

LABOR ACTION

SEPTEMBER 28, 1942

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

They Want to Freeze YOUR Wage Standards!

AMERICAN CYANAMID & CHEMICAL CORP.	
H. L. Derby	\$97,832
AMERICAN FLANGE & MFG. CO.	
E. L. Parish	120,000
ASIATIC PETROLEUM CORP.	
H. Wilkinson	100,000
BROOKLYN-MANHATTAN TRANSIT CORP.	
G. M. Dahl	139,247
CARTER CARBURETOR CORP.	
Hugh H. C. Weed	91,237
CENTRAL HONOVER BANK & TRUST CO.	
William S. Gray, Jr.	100,159
CHASE NATIONAL BANK OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK	
Winthrop W. Aldrich	182,500
Donald H. Campbell	108,800
CHEMICAL BANK & TRUST CO.	
Percy H. Johnston	100,000
H. DUIS & CO., INC.	
John A. C. Steur	116,796
WILLIAM ESTY & CO., INC.	
William C. Esty	100,000
ETHYL GASOLINE CORP.	
Earl W. Webb	120,000
W. R. GRACE & CO.	
D. S. Inglehart	124,000
A. Gami	113,400
GREAT ATLANTIC & PACIFIC TEA CO. (N. Y.)	
O. C. Adams	101,919
C. A. Brooks	101,919
W. M. Byrnes	101,959
R. B. Smith	100,060
GUARANTY TRUST CO. OF NEW YORK	
William Palen Conway	106,376
JOHN & HIGGINS	
W. H. LaBoiteaux	194,641
George V. Coe	124,529
W. N. Davey	126,614
Henry W. Lowe	126,594
J. S. Keegan	100,691
LEWYTT METAL PRODUCTS CO., INC.	
Alexander Lewyt	100,200
LUCKENBACH STEAMSHIP CO., INC.	
Edgar F. Luckenbach	97,916
MANUFACTURERS TRUST CO.	
Harvey D. Gibson	137,402
METROPOLITAN LIFE INSURANCE CO.	
Leroy A. Lincoln	125,000
MEYER & BROWN CORP.	
William G. Smith, Jr.	101,519
MORGAN STANLEY & CO., INC.	
Harold Stanley	151,940
NATIONAL CITY BANK OF NEW YORK	
Gordon S. Rentschler	104,699
NATIONAL DAIRY PRODUCTS CORP.	
Thomas H. McInerney	150,540
RUSSELL, BURDSALL & WARD BOLT & NUT CO.	
Evans Ward	114,440
SOCONY-VACUUM OIL CO., INC.	
John A. Brown	120,000
UNDERWOOD ELLIOTT FISHER CO.	
P. D. Wagoner	108,580
UNITED STATES RUBBER CO.	
L. D. Tompkins	116,198
H. E. Smith	116,178
Percy Adamson	131,052
R. T. VANDERBILT CO., INC.	
R. T. Vanderbilt	220,000
A. A. Somerville	277,205
WESTERN ELECTRIC CO., INC.	
C. G. Stoll	75,480

BOSSES TRY TO HIDE 400% PROFIT RISE!

General Says U.S. May Lose 3,000,000 Men In War

Speaking before the annual convention of the American Legion in Kansas City, Mo., Lieut. General Ben Lear, commander of the Second Army, said that America's war losses might run as high as 3,000,000 men.

Officials of the Legion were of the opinion that this estimate should be omitted from the published text of the speech as having been made off the record. However, General Lear permitted use "on the record" of the statement.

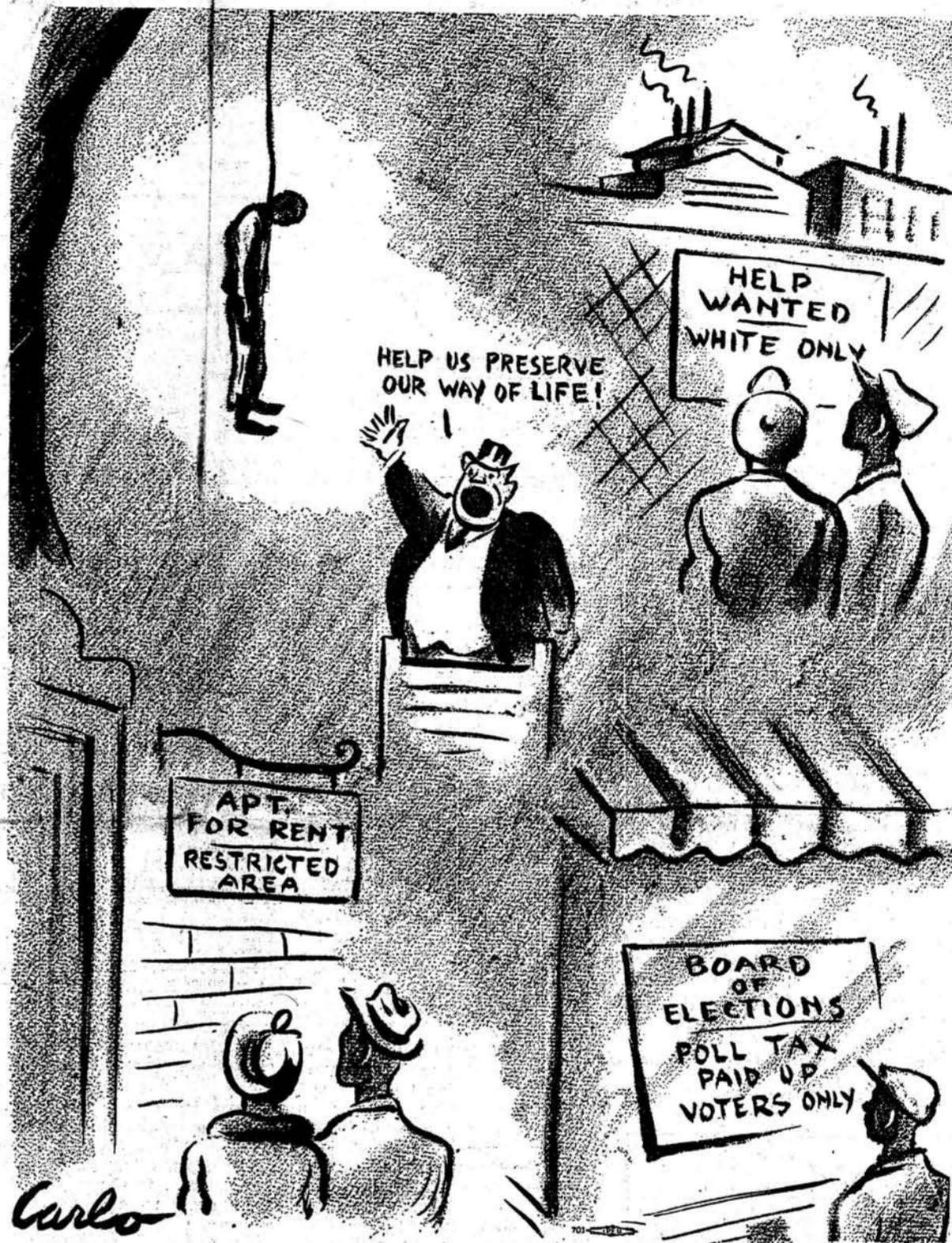
As published in the few newspapers that carried the story, the text of the statement was: "Can we resolutely and without wavering face a war in which our losses may be a million, or two million or conceivably three million men?"

