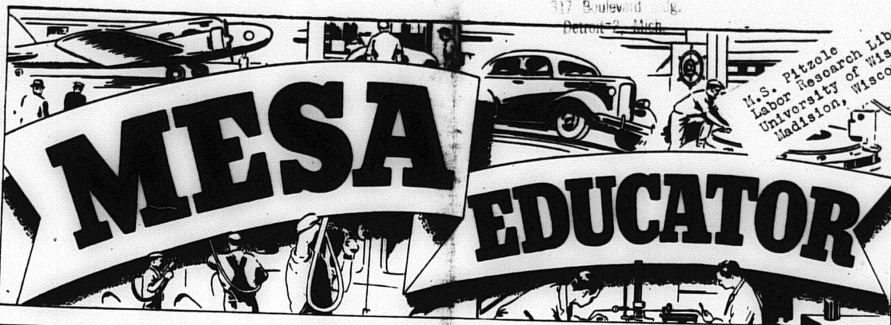


Let liars fear, let cowards shrink,
Let traitors turn away,
Whatever we have dared to think
That dare we also say
—James Russel Lowell



We pledge ourselves to organize and unite the workers in the automobile, metal and allied industries, in the struggle to increase their power in the national economic life. Our immediate objectives are higher wages, shorter hours, better working conditions and the enactment of adequate social legislation. Our ultimate objective is the complete industrial and political freedom of all workers.

VOL. 7

OCTOBER EDITION — 1946

No. 11

THE AMERICAN WORKER'S VOICE

Wage Stabilization Is Now A Joke

BULLETIN

Merger terms between the Interstate Metal Workers Union and the Mechanics Educational Society of America have been approved by the Interstate convention held in New York City, on October 8th, 9th and 10th, 1946. The Interstate preserves its internal autonomy and under the merger is preparing a winter expansion program in the Eastern States with special emphasis in New England.

U. E. C. I. O. Doesn't Like Interstate-M. E. S. A. Merger

In spite of the frantic raucous screaming of the Committee front boys of the U. E. C. I. O., two of the most vigorous independent unions in America decided to merge their forces at a Convention held in New York City, during the week of October 7th.

The two organizations have similar constitutions and ideals and the joining of their memberships should prove mutually advantageous.

Both are rank and file unions free from bossism and dedicated to negotiating or obtaining by direct action the finest contracts for their members.

The U. E. is still bragging about its war record when it was too scared to fight the boss and pretended the reason was patriotism. Did Carey or Emspak enlist? Of course they didn't. Julius Emspak faithfully followed the shifting party-line even supporting Russia when it made its shabby alliance with Hitler.

All during the war the U. E. publicity was full of "our sacred no-strike pledge." If shop stewards were fired then U. E. officials said, "If only we hadn't given our pledged word not to strike we could protect these stewards."

When wages were cut the answer was screamed, "We can't do anything because we gave a no-strike pledge."

A no-strike pledge means that the union concerned had abdicated and should in all conscience be tied to a "no-does" pledge.

A few questions for the U. E.

- (1) Does it deny that the U. E. was founded upon a Philco Fishing Club in Philadelphia, that first went company union and then into the U. E., an affiliation of company unions?
- (2) Was Julius Emspak a leader of the Young Communist League before being elected Secretary?

Under the new agreement, all employees will be paid for the recognized holidays, although they will not work on these days. It is agreed that the pay received shall include bonus and premiums.

The vacation plan, calls for one week vacation with pay for all employees having one year seniority, and two weeks for two years of service. The qualifying date was set as October 1, with vacations to be taken any time between May and October. Many Clark Controller employees have been in the employ of the Company since the late

tary of the U. E.?

- (3) Did James Matles, U. E. Organizer, start out with some non-descript unions in Manhattan, then start the Commie-line Federation of Metal and Allied Unions, then into the U. E., and finally into the U. E. C. I. O.?
- (4) Did the U. E. scab on the U. A. W. last winter by jumping the gun by accepting a corporation dictated settlement from the General Motors?
- (5) Did the U. E. settle with Westinghouse, for a net of 8c an hour, an 18c increase and a 9c cut in bonus?
- (6) If the U. E. is not just a union front for the Communist Party, why does it not repudiate the Comies publicly?

When they have evaded the above list of questions and

Cont. Page 4, Col. 1

Clark Workers Win New Gains

Members of the M. E. S. A. employed at the Clark Controller Company, Cleveland, Ohio, recently received a five cent wage increase along with a fifteen cent raise on all minimum rates. These raises are in addition to the fifteen cent general raise granted last December. This victory alone would be sufficient reason to cheer, but members of this M. E. S. A. local really scored a grand slam.

Under the new agreement, all employees will be paid for the recognized holidays, although they will not work on these days. It is agreed that the pay received shall include bonus and premiums.

The vacation plan, calls for one week vacation with pay for all employees having one year seniority, and two weeks for two years of service. The qualifying date was set as October 1, with vacations to be taken any time between May and October. Many Clark Controller employees have been in the employ of the Company since the late

Cont. Page 4, Col. 5

Strikers Win Three Weeks Vacation Pay

A new vacation plan calling for payment of five and one half per cent of total earnings for the year, for all employees with one year or more seniority, was approved as a strike settlement at the Michigan Tool Co., Detroit. Tap and Tool Co., Cone Gear Division and Tungsten Carbide Tool Co. This smashing victory was achieved after keeping the plants shut down for six weeks, in a dispute that started out over some lavatory doors. The workers at the Cone Gear Division walked out, when the Company removed the doors, claiming there was too much time spent behind closed doors. This walkout set a mutual aid pact, in existence between the workers in these four plants, into act. Immediately, the workers at the three other plants hit the pavements. As a solid front, the M. E. S. A. members in these shops kept everything closed down until a satisfactory settlement was reached. The Union took the position, that in as much as the Company action had necessitated a loss of time by the workers, a concession in addition to replacement of the M. E. S. A. members in these shops would be required before there would be a return to work.

The final settlement, in addition to privacy in the wash room, called for the improved vacation plan. Under the new plan employees working 40 hours a week will receive 3 1/2 hours vacation pay. This equals to just 5 1/2 hours less than three weeks vacation with pay. Employees working overtime, will of course receive additional vacation allowance.