With an expected army of 10,000,000, this would mean a casualty rate of one out of three men.

In the First World War to Make the World Safe for Democracy, 58,381 men in the Army, Navy and Marines were killed in action or died of wounds. There were, of course, thousands upon thousands more who were seriously injured.

General Lear made no estimate, at least in the published record, of the possible number of wounded and maimed.

General Lear, who is known in the Army as a man who never pulls his punches, dismissed the idea that the war could be fought by air attacks alone. The war would be won, he said after "ground soldiers tired, dirty and bloody, have broken the enemy's lines." And the losses among the young men fighting this war "will be many times as great as those you Legionnaires experienced in World War I."



Senate Votes Wage Freeze, Moves Closer To Sales Tax

CIO figures published this week prove that profits have risen 400 per cent since 1939.

In this same period of time, wages rose 71 per cent. Included in this figure are the tremendous number of workers re-employed or newly employed in industry, and the salaries paid to corporation executives. (See box on left hand side of this page.)

Farm income in this period, according to the CIO Economic Outlook, rose 73 per cent.

YET, when the Senate considered wage freezing it evidently did so on the basis of figures advanced by the National Association of Manufacturers which were intended to prove that wages (again including new workers and CORPORATION EXECUTIVES) had risen steeply while profits had "tobogganed" under the stress of taxes.

BUT, the NAM, as exposed by the newspaper PM, twisted the figures with a little slight-of-hand.

It calculated wages from 1939 to 1942—that is, FROM A PRE-WAR YEAR TO A WAR YEAR. It calculated profits from 1941 to 1942—from one WAR YEAR to the next.

It further calculated profits AFTER tax deduction, and wages BEFORE tax deduction.

Despite this enormous rise in profits, the Senate and House tax bills persist in going easy (yes, easy) on the rich, while soaking the poor.

An additional \$316,000,000 revenue could be gained through effective gift and estate taxes. Adequate taxes on corporations could bring in another \$760,000,000. Increased taxes on high incomes could bring in \$355,000,000. But none of these are in the House bill.

In fact, the bill contains exemptions on tax exempt securities. There are many individuals who have incomes of over one-half million dollars from tax exempt securities, and they could have been hit for at least \$200,000,000—by conservative estimates. (We'd be a lot more radical.)

Plan Sales Tax

When this bill came before the Senate, it was further emasculated, as the CIO Outlook points out. Just to make sure that the rich weren't too badly squeezed, the Senate Finance Committee provided for a post-war refund to corporations on a certain percentage of corporate and excess profits taxes. This reduced income by \$875,000,000.

Meanwhile, the politicians in the Capital are growing warmer toward a sales tax. That is an out-and-out tax on low incomes, on those who are least able to pay. And that, of course, is the solution most favored by the NAM.

We will come back to taxes in another issue. For the present we merely point this out:

An individual with an income of \$100,000 will, under the tax schedules now proposed, keep \$32,000 after taxes; an individual with an income of \$500,000 will keep \$60,000; an individual with an income of \$1,000,000 (and there are some who will get more) will keep \$93,000. (Of course, some of these may also have tax-exempt securities. And all of them no doubt have plenty socked away in the bank.)

BUT, a worker earning \$29 a week will be left, after taxes now proposed, with \$19.80.

Consider that: one man (let us say a man who "worked hard" in a Washington lobby to get a war contract or even harder clipping coupons) will have left \$32,000 or \$60,000 on which to scrimp along for the year.

A worker, after a hard day's work in the factory, will have left \$19.80 a week, or about \$1,000 for the year. (Continued on page 4)

Ship Workers Meet in N. Y.