Up till now we haven't heard of a plan that equals this one. Michigan Tool and Company workers issued a challenge to the rest of the M. E. S. A. "Let's see you beat it."

The struggle for control of the American Labor Movement, particularly in Unions affiliated with the C. I. O., has broken out in a vicious open feud between the supporters of the program of the Communist Party and their stooges on the one side, and most of the remainder of the organization on the other.

First we must understand that the Communist Party, U. S. A. is merely a part of the International Communist machine. We must understand that there is no fooling as far as Communists are concerned, that their objective is the promotion of the interests of this foreign power at any cost, and that they are

It Happened in 1921 And It Won't Be Long Now

Listening in on the gab at the swanky cocktail lounges and in the club cars, we're beginning to wonder what is restraining Mr. Widebottom from donning a pair of nice greasy overalls and enjoying life as a worker. After all, "look at all the money the damn workers are making today."

Now if your name happens to be Joe Worker, you know that things are not as rosy as some would like to make it appear. If your name is Joe Worker, you know that the entire setup is a skin game and that you're the poor fish being skinned. For a long time, labor has attempted to point out that things were pretty tough for the worker, while certain industries reaped unbelievable profits.

Now come the Government of the United States. . . . Not the Department of Labor. . . . but the Agriculture Department and the Federal Reserve Board with the following shocking information.

Say these conservative Government agencies. . . . One out of every two American families has to live on an income of less than \$2,000 a year. Understand — this means families, that is an average of four people. The report further states that one out of every five families has an income of less than \$1,000 a year. Think of it, one fifth of the nation living on an income averaging only \$600 a year. One fifth of the nation forced to exist on a standard of living that is warped bodies and warped minds. One fifth of the Nation, enjoying the freedoms of free enterprise. . . . the freedom of slow starvation.

Here are government figures to show that one-half of the nation cannot possibly buy automobiles, refrigerators, homes, or even the basic necessities of life. In fact, figure it out, on less than \$2,000 a year, it is mathematically impossible for a family to meet the cost of

daily living, much less set a gun aside to buy a new car. On the other hand, these same reports point out that in 1946 in the retail and wholesale trades, profits were two and one-half times what they were in 1945. In other industries, profits have more than doubled. According to the Federal Reserve Board, American Industry in 1946 is making a record profit.

Now let's understand one thing clearly. . . . unless that

Election Year In the M. E. S. A.

This is election year in the M. E. S. A. From now until mid-December, the men and women who work in M. E. S. A. shops will nominate and elect the officials who will, under the direction of the National Administrative Committee, decline the nomination out of the business of their Union during the next two years.

As provided in the M. E. S. A. Constitution, any member of the M. E. S. A. for any of the National offices to be filled. After the local nomination meetings are held, the secretaries forward the nominations to the National Executive Committee. This Committee was elected by secret ballot at the August meeting of the N. A. C.

All nominees are then notified by registered mail, and are given a stipulated number of days to either accept or decline the nomination. In this election, the membership will choose a President, Vice-President, Secretary, Treasurer and two National Trustees. If necessary, a referendum primary election will be

Cont. Page 4, Col. 2

Hearing Held In Detrex Case

A National Labor Relations Board hearing was held October 17, to hear testimony relative to the position of the M. E. S. A. for certification as bargaining agent for all employees of the Detrex Corp. in Detroit.

One hundred and sixty-seven of the Company's one hundred and seventy-six employees are members of the M. E. S. A. Organizing at the plant was conducted under the direction of what had formerly been the CIO shop Committee. This Committee, completely disgusted with the setup, actions and procedure of the United Steel Workers Union, joined the M. E. S. A. and called a meeting of all Detrex employees. At this meeting, after a thorough discussion, a vote was taken, and with but one dissenting vote it was agreed that all Detrex workers would join the M. E. S. A.

Cont. Page 4, Col. 4

Eaton Foremen Join M. E. S. A.

All foremen employed at the Cleveland, Ohio, plant of the Eaton Manufacturing Company, recently joined the M. E. S. A. and have been issued a Charter as Local 21A. This action is in line with the M. E. S. A. policy of organizing all foremen employed in plants under contract with the M. E. S. A.

The M. E. S. A. believes that the line of demarcation between those who work for a living, and those who work for a living should be raised to a point, so that all those who contribute to the production of the commodity are on one side of the table, while the coupon clippers are on the other. The foremen and foreladies make their living by working for it. On that basis we welcome them into the M. E. S. A.

Cont. Page 4, Col. 2

Battle is On Sky the Limit

If This Is What They Want We'll Gladly Accommodate

The strike of the cattle men and packing-house owners against the people of the United States has been won by the big boys and prices will begin to soar. Wage stabilization, under these circumstances, becomes a joke so we are in for another series of battles on the wage front to meet the inevitable sky-rocketing cost of living.

The bosses are feeling a little cocky and no one can stop them taking a "fling at curbing labor." We like it out in the open and prefer that the employers revert to type—it is much better than the "one big happy family" blige they have been peddling for the past few years. We are tired and weary of the walls for industrial courts, impartial authorities, neutral arbitrators and so on. Did the cattle rustlers and hell-bent-for-inflation packers ask for arbitration? Not a bit of it. "Take off the controls," they said, "or the people can starve." The first round is easily theirs but they can't win. A few minor successes on the industrial front and Labor will counter with a sharp party that will sweep the two phonies, Republicans and Democrats, into the discard. Probably it's better to have the challenge, meet it and usher in a cooperative society than tag along pretending that in some mysterious way the paths of Labor and Unions are identical.

However, if we were on the other side and in full recognition of the soft time this free economy gives us, we would hesitate before accepting the rake's progress of inflation. But this is the way they want it—they can be accommodated.

If the workers in this plant are allowed a free choice of their bargaining agent, we are confident that this General Electric plant will be another shop that climbs upon the M. E. S. A. bandwagon.

Stock Market Organized

The heading on this story is nothing new, for it has been very clear for a long time, that the Morgans, the Lamonts, the DuPonts, the Rockefeller and the rest of the Wall Street Big Wigs, had a little private organization of their own that sucked the life blood from the people at will.