NEW YORK, Sept. 22.—When, in his opening speech to the eighth annual convention of the Industrial Union of Marine & Shipbuilding Workers of America, President Green spoke of equality for the Negro, he brought the first real and spontaneous applause from the 250 delegates assembled in the Hotel New Yorker.

But the way he put it was ridiculous. He said, in essence, that because Hitler stands for race superiority and the United States is at war with Hitler, therefore the IUM&SW cannot stand for race superiority. Would it, then, be right for white workers to discriminate against black workers if the United States were not at war with Hitler?

But if President Green is motivated by the desire to do the opposite of what Hitler does, he is not a bit consistent. While it is expected of a dictator to sit on labor's stomach in the interest of waging a war—as Hitler and others do, this is not the role of a labor leader. Yet President Green's ire against "certain individuals" who have dared to go out on strike was red hot. To throw them out of the convention, out of the union, out of their jobs is a minimum of what he wishes to do to workers who use their strike weapon in self-defense.

He went so far as to brand as treason—"aid to the enemy"—any delay or stoppage of work, little caring that his "no strike" edict gives aid and comfort to the pre-war, post-war and all-time enemies of labor—the bosses.

After President Green's speech and the formal organization of the convention into committees, etc., the delegates—who came from the West Coast, the Gulf, the Great Lakes and the Atlantic Seaboard and represent some 200,000 shipyard workers organized in the CIO union—waited for more than thirty minutes before Mayor LaGuardia finally appeared to make his speech.

The Mayor reached the height of his eloquence when he praised President Green for repudiating the 800 rank and file workers in Mobile who went on strike to protest the imposition of a five-cent ferry charge (they had been getting free transportation). Mr. LaGuardia did not say that this ferry charge was only the straw that broke the camel's back. For the Mobile workers have plenty of complaints. Their wages cannot stretch to meet the excessive charges for rent, food and almost everything else in that "war-boom" section of the country.

President Green had no word of defense for these workers, but instead assured the Mayor that it wouldn't happen again.

Of the several resolutions passed by the convention at the afternoon

Fighting Jim-Crow on National Labor Front

Detroit Auto Workers, Particularly Ford Workers, Back Fight Waged by Negro Women to Get Jobs in Ford Bomber Plant

Roosevelt's transfer of the FEPC (Fair Employment Practices Commission) to the War Manpower Commission has hastened the process of disillusionment among those Negroes who depended upon the Administration to break down Jim Crow in industry. Paul McNutt, who heads the WMC, admits that a serious shortage of labor exists in major war production centers of the country. At the same time, he acknowledges that "widespread" discrimination against employing Negroes exists and laments that "you can't break down a prejudice overnight."

But McNutt is reluctant to FIGHT such prejudices—a reluctance not unrelated to the fact that his prospects as Democratic presidential candidate in 1944 depend upon the "Solid South." Therefore, we have the picture of McNutt, top man of both the FEPC and the U.S. Employment Service, sanctioning the clause in a USES directive which says: "Make referrals (for jobs) without regard to race, color, creed or national origin, except when an employer's order includes these specifications which the employer is not willing to eliminate."

Confronted with this alignment of the employers and the Administration, in which the Administration is evidently pussy-footing at every step on its professed non-discrimination policy, the Negroes are turning per-

sistently (1) to independent mass pressure and action and (2) to alliance with the labor movement to enforce their demands for jobs. This trend marks an important development for the future of the Negro masses and the inter-relationship of the Negro workers and the labor movement.

1. On August 27, 500 members of the St. Louis March on Washington Movement marched before the Carter Carburetor Corp., charging the company with violation of Executive Order 8802 of the Administration. In ringing words the demonstrators challenged the company:

"Your attitude has forced us to take this matter to the streets. We propose to keep it in the streets until it is settled right. We promise to come back to your plant from time to time with ever-increasing numbers."

2. In Canton, Ohio, the Future Outlook League recently broke down the traditional Jim Crow policy of the Hoover Co., makers of vacuum cleaners, etc. The success of the Future Outlook League throughout Ohio rests upon its use of direct methods to achieve its aims. In Akron and Cleveland they marched against Jim Crow firms to force employment of Negro workers.

3. The renewed vitality of the MOWC is significant of a trend toward independent mass action. Phil-

ip Randolph, head of the MOWC, has stated that the Administration "has let the Negro people down." Promises don't provide pork chops. So Randolph, who but a short time ago declared that a march on Washington would not be necessary because of Roosevelt's Executive Order No. 8802 and the hopes placed on the FEPC, now declares:

"Personally, I have no doubt that a march on Washington will have to be made during this war to let the President and white America know that the Negro is not going to take a licking from Jim Crow lying down." (From speech at the

Continued on page 2)

Labor Action Interviews Working Class Housewives on Prices

"Everything Goes for Food and Rent!"

In view of the government policy to push more and more of the war burdens onto the back of the working class, a LABOR ACTION reporter spent an afternoon interviewing working class housewives in order to get, first-hand, an idea of how the high cost of living and other war conditions are affecting the worker's family. The following statements by some of the women are very interesting:

"The high cost of living has made a horse out of me." The woman was resting tremendous packages of food against the gate of a house and catching her breath before resuming her homeward trek. "I go to the market where things are a little cheaper," she said. "That's fifteen blocks from where I live. I don't go every day, so when I go I buy more than I can carry. I'll get a rupture yet."

A stocky little woman with an Italian accent laughed without any humor at the idea that the wife of a war industry worker is supposed to be getting along fine. "I go to count every penny," she said. "Now my husband has steady work, but since when? Long time no work. Long time only part time work. Now we pay off debts little by little. Food is my big headache. My husband is all the

time hungry because he gets so tired working. It costs me plenty to feed him. And I have four children."

The mother of two children and wife of a taxi driver was sore about price ceilings. "I see them only in the newspapers," she said. "Yesterday I paid 10 cents for a can of tomato juice. Today it was 11 cents. I complained but the storekeeper says I should be glad I can get it at any price. Is that an answer? I think this price ceiling business is all talk. I pay a penny more on this and two cents on something else and five cents more on something else. I don't know why."

She continued her complaint: "A dollar doesn't mean anything these days. That's the best way to put it. Everything goes for food and rent. My boy needs a sweater this winter. You can't touch wool, it's so dear. I'll have to rip the old sweater and make it over. This I don't like to do because it doesn't pay to put in so much work on old wool. But I'll have to."

At this point she raised her voice in anger. "It positively galls me," she said. "My husband bought my boy a pair of pants for \$3.75. Honestly it isn't worth more than \$2. I bought

myself a pair of pajamas for \$1.50. I swear I paid \$1.00 for the same quality last year. So what can we do?"

The wife of a retail store salesman exclaimed: "Don't talk to me about the cost of living. It's making a nag out of me. I don't want to take away from the table. The children must have what they need. But how I watch over things. I buy less soap. I buy less toothpaste. Then I scold all over the house for my family to be careful and not waste. Movies is in the past. The children love to go. It hurts me every time I have to say 'No.'"

The wife of a furrier said: "Listen, it's a nice day so don't spoil it by asking about gloomy things. My husband is one of the guys the Mayor is going to get jobs for. In the fur business the big season is from May to December. So far my husband got four weeks of work. How do I live? I'll give you an example. I look at the sign, 61 cents for a dozen eggs and butter over 50 cents a pound, and I go away. Then I have to go back and buy a few eggs and a quarter pound of butter. I got to have it for my boy. How do we live? Who said 'live'? We exist, that's all."

Europe in Revolt

News from the Socialist Camp

STATEMENT OF ALLIED WAR AIMS IN EUROPE

We have heard a lot about the milk and honey which is to flow for the common man everywhere once the Allies will have won the war. The post-war Paradise has been painted in the most glowing colors by English and American statesmen. The only hitch was that in all these wonderful outlines there was lacking a little concrete elaboration: How and by what means was this Paradise to be installed in Europe?

Now the British ambassador in Spain, Samuel Hoare—yes, the gentleman who sold Abyssinia to Mussolini in collaboration with a certain Pierre Laval—has made a speech to his English constituents in which the cat is finally let out of the bag. Diplomats are usually discreet, but not Mr. Hoare. He says that many people in Madrid (i.e., the Spanish fascist rulers) have asked him what would happen after an Allied victory. Here is the reply he gave:

"Particularly when the war develops in our favor will it be necessary to make it plain day after day that we have food ready and garrisons equally ready to prevent anarchy... When men add women ever against famine and murder they will only be convinced by hard facts... It has often been said to me that an Allied victory will mean an Anglo-American at-

tempt to impose one particular type of government upon other countries. We should be careful to avoid by word or deed anything that suggests interference, or still more, dictation, in other countries' internal affairs. Variety, not monotony, is what we desire in the new Europe..."

What does this seemingly contradictory speech mean? It is in fact the most blunt statement of class policies on behalf of the Allies which has yet been made. On the one hand, every attempt to create "anarchy," that is, build socialist governments, shall be met by British garrisons and by a food blockade. On the other hand, no attempt will be made to interfere with the internal form of government. In other words, fascists like Franco need not worry at all since nobody wants to interfere with them. The "democracies" like "variety."

Let fascists oppress nations and people, the British Empire is not concerned. On the contrary, it will have a very friendly attitude, garrisons are only to be used against "anarchy," against "the rabble," against the millions of oppressed European masses who might raise their voice and take their destiny in their own hands.

ILLEGAL TRADE UNION ACTIVITY IN NORWAY

Illegal trade unions are being built in Norway in opposition to the Nazi unions. At first, branches were established in the localities. Now they are being formed in the workshops themselves, where reduction in output is systematically organized. Despite all efforts to suppress it, the illegal trade union paper, Free Trade Union, is still appearing regularly. This underground newspaper wrote recently:

"We are approaching the anniversary of the German's and Nazis' brutal and gagging seizure of the National Labor Federation. The Norwegian working class and the entire Norwegian people repelled by establishing an opposition front to the tyranny, which truly enough has cost us sacrifices and suffering, but which today is the surest guarantee that victory will one day be ours. There are now many indications that the Nazis plan to force through their labor plans early in September. If this happens there must arise a complete strike against payment of dues, and this step should be carefully planned and prepared now. The Nazis shall never enjoy the triumphs of seeing Norwegian workers voluntarily paying dues to an organization whose purpose is to keep workers in the chains of slavery."

This manifesto does not convey the socialist (if confused) spirit of the Polish manifesto which we published

recently. It is nevertheless a sign that Norwegian workers are continuing the struggle and are building their own class organization.

This week the papers announce that the Norwegian workers have made good their threat and have started a mass action of resignation from the Nazi dominated trade union. It is reported that 200,000 have left the unions and torn up their membership cards in the last few days. They have individually written to Quisling stating that they could not further belong to unions which were to be made a base for a fake "corporate parliament."

A further indication of the fine militant spirit of Norwegian labor is the following notice which was recently published in a Swedish paper:

"Forty Oslo dock workers have been arrested for refusing to help load potatoes and vegetables on a ship bound for Germany. The first group of men assigned to the job refused to lift a hand once they saw what it was. Not even threats and reprisals could make them give in. A second crew of twenty-five men was summoned, but these were just as determined as the first in their refusal to have any part in the work which meant depriving Norway of food sorely needed at home. These men were threatened with the death penalty, but still they did not yield. Finally the Nazis had to call in a group of Russian prisoners of war to get the job done."