But the heading to this story doesn't refer to Mr. Richblotch or his like, but rather to Joseph Whitecollar the guy who does the work around the Stock Exchange.

On August 14, 700 employees of the Exchange, members of the Independent United Financial Employees Union, walked off their jobs to take a strike vote. The vote was recorded at 652 to 5 in favor of strike action. "Whenever the Union deemed such action necessary." A strike on the stock exchange is something we really want to see.

Judge Frank Day

We are not in the habit, as our readers well know, of giving bouquets to candidates for political office, but we do wish to remind our old timers in Cleveland, that in 1934 when the going was tough for our infant M. E. S. A., it was Judge Frank Day who refused to grant an injunction against our organization in the Truscon Steel strike.

The November election is a good time for our M. E. S. A. members to show they appreciate a judge who will not be stand-pipe in granting injunctions. We cannot advise you how to vote, but if we live in Cleveland, Judge Day would get our vote for Judge of Common Pleas Court.

Speaks for Itself

The National Association of Manufacturers announced in its weekly news letter of August 3, that it rated the voting record of the just adjourned 73rd Congress, "The best in the last fifteen years."

Issued monthly for the M.E.S.A.
By the National Administrative Committee
National Office 317 Boulevard Bldg. Detroit 2, Mich.
Cleveland Office, 1215 N.B.C. Building
Editorial Office—317A Blvd Bldg. Detroit, Mich.
M.E.S.A. Interstate Office—104 N. George St., Rome, N. Y.

WAGES AGAIN

For once there is no dispute about the increase in the cost of living but the argument as to whether this justifies another round of wage increases waxes loud and long. The employers, who for the past few years have been howling that all increases in wage rates must count as a basis for price relief, now insist that a wage contract should be disturbed. Everyone knows that if the cost of living spirals up to dizzy heights so that the present dollar is only worth ten cents then the sacredness of any wage contract becomes manifestly absurd.

Obviously, the question is: How much does the purchasing power of a man's pay check have to depreciate before it justifies the opening of a contract honestly entered into by two parties who both thought that reasonable stabilization of commodity prices could be maintained by the U. S. Congress.

Our opinion is that the recent pattern of 18½ cents an hour has been more than absorbed by the current price changes, which means that workers are relatively worse off than on V-J Day.

In business circles, if any manufacturer, because of circumstances over which he has little control, finds himself caught by a contract that would send him into bankruptcy, he cries to high heaven for relief, and these cries usually result in the necessary financial adjustments.

When workers find themselves caught by mild inflation and petition for compensatory wage change then the personnel managers have a doleful theme-song, doesn't a solemn contract mean anything to you guys; is your signature on an agreement useless; if you can't keep this contract why should our company make another one? "Unions are irresponsible and the Government should do something about enforcement of Labor's obligations." And so on and so forth.

All this wailing doesn't alter the fact that price increases are the same as wage cuts and since wage cuts are supposedly outlawed unless approved by Wage Stabilization then we feel that other means must be taken to prevent the continued shrinkage of pay envelopes.

The employers can refuse to accept the obligation of maintaining their customers' purchasing power and so bring about a fairly sudden reduction in the overall demand for goods and subsequent unemployment. Nobody denies that a prolonged depression will bring about a lessening of labor demands and put labor "where it belongs." We say to the employers, "Have your fun until you contrive one depression too many." It was depression victims that were used by the unimpaired Duce to his march on Rome. Unemployed, in Germany, became the infamous Brown Shirts of Adolph. If the effects of depressions are not eliminated or depressions themselves made impossible, it is self-evident that clumsy right or left wing solutions will be attempted. It's a dreary prospect having probably to choose between "Joe" or "Franco" but this is the price that employers will pay if they stupidly resist the maintenance and steady improvement in the standard of living of workers in their plants.

Many of them are as swollen, physically and otherwise, with money obtained by Government war contracts that the handwriting on the wall will only inflame them to "Go get those labor guys while the going is good." If they could stand off in space for a few minutes and take a good look at their privileged position compared to the poor devils who dig coal, assemble autos, put in drainage systems, etc., they could be glad to adapt themselves to a more equitable distribution of this world's goods rather than risk the abolition of their preferred and comfortable positions.

We don't expect any such reasonable appraisal by the bosses we meet, but, a continued application of pressure may result in making up for any defects in their conscience or mental perceptions.

It's a great scrap and we can't lose.

DEMOCRACY OR

Too efficient democracy overlaps into dictatorship.

Lincoln's metrical description of democracy as Government of the people, by the people, and for the people is deceptively simple and in actual practice democracy is complex and difficult.

Democracy implies the right of free speech which in turn means free access to the radio lanes.

An election between two aspirants for any office, assuming neither the incumbent nor the challenger is democratic in spirit and in fact. When, however, the election is between a man already in office and a candidate trying to displace him, then the odds are always in favor of the man in possession. He can influence the election by possibly granting financial or other benefits, and receive gratitude votes. Many times he can, while in office, run up a political machine as part of socially desirable services.

The practical application of democracy whereby an elected person, by virtue of such election, then has the power to appoint dozens and perhaps hundreds of subordinates is a diversion of pure democratic principles, as these appointees obviously have specific economic reasons for perpetuating their boss in office. This is patently true in political life but perhaps reaches perfection in the labor union field. The power of a Union President to hire or appoint organizers is the power to hire union ward-healers, as it goes without saying that the authority to hire implies the right to fire. For all practical purposes the periodical election of presidents by the larger of the International Unions could be dispensed with as the incumbents are in for life terms. Occasionally, as in the United Mine Workers a couple of years ago, some local aspirant for John L. job gets nominated but the rules, credentials, or election committees find it easy to prove that the nomination is out of order. Perseverance by a candidate will only result in physical injury. All this may still be anemic democracy but in all clarity it is no better than some of the dictatorships where the party leader has to placate active party members, plus the army and navy, plus influential industrialists. The solution, as far as we can see, is more and more democracy; the total abolition of appointments whether they be cabinet members or whether they be organizers of a labor union.

It's going to be troublesome electing petty officials but at least these officials when elected will not quickly become bureaucratic. The insolence of office is not usually found in elected officials and if the power of referendum and recall is added to the people's democratic authority then we may chasten would-be dictators.

Rehabilitation



Have The Trade Unions A Future?

It has become evident that whichever party occupies the place of power in this country we shall see in the years before us an increasingly centralized control of great sections of industry under some form of "Public Utility" direction.

NEW TECHNIQUE

Now whether we hold the view that development toward a Public Utility Corporation industrial system is good or bad it should surely be obvious that one of its consequences must be the whole technique of trade union action will be different from the technique of trade union action in the past. Obvious or not, however, one sees very little evidence among trade union leaders or at the discussions at Trade Union Conventions that this fact is being faced frankly.

The basis of trade union action in the past has been the strike. Even for the Union that has never found it necessary to resort to strike action, the power of the workers as a whole to strike when they so decide forms the basis of their negotiating power; it gives force to such Parliamentary or publicity action as they may take, and it provides the basis upon which conditions obtaining in industry are settled, which govern the standards applied in negotiation or arbitration proceedings.

Under a society whose industrial pattern is formed on the lines of the Public Utility Corporation, the whole of the situation will be changed. The possibility of the limited strike that held the employer at a disadvantage because he was operating on a competitive system will be gone.

MR. WALLACE IS OUSTED

Hank Wallace made a speech in favor of appeasing Soviet Russia and after a little delay Truman fired him. This erstwhile plougher-up of every third acre and the bold darling of the Leftists. It's amusing to think of this pseudo liberal, a poseur above everything else, getting picked up by the Madison Square Garden and Union Square gang and made their mascot. Nothing is right with this picture and very funny as Hank will inevitably embarrass his new adherents and the law of averages says he must pull a boner every few days.

The C. I. O. southerners are hesitantly supporting Wallace for no other reason than they think it will hurt Truman who took the back door key of the White House away from Phil Murray. Wallace as a crusader leaves us cold and we think it will take the Almighty God to breathe the breath of life into this conceited pompous egotist.

Even industry itself will probably be run by all kinds of elected supervisors and while it is a nuisance to do all this voting, the alternative does not appear to be less voting but no voting whatsoever. Diluted or half-hearted democracy doesn't work. Lazy democracy breeds dictators. To vote in a few top officials in either the political or other fields and then have a whole series of appointees is sickly democracy and the only way of obtaining a robust and lasting democracy is by the extension of the franchise to all aspects of our social life. Its cumbersome and clumsy but the alternative of dictatorship is infinitely worse.

The vote stands paramount.

MASS STRIKES

If strike action is to be brought into operation it will have to be large-scale action to meet its counterpart in the centralized industry power wielded by the corporation; and as an industrial system of the Public Utility Corporation type provides for the concentration of the forces

not permit ourselves to fall into it blindfold. We ought not to be content to assume that methods of past action are going to meet a completely different situation where they cannot obtain.

UNDER SOCIALISM

As a matter of fact, apart from those who have sought to provide for a completely

The Real Issue Is Becoming Workers' Control vs. Slavery Says J. Allen Skinner

and power of the capital in the State it is difficult to see how an effective strike can be entered upon outside a revolutionary framework. Similarly, pressure is not likely to be effective except where it is a case of seeking to get an adjustment of the wages or conditions of one set of workers as compared with the others. The actual technique of trade union action will, therefore, be likely to resolve itself into the provision of skilled advocates for the presentation of cases before arbitration tribunals which will really be part of the Corporation-cum Government structure, and which will direct their decisions from the standpoint of criteria involving an equitable distribution of the workers' share without encroaching on the state-guaranteed profits flowing from ownership.

Now it is surely time that trade unionists make up their minds whether this is good enough for us. We should

new standing for trade unions in industry as the instruments for implementing principles of workers' control, there has been exceedingly little thought among socialists as to the place trade unions will have in a socialist society—if they are to have a place at all—and I am, therefore, venturing to set out below certain fundamental considerations in the matter that I hope may provide a basis for discussion on the subject.

Trade unionism under capitalism is the co-operative marketing of the commodity, labor power, through the organizing of the men and women who need to sell that power; what is known as collective bargaining. So long as capitalism lasts on a competitive basis this must be the essential aspect of trade unionism.

When collectivized industry (whether it be controlled nationally or brought under a corporation) becomes the dominant form of undertaking in the community, however, the question arises whether this can remain the essential aspect of trade unionism. If it is assumed that this can be so there are certain things that have to be faced.

If the trade unions are to be the organs for the marketing of the commodity, labor power, they must be in the position to act as can the owners of other commodities; that is to say, they must be in a position to refuse to sell if the price is not good enough.

If the right to refuse to sell is denied this will mean that the vendor of the commodity labor power will have no right of bargaining comparable to that of, say, the vendors of the commodities raw cotton or raw wool.

Now the ability to refuse to sell when the commodity in question is labor power is the ability to strike; but the ability to strike when the service in question is under collective control must mean a nationwide stoppage in that particular industry.

It is true that the power to strike need not be exercised frequently as part of the negotiations regarding wages and conditions, but it must be a true potentiality—and that means that it must happen sometimes. If the trade union is to continue to act as the organ for the ordered and co-operative marketing of the commodity labor power.

If the right to strike is denied in a society based on the collective control of industry—if there is a legal prohibition or if the immensity of the social disturbance involved means that it is impracticable to resort to it—it must mean that the men engaged in the industry are no longer free and that their industrial organizations can no longer be trade unions in the traditional sense of the term; they can no longer remain effective instruments for the marketing of the commodity labor power; they will no longer be genuine significant in the term collective bargaining.

What does this signify for the future of trade unionism? The conclusion that we have to draw is that it is surely that the only free alternative to a system of free bargaining is an organization and social system of freedom expressed through democratic control.