Europacus.

Set October 10 Aside - - - Labor Action's Fall Frolic

LABOR ACTION has arranged a big fall party on Saturday, October 10 at Irving Plaza Hall (Irving Place and 16th Street, New York City) at which friends and readers of LABOR ACTION will get together for an evening of fun and frolic.

There will be sweet and hot jazz, as well as tangos and rumbas, by an outstanding Negro band.

The high spot of the evening will be the cabaret entertainment which will begin at 11 p.m. with noted professional entertainers.

The committee in charge guarantees that the entertainment will excel that of most night clubs. For the time being the artists' names are being kept secret, but they will be familiar to most people.

In addition there will be a bazaar where shrewd shoppers will be able to get some extraordinary bargains.

Tickets are 75 cents and are on sale at the Labor Action Office, 114 West 14th Street.

Fighting Against Jim-Crow

Negroes Turning to Mass Pressure and Action in Fight for Jobs

(Continued from page 1)

Golden Gate Hall, New York, September 11.)

When or if the march will actually take place under the present leadership of the MOW is not for consideration here. What is clear is (1) that the Negro masses, disillusioned by promises, are turning to direct action and mass pressure to achieve their democratic and economic rights and (2) that their pressure is being felt by their own leadership (for example, the MOW).

This is the meaning of the latest proposal and actions of the MOW in (1) picketing the huge Merchandise Mart in Chicago against the policy of segregation on the job; (2) calling upon Negroes (at the recent New York MOW membership meeting) to hold themselves in readiness on a day's notice to march on or picket Jim Crow plants; (3) listing the lily-white government offices in New York and preparing a series of marches on them; (4) considering marches on various city halls; and (5) considering an actual march on Washington at the Detroit MOW National Conference, September 26-28.

UAW Takes up Fight

4. Detroit citizens' organizations (the NAACP, the Women's Industrial Council, the Political Action Committee of the Production Foundry and other groups) and the Auto Workers Union have proceeded to hold several mass meetings and demonstrations because no Negro women have been hired at the Ford Bomber plant, although thousands of white women have obtained jobs. A picket line of Negro women was thrown around the Ford Bomber plant. The company's reply so far has been:

"There have not been any Negro women hired as yet at the Ford Bomber plant and there will not be until demonstrations against Ford are discontinued." And, says Ford's Negro personnel director: "Ford does not want to hire Negro women under pressure."

The auto workers finally organized Ford's by great mass strikes and actions because they resented Ford's paternalism (coupled with a determined anti-union policy, backed up by the spy and blacklist system and strong-arm gangs). So today, the Negroes, learning swiftly, resent Ford's paternal, "fatherly" attitude toward them and demand jobs and their rights on their merits. Negro workers do not look upon Ford as the "savior of the race" because of his old job policy for Negroes. They understand that in the past Ford successfully utilized his Negro hiring policy to divide the Negro workers from the white workers whenever union organization efforts were under way. Hence, Negro workers, standing on their own, free and equal with other workers, don't accord Ford any special credit for his alleged liberalism in the past. They want jobs for Negro women, too, now, without discrimination.

Demands Discrimination End

5. The unions as such are conscious of the need to fight together with the Negroes on this issue and to pose the question clearly as a labor question and a discrimination issue.

Thus the General Council of Ford Local No. 600, UAW-CIO, demanded that the President order the FEPC to investigate the refusal of the Ford Motor Co. and other automobile manufacturers in the Detroit area to hire Negro women. The union has categorically demanded an end to such discrimination and further has pointed out that it has an agreement with Ford not to permit discrimination in employment of women.

The ludicrous attempt of the company to maintain that the white women workers objected to working together with Negro women exploded in its face when a union mass meeting of 600 women workers, held at Ypsilanti, Mich., voted and declared unequivocally that they are against discrimination in any form against Negro women workers.

The Auto Workers Union has fur-

ther demanded that at least a proportion of seven to ten per cent of the women hired be Negro women, and joins the NAACP, the Women's Industrial Council, the Political Action Committee of the Production Foundry, etc., in declaring:

"The patience of labor... is becoming exhausted because of persistent efforts of the company to divide the workers."

6. In the closer tie-up of Negro labor with white labor lies the hope of the Negro. In the organic union of Negro and white labor—in their unions, etc.—is to be found the greatest weapon for the achievement of Negro rights and likewise the preservation of the rights and gains of the working class. This is the meaning of the statement of Philip Murray, president of the CIO:

"You can't keep 13,000,000 Negroes down without staying down with them. This is the CIO's philosophy, and that is where we intend to stand."

7. In Gary, Ind., the CIO steel workers employed at the Gary works of the Carnegie-Illinois Steel Corp., have set up a special committee to smash discrimination in the training of Negro workers for war industry jobs. At present Negro trainees are forced to attend the Jim Crow courses between the hours of 4:00 and 7:00 a.m. The international rep-

resentative of the union, George Kimberly, has pledged unqualified support to the committee's efforts:

"We are glad," he states, "to see Negro workers assert themselves and make this fight. The Negro worker is too slow and hesitant. He should constantly call upon the union to fight his battles inside and outside the shop. The obligation of your union to you does not stop at the factory gate." (Chicago Defender, September 5.)

Negro-White Solidarity

This is fighting Jim Crow on the labor front. This is the way to weld the solidarity of white and Negro workers in common class action against boss discrimination and exploitation. This is learning to rely, not on government promises, but on the genuine strength of labor through mass pressure and action.