Just as many in society as a whole substitute for an unsocial freedom to do "as he

Con't. Page 4, Col. 8

Please Note The Lesson

In all major strikes called by unions having to do with the Nation's transportation, food, or heating and lighting, the newspapers have stressed the suffering of innocent John Q. Public, who, presumably, was without any direct interest in the outcome of these strikes. We had cartoons of Mr. Ordinary Citizen being torn apart by the disaster, and the headlines were told of the plight of hospital until in most cases the union involved agreed to all kinds of exceptions in order that the strike would not bring undue hardship to the people and helpless. We remember that in milk strikes; milk was allowed for infants and hospitals; in the case of power plants the union concerned were expected to provide men to work during the strike in order that this that institution would continue to function. Maintenance men must be left in the coal mines, steel workers must stay and dampen down strikes, and the men must be allowed to stay in packing houses, sufficient telephone operators must remain on the job to complete emergency calls and so on.

Political Power First
The "business unionism" of Sam Gompers, Matt Williams and William Green may have been reasonably satisfactory back in the golden age when capitalism was still expanding and before the rise of the monopolistic corporations. But in the face of the present con-

'THE LONG RUN'

By CHARLES FADDOCK

One question that most American trade unionists have never honestly faced is whether the payoff comes from a bargaining policy or a revolutionary policy. By that I mean that a union may be merely a collective bargaining agency to get the best possible conditions from the boss, or it may be a revolutionary tool for the overthrow of capitalist society and for the establishment of a cooperative commonwealth.

By revolutionary I don't necessarily mean street-fighting and barricades; but I do mean a frontal attack on the profit system, rather than a willingness to do business with it. The American labor movement, as a whole, is committed to the perpetuation of the capitalist system, reserving only the right to occasionally bargain and strike for a little greater share of what it produces. But the arguments for such a policy are obviously wearing thin; what worker does not have the feeling that he is running on a treadmill, and that the only way he can keep from losing ground is to keep running.

Periodic Depressions

Periodically he falls behind. Right now, for example, real wages in American industry are down more than 16% from 1945 levels, so that actually in spite of the widespread strikes of the past year, with the hardship involved for millions of workers, labor is in a worse position than at any time since before the war.

The reason organized labor and its leaders have never been able to define their wage policy or to set up a permanent wage formula, is that, practically, and in justice, there is no way to settle the division of our national production except to say that the worker is entitled to the full value of what he produces, so long as he settles for any less than that he contributes directly to the inequality and the periodic breakdown of our present economic system.

Periodically he falls behind. Right now, for example, real wages in American industry are down more than 16% from 1945 levels, so that actually in spite of the widespread strikes of the past year, with the hardship involved for millions of workers, labor is in a worse position than at any time since before the war.

Periodically he falls behind. Right now, for example, real wages in American industry are down more than 16% from 1945 levels, so that actually in spite of the widespread strikes of the past year, with the hardship involved for millions of workers, labor is in a worse position than at any time since before the war.

Periodically he falls behind. Right now, for example, real wages in American industry are down more than 16% from 1945 levels, so that actually in spite of the widespread strikes of the past year, with the hardship involved for millions of workers, labor is in a worse position than at any time since before the war.

Periodically he falls behind. Right now, for example, real wages in American industry are down more than 16% from 1945 levels, so that actually in spite of the widespread strikes of the past year, with the hardship involved for millions of workers, labor is in a worse position than at any time since before the war.

Periodically he falls behind. Right now, for example, real wages in American industry are down more than 16% from 1945 levels, so that actually in spite of the widespread strikes of the past year, with the hardship involved for millions of workers, labor is in a worse position than at any time since before the war.

Periodically he falls behind. Right now, for example, real wages in American industry are down more than 16% from 1945 levels, so that actually in spite of the widespread strikes of the past year, with the hardship involved for millions of workers, labor is in a worse position than at any time since before the war.

Periodically he falls behind. Right now, for example, real wages in American industry are down more than 16% from 1945 levels, so that actually in spite of the widespread strikes of the past year, with the hardship involved for millions of workers, labor is in a worse position than at any time since before the war.

Periodically he falls behind. Right now, for example, real wages in American industry are down more than 16% from 1945 levels, so that actually in spite of the widespread strikes of the past year, with the hardship involved for millions of workers, labor is in a worse position than at any time since before the war.

Periodically he falls behind. Right now, for example, real wages in American industry are down more than 16% from 1945 levels, so that actually in spite of the widespread strikes of the past year, with the hardship involved for millions of workers, labor is in a worse position than at any time since before the war.

Periodically he falls behind. Right now, for example, real wages in American industry are down more than 16% from 1945 levels, so that actually in spite of the widespread strikes of the past year, with the hardship involved for millions of workers, labor is in a worse position than at any time since before the war.

Periodically he falls behind. Right now, for example, real wages in American industry are down more than 16% from 1945 levels, so that actually in spite of the widespread strikes of the past year, with the hardship involved for millions of workers, labor is in a worse position than at any time since before the war.

Periodically he falls behind. Right now, for example, real wages in American industry are down more than 16% from 1945 levels, so that actually in spite of the widespread strikes of the past year, with the hardship involved for millions of workers, labor is in a worse position than at any time since before the war.

Periodically he falls behind. Right now, for example, real wages in American industry are down more than 16% from 1945 levels, so that actually in spite of the widespread strikes of the past year, with the hardship involved for millions of workers, labor is in a worse position than at any time since before the war.

concentrations of wealth and the gross inequalities and hardships of capitalism in its final stages, revolutionary unionism is the only answer.

This means that labor, with its farmer and middle class allies, must take political control of the nation, by means of a new peoples' political party. Beyond that, it means that labor must consciously train itself to take over the management and operation of the nation's complex and widespread industrial system. The winning of political power is only the first step toward real economic democracy and abundance. It is the key that unlocks the door. But unless labor is ready to provide efficient democratic management and operation of the industrial system, chaos may be the result. Or, equally bad, political bureaucracy may be substituted for democratic worker control of the economic machine.

Not Merely Theory

Talk about revolutionary unionism is not high-flown theory. We presuppose that the will to restore America to the people and to use our resources, machinery and men for the production of abundance can become the political demand of a majority of our people, who, once convinced, will exercise their voting right to place a government in power which is committed to this program.

But we also realize that such a step is only the beginning, not the end. Then, then that labor must be prepared to act responsibly in the management and operation of the most gigantic and most complex economic machine this world has ever seen. It's easy to say that anybody could run it better than it's being run now, but doing the job will require a highly intelligent, carefully trained and well-disciplined labor movement to measure up to such a task. You can be sure that vested economic interests will obstruct and sabotage. They will do everything they can to embarrass a socialist government before it can prove the merit of what it proposes to do.