8. The ever-increasing transfer of the major issues of the Negro from the field of top negotiations with and subservience to the Administration and employers, to the field of action and struggle, especially in alliance with white workers, is a great development in the struggle of the Negroes for their democratic, social and economic rights. It means that the class struggle road is emerging more clearly as the road to take.

The attitude expressed by the CIO nationally, the Detroit auto unions, the Gary union and the Negro and white community organizations, is proof that the Negro and white workers are on the march against Jim Crow. The Negroes are on the correct path in proceeding to fight Jim Crow on the labor and anti-boss front. The next great development, together with all labor, lies in the development of an independent political movement of all the exploited and oppressed against Jim Crow and capitalist rule.—H. A.

Shipyard--

(Continued from page 1)

session, the discussion of the one calling for an international labor conference with representation from Great Britain, Russia, Australia and the other United Nations, gave the

resolution endorsing the candidacy for congressman in the Ninth New Jersey District of Irving Abramson, of the New Jersey State CIO Council, involves the very important question of independent political action for labor. Putting a CIO man on the Democratic Party ticket is not independent labor politics. It is being the tail to the kite of boss politics. This resolution will be fully discussed in the next issue of LABOR ACTION.

The next issue of LABOR ACTION will also carry a complete report of the IUM&SW convention and an analysis of the outstanding issue raised. Every shipyard worker should be sure to get a copy.

Press Action

Sub Leaflets: By now every agent of LABOR ACTION should have in his hands copies of the attractive, two-color leaflet advertising LABOR ACTION's special introductory offer of a six-month subscription for 25 cents.

These leaflets are to be attached to the paper when it is sold or distributed. We expect good results from this campaign and we will announce them in the paper. If any agent needs more leaflets than he received, write to the office of LABOR ACTION and they will be forthcoming.

Subscriptions: The following new subscriptions were received by LABOR ACTION during the past TWO weeks. We are keeping up our average of twenty new subscribers per week.

New York City	12
Buffalo	11
Los Angeles	5
Massachusetts	4
California	4
Chicago	3
New York State	1
Total	40

Local 9 Shipyard Militants Ponder Next Step in Fight On Staggered Work Week

SAN PEDRO—Last week's LABOR ACTION reported that the membership of Local 9, IUMSWA, in referendum vote on the staggered week question, declared itself ready to accept the company work schedule of seven days' work with the eighth day off, provided that time and one half be paid for the sixth consecutive day and double time for the seventh day.

The question now is: "Where do we go from here?" The company so far has flatly refused this proposition, and stated that its own plan would be put into effect, in violation of the union contract—its own plan being to pay only straight time for the seventh day in question.

The men are wondering what the union will do next, in the face of the undemocratic and anti-labor stand of the company.

The vast majority of the members who voted for the proposal which won, undoubtedly had in mind President Roosevelt's speech in which he spoke of paying double time for work on the seventh day. But if they think that the President will recognize the democratic decision of the membership of Local 9 and will force the company to pay double time on the seventh day, they are in for a sad awakening. His policies are no different from those of Donald Nelson, the War Production Board, the War Labor Board or Paul R. Porter and the Shipbuilding Stabilization Committee, which has so obviously been striving to break down the working conditions of the shipyard workers.

They fail to realize that these men and committees all represent Roosevelt and his views. But if shipyard workers keep their eyes open they will learn from experience that Roosevelt, if he expresses himself at all, will back up the company stand of

Paul R. Porter. No government agency will preserve working conditions in the staggered week fight. The government representatives gave local 9 a barrelful of promises on the Bethlehem ten-hour question, but when the barrel was opened it was empty. The hot air escaped and floated away.

No Easy Task Ahead

So the big problem now is to force the official leadership of the union to fight for what the overwhelming majority has voted. And this is no easy task, as all wide-awake members have learned. In meeting after meeting the officials and negotiating committee have been informed in unmistakable terms what the members want. But they have never gone to the company and fought for the membership's demands. Instead, at membership meetings and on leaflets between meetings sometimes, they have tried to slip over the company proposal. They have consistently represented the point of view of the company and not of the members, unable as if they were physically unable to hear what the members say on the question. A couple of the members of the negotiating committee seem to have been in opposition to this disregard of the membership's instructions, and spoke generally in criticism of the committee at the September 9 meeting.

Where Leaders Failed

And it is not only in its failure to carry out the instructions of the membership that the union leadership has flatly failed in its union duty. Even more important than that was its earlier failure—the failure of the leadership to present to the membership plans for a campaign against the company attack when it first became apparent that the attack was to be made.

Ever since January the officials and negotiating committee of Local 9 have known the stand of the national officers of the union against the staggered week. There has never been any doubt as to the stand of the membership on the question. The job of the union leadership was clear: They should have drawn up plans for a counter-campaign against the company.

The failure of the union to advance such a counter-attack left the field of battle open to the company and the WPB, who made good use of their advantage to demoralize and in effect disarm the union members with the result that the end of the fight finds the union in a weak position to defend itself even against the company's obvious disregard of the contract and even of the stabilization committee's announced decision that the staggered week was to be introduced only by agreement with the unions involved.

Local 9 membership must see to it that such a situation does not occur again. Further company attacks against the contract and the union are certain. A counter-campaign must be waged to defeat the unbusting attempts of the company. And the union membership must not wait while the officials fail to propose and put into action such counter-attacks. Next time the membership must be on the alert. Let the members present and determine upon plans of action and then SEE TO IT THAT THE OFFICIALS CARRY THEM OUT.