This kind of sniping goes on daily against the British Labor government. It will creep here, too, but it will be a thousand times more vicious than in Britain. Labor will have the tremendous task of shouldering economic reconstruction and of doing such a good job, in spite of every attack and every kind of obstructionism, that the new order can stick to its job and prove that it can and will meet the interests of all the people far better than capitalism ever has.

Democracy Not In Action

The attempt of the Democratic Party in New York to bar the candidates of all minority party organizations from the November Ballot, is a detestable act that smacks of anything but democratic procedure. While there is great talk of the free elections assured the peoples of certain European Countries and Japan, we here at home are expected to sit leisurely by while a goodly portion of our populace are told to either vote for something they don't want, or without voting at all.

The M.E.S.A. is in protest against this disfranchisement. It has always been our opinion that the establishment of an economic democracy in America can be achieved through peaceful methods as prescribed by law. If the privileges of political democracy are denied to all minority party organizations, the possibility of a peaceful transition is eliminated.

Deprive labor of its political voice and passed the ballot, as a method of achieving its objective, and there is no alternative but violence and bloodshed.

Con't. Page 4, Col. 5

Lighter WEIN

+ BOOK REVIEW + A Famous Fabian

Review by MARIE JAHOHA
New Leader

The life story of even the humblest human being cannot be told without a description of the society in which he lived. But there are a few for whom the process is reversed so that the story of the society in which they lived cannot be told without mentioning the impact of their lives on it. Beatrice Webb was one of them; this is the essence of her greatness.

Margaret Cole's book about her great teacher and friend is excellent because it does full justice to this particular form of greatness; it is as much an account of the development of social thought and progressive social action and legislation in England as it is the story of Beatrice Webb's life.

Beatrice Potter was born in 1858, the second youngest of nine sisters. Her father had been brought up to be a gentleman of leisure; in the crash of 1847-8, however, he lost his money, and at the age of 30 he found himself compelled to work for his living. Beatrice was a shy and delicate child, little liked by her mother.

Her father's feeling she reciprocated and for a long time hardly noticed by her father, who she adored. But fortunately for her future development, she had early in life the experience of warm affection and intellectual friendship.

The affection came from the children's nurse. "The only saint I ever knew," as Beatrice said in later life, this nurse was the first who introduced Beatrice Webb to the life of the working class; the intellectual friendship came from the English philosopher Herbert Spencer, a friend of the Potter family who was the first to guide her awakening mind.

Beatrice grew up to be an attractive-looking, serious-minded young woman to whom the participation in the parties and dances of the "London Season" soon became a bore. She was out to make a place for herself in the world. The first step in that direction was made when she became assistant to Charles Booth, the pioneer of social surveys in England, who was then in need of people who could collect facts and data for his survey of London.

Beatrice's development into a leading social scientist dates from this period. Her contribution in this field, inseparable from that of Sidney Webb, was indeed outstanding. She set out to investigate society, not in order to find confirmation for academic theories of economic life, but inspired by a passion for truth. The Webbs, in the famous partnership that lasted for 50 years, developed empirical techniques of social research which they applied to the most painstaking investigations of the spirit of democracy in British institutions. Their books about the cooperative movement, the trade unions, and the development of local government bear witness to an achievement that might easily have filled a hundred volumes.

Beatrice's mind was ready for socialism, but she had not yet made the final step when somebody advised her to consult Sidney Webb about her study of the cooperative movement. Sidney Webb was then already a socialist, and together with Graham Waller and Bernard Shaw one of the earliest members of the Fabian Society. When Beatrice married Sidney she married the Fabian Society and socialism too.

Apart from the Fabian Society, the Webbs founded the London School of Economics and Political Science, the *New Statesman*, and had a leading role in the development of the Labor Party. Both of them served on Royal Commissions, and Beatrice fought a long and bitter struggle, first on the famous Royal Commission of the Poor Laws, and later after having submitted her minority report outside, when she took the issue to the country. The Webbs investigated institutions; they created institutions; they finally became a British institution themselves.

All this is vividly described in Margaret Cole's book. It is a pity, however, that Mrs. Cole's apparent dislike for psychology (she betrays it early in the story when in talking about Beatrice's childhood she says that there was "nothing for Freudians to lay hold on") has cut her off from making it an even better

Labor

I've builded your ships and your railroads,
I've worked in your factories and mines,
I've builded the roads you ride on,
I've crushed the wild grapes for your wines.

I've worked late at night on your garments,
I've gathered the grain for your bread,
I've builded the house that you live in,
I've printed the books that you've read.

I've linked the two great oceans together,
I've spanned your rivers with steel,
I've builded your towering skyscrapers,
And also your automobile.

I've gone out to wrecked ships in life-boats,
When the storm loudly cried for its prey;
I've guarded your homes from marauders,
I've turned the night into day.

Whenever there's progress you'll find me,
Without me the world could not live;
And yet you would seek to destroy me,
With the meager pittance you give.

Today you may grind me in slavery,
You may dictate to me from your fetters,
But tomorrow I throw off my fetters,
And am ready to claim what I own.

I am master of field and of factory,
I am mighty and you are but few,
No longer I'll bow in submission,
I am LABOR and ask for my due.

(Author unknown).

I am master of field and of factory,
I am mighty and you are but few,
No longer I'll bow in submission,
I am LABOR and ask for my due.

I am master of field and of factory,
I am mighty and you are but few,
No longer I'll bow in submission,
I am LABOR and ask for my due.

I am master of field and of factory,
I am mighty and you are but few,
No longer I'll bow in submission,
I am LABOR and ask for my due.

I am master of field and of factory,
I am mighty and you are but few,
No longer I'll bow in submission,
I am LABOR and ask for my due.

I am master of field and of factory,
I am mighty and you are but few,
No longer I'll bow in submission,
I am LABOR and ask for my due.

I am master of field and of factory,
I am mighty and you are but few,
No longer I'll bow in submission,
I am LABOR and ask for my due.