Asks Us to 'Keep Up the Good Work'

Dear Editor:

I am interested in LABOR ACTION's special offer of six months for 25 cents. I also have a friend who likes your paper and what your paper stands for. We have been readers of your well written paper for some time and wish to express our appreciation to you for helping the LABORING PEOPLE in their struggle against those who would force us back into slavery, as in the old sweatshop days of the Gay Nineties.

We work at the Los Angeles Shipbuilding & Drydock Corp. As you know, we are up against the problem of the stagger shift at this plant and hope to hear more about this in your paper. It is now that some action must be taken if the union is to survive, as a great many would profit if UNIONISM was abolished.

Local No. 9 has stalled for the last two meetings on the stagger shift question and will try again this Wednesday to settle this great and most important question.

Good luck to you, LABOR ACTION, for it is people like you who can HELP the working people in their greatest struggle for existence against the capitalist. Keep up the good work.

H. D.

They Know What It Is They Want

Three well known journalists now in the (British) Army recently ran a sort of "Gallipoli Poll" among the men in their camp. The question was: Do you think we should have a new social system after this war, or will the present one do? The result was as follows:

Yes, we want a new one—83 per cent. No, this one will do—0 per cent. Don't know—7 per cent.

More Merchants of Death American-British-German Combine Corners Plastics

By JOHN BERNE

American and British boys are busy killing off German boys—and vice versa. But that does not prevent a very friendly relationship from existing among the powerful du Pont de Nemours and Rohm & Haas Companies of America, Imperial Chemical Industries of England, and I. G. Farbenindustrie of Germany.

An indictment against the American concerns was handed up by a federal grand jury a month ago, but for mysterious reasons it was not made public until a few days ago. The charges are that they participated in an international conspiracy to monopolize the manufacture of certain vital plastics and to corner the market thereon.

The agreement among these three powerful trusts dates back to 1934. The indictment states that the products thus controlled are "among the most important plastic materials, have a wide industrial application and are used for such things as transparent bomber noses, cockpit closures and gun turrets of all military planes manufactured in the United States."

The indictment charges that the friendly American-British-German combine cross-licensed their patents, parcelled markets among themselves and agreed to fix UNIFORM AND ARBITRARY prices in the markets throughout the world.

The workers of du Pont, Imperial Chemical and Farbenindustrie—all bowed down in greater or lesser degree by the burdens of war—should take note of the fact that this international combine of blood-suckers

was charging EXORBITANT prices, according to the indictment.

In fact, the working people of all three countries, squeezed dry by taxation, should understand that their hard-earned money paid to the government in taxes, has been finding its way into the pockets of this international robber band in the form of exorbitant prices charged for war materials.

The business friendship existing between the American and German trusts is especially touching. When the outbreak of the war prevented Farbenindustrie from supplying its South American customers, Bohn & Haas of America was asked to take over the business. This the American company did with alacrity and was cheerfully supplying Nazi concerns in South America with essential war materials—until the United States government blacklisted them in 1941, according to the indictment.

Instead of the indicted concerns being brought to trial immediately, they are given a period of grace—UNTIL AFTER THE WAR. This postponement was requested by the Secretaries of War and Navy—the heads of the very government departments paying the exorbitant prices for plastics.

The lapse of time between the indictment and the trial will allow the case to cool off and the accused companies to fix everything to their own advantage.

But in the eyes of workers these Merchants of Death are guilty whether or not they are ever found guilty by the courts of class "justice."

Fords and the relatively low wages paid the workers. And how Ford wishes that these misunderstandings were unimportant! He knows and we know that these misunderstandings are really open warfare between the way of life he would like to force on us and the way of life we WILL force upon him.

7. Ford says: "Workers and industry built America and they will not let it down!"

Workers and industry built America—no. Workers built industry and thereby built America. We who are workers make up the basis of society because we do all the productive work. The future of the world depends upon us, for Henry Ford and his type are really unnecessary for industry to advance. In fact, a workers' world, a society organized for and by the workers, is the one and only answer to Mr. Ford's greed and his totalitarian hopes.

R. H., Rank and File Steel Worker, Louisville, Ky.

Where You Can Buy LA and NI in No. Philadelphia

S.E. Corner—19th and Columbia. N.W. Corner—19th and Master. N.E. Corner—20th and Turner.

The Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

Examines Labor Day Statement by Ford

Dear Editor:

On September 6 the Ford Motor Co. published a full-page advertisement in leading American newspapers. This advertisement expressed the views of Henry Ford and his fellow industrialists on labor and the present war. Since Ford has a long history as an anti-working class agitator I thought it necessary to examine what he says now and what he has proved himself to be in the past.

1. Ford says: "On the eve of America's 61st Labor Day, it can truthfully be said that the future welfare of the world rests squarely on the shoulders of the nation's 53,000,000 workers."

This is true on the eve of ANY day, and it is a truth that has been recognized for generations by all progressives and honest trade unionists. But why does Henry Ford, the billionaire, show this concern for us? He is not speaking for our welfare, but for the welfare of the boss class

he represents. Can it be that Ford is encouraging us in order to insure his investments at home and abroad?

2. Ford says: "This is a solemn obligation... but it is also an exalted privilege... and we have full confidence that during the grim months ahead the workers' wholehearted response will bring dismay to our enemies and victory to the cause of freedom."

If he has full confidence in us, the working class, why does he strain himself to get our uncompromising support of HIS imperialist war? And the term "cause of freedom" sounds very strange when used by Henry Ford & Co. For the brutal, anti-union tactics of this capitalist are as notorious as is his Jew-baiting. For a man to speak of freedom when he has drawn profits from auto factories operated in fascist Germany during the Hitler armament program is either a lie or a bad joke.