I am master of field and of factory,
I am mighty and you are but few,
No longer I'll bow in submission,
I am LABOR and ask for my due.

I am master of field and of factory,
I am mighty and you are but few,
No longer I'll bow in submission,
I am LABOR and ask for my due.

I am master of field and of factory,
I am mighty and you are but few,
No longer I'll bow in submission,
I am LABOR and ask for my due.

I am master of field and of factory,
I am mighty and you are but few,
No longer I'll bow in submission,
I am LABOR and ask for my due.

I am master of field and of factory,
I am mighty and you are but few,
No longer I'll bow in submission,
I am LABOR and ask for my due.

I am master of field and of factory,
I am mighty and you are but few,
No longer I'll bow in submission,
I am LABOR and ask for my due.

I am master of field and of factory,
I am mighty and you are but few,
No longer I'll bow in submission,
I am LABOR and ask for my due.

I am master of field and of factory,
I am mighty and you are but few,
No longer I'll bow in submission,
I am LABOR and ask for my due.

I am master of field and of factory,
I am mighty and you are but few,
No longer I'll bow in submission,
I am LABOR and ask for my due.

I am master of field and of factory,
I am mighty and you are but few,
No longer I'll bow in submission,
I am LABOR and ask for my due.

I am master of field and of factory,
I am mighty and you are but few,
No longer I'll bow in submission,
I am LABOR and ask for my due.

I am master of field and of factory,
I am mighty and you are but few,
No longer I'll bow in submission,
I am LABOR and ask for my due.

I am master of field and of factory,
I am mighty and you are but few,
No longer I'll bow in submission,
I am LABOR and ask for my due.

I am master of field and of factory,
I am mighty and you are but few,
No longer I'll bow in submission,
I am LABOR and ask for my due.



Nobody knows whether prices follow wages or wages follow prices. We weren't there when the race started. We suggest that wages be raised in the middle of the night, and that all workers tell their wives to get their shopping done first thing in the morning, before prices have time to rise.

The Strikes

Good God! Must I now meekly bend my head

And cringe back to the gloom I know so well?

Forget the wrongs my tongue may never tell.

Forget the hillside strewn with murdered dead

Where once they drove me—mocked me when I fell

All black and bloody by their holes of hell.

While all my loved ones wept uncomfirmed?

Is this the land my fathers fought to own—

Here where they curse me—beaten and alone?

But God, it's cold! My children sob and cry!

Shall I go back into the mines and wait,

And lash the conflagration of my hate—

Or shall I stand and fight them till I die?

—Ralph Chaplin.

The Bunkum Times

Published by
Col. Wm. Patterson McCornay

Vol. K No. Z

Washington, Dizzy

I see right in The Bunkum Times

The nations called Big Four

In Paris have a "peace" con-

ference

That looks a lot like war.

They sit and plot on colored maps

New borders for tomorrow:

A province here, a city there

They swipe and swap and borrow.

The Russians and the British fight,

The French can't quite decide

And Jimmie Byrnes has come along

Because he like the ride.

I see right in The Bunkum Times

The clever C.I.O.

Ditches raises for a fight

To "keep the prices low."

Wage and Price are both dead ends

Production holds the middle:

Rome will go on burning

While Nero holds the fiddle.

Senator Bilbo Declines Movie Offer of \$50 a Week

Newspaper headline

So Hollywood must get along

As well as it is able

With Menjou's clothes and

Crosby's song.

With Boyer, Grant and

Gable.

And Bilbo will, as he has done,

Now in the Age Atomic.

Confine himself to Washing-

ton

As heavy and as comic.

He may not win an Oscar;

Still,

Treated with that Rankin

creature,

He's sure to give us, on the

Hill,

A deadly double feature.

Richard Armour.

Mourn Not The Dead

Mourn not the dead that in the cool earth lie

Dust unto dust—

The calm, sweet earth that mothers all who die

As all men must;

Mourn not your captive com-

rades who must dwell

Too strong to strive—

Within each steel-bound cof-

fin of a cell.

Buried alive;

But rather mourn the apath-

etic throng—

The cowed and the meek—

Who see the world's great un-

equalities but wrong

But dare not speak.

—Ralph Chaplin.

Brave New World!

"In a position easy for reference, yet sufficiently private"—right side for males, left side for females. Tattooed a buttock of each newborn babe with a number would be a good way of recording national identity, says Dr. C. Hamblen-Thomas, writing in "The British Medical Journal." — "PM," June 3.

Help Wanted

Judging from the way Congressmen of both major Parties have passed anti-labor legislation and gone hog wild of late, we sure hope the good reverend is in good standing.

"Who is that man," a small boy asked his Dad, pointing to the gentleman standing on the Dias of the United States House of Representatives.

"He," replied the father, "is the Chaplain of the House."

"Does he pray for the Congressmen?" asked sonny boy.

"No son," said the parent, "he only enters the House chambers to look around, and then prays for the Country."

"Sons," said the parent, "he only enters the House chambers to look around, and then prays for the Country."

"Sons," said the parent, "he only enters the House chambers to look around, and then prays for the Country."

"Sons," said the parent, "he only enters the House chambers to look around, and then prays for the Country."

"Sons," said the parent, "he only enters the House chambers to look around, and then prays for the Country."

"Sons," said the parent, "he only enters the House chambers to look around, and then prays for the Country."

"Sons," said the parent, "he only enters the House chambers to look around, and then prays for the Country."

"Sons," said the parent, "he only enters the House chambers to look around, and then prays for the Country."

"Sons," said the parent, "he only enters the House chambers to look around, and then prays for the Country."

"Sons," said the parent, "he only enters the House chambers to look around, and then prays for the Country."

"Sons," said the parent, "he only enters the House chambers to look around, and then prays for the Country."

"Sons," said the parent, "he only enters the House chambers to look around, and then prays for the Country."

"Sons," said the parent, "he only enters the House chambers to look around, and then prays for the Country."

"Sons," said the parent, "he only enters the House chambers to look around, and then prays for the Country."

"Sons," said the parent, "he only enters the House chambers to look around, and then prays for the Country."

"Sons," said the parent, "he only enters the House chambers to look around, and then prays for the Country."

"Sons," said the parent, "he only enters the House chambers to look around, and then prays for the Country."

"Sons," said the parent, "he only enters the House chambers to look around, and then prays for the Country."

"Sons," said the parent, "he only enters the House chambers to look around, and then prays for the Country."

"Sons," said the parent, "he only enters the House chambers to look around, and then prays for the Country."

"Sons," said the parent, "he only enters the House chambers to look around, and then prays for the Country."

"Sons," said the parent, "he only enters the House chambers to look around, and then prays for the Country."

"Sons," said the parent, "he only enters the House chambers to look around, and then prays for the Country."

"Sons," said the parent, "he only enters the House chambers to look around, and then prays for the Country."

"Sons," said the parent, "he only enters the House chambers to look around, and then prays for the Country."

"Sons," said the parent, "he only enters the House chambers to look around, and then prays for the Country."

"Sons," said the parent, "he only enters the House chambers to look around, and then prays for the Country."

"Sons," said the parent, "he only enters the House chambers to look around, and then prays for the Country."

"Sons," said the parent, "he only enters the House chambers to look around, and then prays for the Country."

"Sons," said the parent, "he only enters the House chambers to look around, and then prays for the Country."

"Sons," said the parent, "he only enters the House chambers to look around, and then prays for the Country."

"Sons," said the parent, "he only enters the House chambers to look around, and then prays for the Country."

"Sons," said the parent, "he only enters the House chambers to look around, and then prays for the Country."

A Word From Our Readers

Still Hopes For Free Enterprise

History's most devastating and wasteful war ended on August 14, 1945, with the capitulation of the last Axis power, Japan. Nevertheless, our Government still retains many of its wartime powers over wages, prices, materials and individual. Reams upon reams have been written in an attempt to justify the average person greatly confused.

During the War, practically all of our resources, men and materials were directed toward military victory. Under wartime powers, Congress voted wage freezes and price controls. These controls were accepted as war necessities, but at the same time, anyone with his eyes open knew that he was hooked in the deal. Wage controls were applied several months before price controls, and prices had taken a jump before the clamp was put on. While the war was in progress, workers drew living wages, because they worked long hours. Through the efforts of patriotic appeals they were enticed to put a large portion of their savings into War Bonds. Today every worker knows that he was duped. While working producing the implements of war, he was ever being reminded, "that through his efforts, the peace to be won, would usher in an era of unimaginable prosperity. The story put out was, 'Comes the end of the War, and all the long waited luxuries and necessities of life will be at the workers command, and he will have oodles of money to spend for them. Indeed, his future will be rosy.'"

Then came the end of the war, and with it, the program of reconversion. The worker was reconverted first. This was done by either slashing his weekly earnings, or cutting him off the payroll altogether. After a series of strikes in all the major industries, workers were granted pattern wage increases that were supposed to compensate for the rise in prices and re-conversion in hours. Most employers had been given relief in the form of tax rebates, but they seized upon the wage increases granted the workers to howl for an increase in prices.

The pressure applied by the manufacturers upon Congress, through their complete control of a majority of the Congressmen, forced the government to yield to their demands. Now the very thing that price control was supposed to prevent, is creeping upon us relentlessly. What about wages, have they been advanced? The 18% rent formula is still intact, while prices have been increased so that the working man must resort to those war bonds, not as he was told in glowing terms, to purchase that new house or new car, but to

maintain his standard of living.

Labor through its economic strength must convince the nation's industrialists that the man who runs the machinery of industry is tired of merely working for an existence; that he wants to really enjoy the pleasures of life, and that he intends to get economic security.

Management will have to go a long way if it expects to convince the workers that their protestations about "Free Enterprise and Full Production" are the way to economic security. If the industrialists hold fast to their position of profits, last and always—we can have little hope in their prattle about "Free Enterprise." The present cry of management that wages can only be increased if production is increased, sounds wonderful. The fallacy in this argument, is that the increase in production must be furnished by the workers.

If production is increased, the arrangement of more production more is strictly a one-sided affair. If the industrialists could be convinced that it should be a two-way working arrangement, then we might begin to get some results from our system of "Free Enterprise." This writer believes that it is possible to achieve this ideal, but not without a strong and persistent stand on the part of all labor.

M.E.S.A. Local 41

John A. Cassidy

Glad to See Such Perseverance

Cupid Is a Bourgeois Villain

Billy Rose, commenting on the Soviet disapproval of the play "Oklahoma," which according to Konstantine Simonov "has no purpose," writes in PM: "Well, neither has a Strauss waltz, a glass of wine, good tobacco, or a but-tercup. In this country, too, we figure at sunrise is something more than the signal to go to work. We're silly enough to suppose there was more to romance than population statistics. All the pretty things you say are 'purposeless' are what make it possible for us to go on living in a punch drink world where diplomats still consider people expendable. I'll bet you a quart of uranium that nothing your subsidized theatre has produced is as popular with your people as 'Oklahoma!' is with ours."

"It's a good thing your Committee of Entertainment wasn't around when Rodgers and Hammerstein were writing 'Oklahoma!'" The delightful song about the Surrey with the Fringe on Top might have come out as:

"Please don't think that love is a factor
When I take you out in my tractor,
In my lend-lease Michigan tractor
With the hinge on top.

"We've no time for coolin' and bilin'
There's a quota we must be fillin'
Simonov says that Cupid's a villain
And a bourgeois sop.

Oh, the man in the Kremlin will forget to frown
At a make hay for the nation.
And that picture of Stalin we can roll right down
Whenever we need inspira-

tion.

Don't sing love songs from now on
"Oklahoma!"
Ain't you heard it's in bad aroma?
If you want that crimson diploma
You must never stop
Perspiring in that tractor
With the hinge on the!"

—New Leader.

you weren't able to get there, well, we just won't rub it in.

At any rate, those two refrigerators that were given away as feature prizes went to Brother Hackbut and Brother Mulranks. Dozens of other prizes were given away, in what was without question, the most successful picnic put on by Local 9.



Future of Trade Unions In America

cannot set the pace rather
n follow behind. Now is
time for all unions to rally
ind a general movement
decent social legislation.
have waited too long.
is the time to act.