3. Ford says: "American workers are simply the American people—people with home and children—and churches they love. People who value peace and freedom and independence. People with

sons and brothers and husbands in our armed forces. People, in many cases, whose land of birth has been desecrated and enslaved by a ruthless conqueror."

Ford shows a warm interest in our homes and children but apparently he did not care about them during the black years of the recent depression. In the terrible years from 1930 to 1938 he was comfortable on his guarded estates while we were losing our homes to the banks and our children were hungry. He, and the others like him, closed their factories to us then. What assurance is there that when we have fought and worked as he wishes us to, that this will not happen again?

4. Ford says: "They know that should we lose, they would probably never again cast a ballot, or own a home, or educate their children, or have a bank account, or own a motor car, or belong to a labor organization, or attend a house of worship, or read honest news in a free press."

Here the Lord of Detroit is talking about democracy. But in view of his past disregard for the rights of

free speech and freedom of assembly among the Ford workers before the auto union was powerful; in view of his long and vicious struggle against the union, and in view of his association with such quasi-fascists as Charles A. Lindbergh, his concern for democracy is suspect.

5. Ford says: "War work is rush work. We are all striving to do more than we are doing and do it faster. This eagerness creates tension, which often causes misunderstandings that are unimportant in the long run. Moreover, the workers have gone through troublesome times. Betterments gained have brought new and unfamiliar responsibilities. And when some minority somewhere gets out of line, you read about it in the newspapers."

"Rush work!" "Do it faster!" This is Mr. Ford, the master of the speed-up, talking. He knows that this eagerness of which he speaks has nothing to do with the creation of tension and misunderstanding. As everyone knows, what produces tension is the great discrepancy between the enormous profits of the

Fords and the relatively low wages paid the workers. And how Ford wishes that these misunderstandings were unimportant! He knows and we know that these misunderstandings are really open warfare between the way of life he would like to force on us and the way of life we WILL force upon him.

6. Ford says: "But rest assured, the work goes steadily forward... at an ever-increasing pace... and with millions of loyal workers on the alert, ready to eliminate from their ranks any with intent against the country's welfare."

We workers need not look in our own ranks for people with intent against the country's welfare. Rather, we should examine the economic and political measures taken by the boss class. In twenty-five years our country has had two imperialist wars, two depressions. There has been an increased lynch-spirit against Negroes. Our country has a third or more of its population ill-fed, ill-housed and ill-clothed; and the politicians are telling us that the standard of living of the whole population (Ford and the bosses excluded) will go below that of 1932. Is

How Soviet Russia Conquered Imperial Germany

by John Reed

Now that Imperial Germany is overthrown, we are told by the capitalist press of all countries that the Allied armies did it.

The pressure of superior Allied arms undoubtedly broke the power of the German offensive in the West, but that is all. Soviet Russia conquered Imperial Germany.

Two months ago our government warned us that the war might last five years longer. At the very height of the German retreat, the Army and Navy Journal and the military experts of the New York Tribune and the London Times pointed out that the German armies were falling back in perfect order, according to well worked out strategic plans. When the Allied armies entered Lille they were not even in contact with the German rear guard. Germany could have defended her frontiers almost indefinitely....

It was not the Allied armies which broke the morale of the Central Powers, but something else, something internal. It is generally admitted that Germany had plenty of men, plenty of arms, and even food... Why couldn't she answer Bulgaria's call for help? And Austria's? Because in Germany itself, in the heart of the greatest military machine in history, was a more powerful enemy than the Allies—the rising of the proletariat.

The German imperial government, the German bourgeoisie, preferred surrender to the bourgeois nations of the West, which respect private property, to the social revolution... Even now, as the Russian bourgeoisie before them, they are appealing to the Allies for help against their own "red" working class....

EFFECTS OF GALICIAN OFFENSIVE

In July, 1917, after three months of inaction, the Russian armies were ordered to advance in Galicia. During those months there had been almost continuous fraternization on the Eastern front. The German armies were becoming demoralized—whole regiments refused to fire on the Russian lines, were reorganized, and many soldiers executed. There was alarm throughout Germany. But the Galician offensive broke the spell. Nothing could have been more effective to the German high command.

In Stockholm, in August, I saw a letter written by Rosa Luxemburg to a friend:

"So, you Russians have broken the peace! The Russian Revolution was everything to us, too. Everything in Germany was tottering, falling... For months the soldiers of the two armies had fraternized, and our officers were powerless... Then suddenly, without a word of warning, the Russians fired on their German comrades! After that it was easy to convince the Germans that the Russian peace was a lie. Alas, my poor friends! Germany will destroy you now, and for us is black despair come again...."

It was because of this that the German advance on Riga was so effective, although there had been no fighting in that sector since April... When the Army Committee of the Twelfth Army evacu-

This is the story of how the Bolsheviks helped blow up the Kaiser and then brought the last world war to an end.

It was written by John Reed, the brilliant revolutionary journalist, and author of the famous "Ten Days That Shook the World," who lived through the Russian Revolution of 1917 and recorded its stirring events. In the vast socialist propaganda campaign which the Bolsheviks carried on among the Germans in occupied Russia and in Germany itself, John Reed was himself an active participant. His record of that campaign, here reprinted, originally appeared in the revolutionary magazine, "The Liberator," in January, 1919.

LABOR ACTION in its issue announcing this series by John Reed, published an introductory article which contrasted the behavior of the Bolsheviks of 1917 with the behavior of the Stalinists of 1942. To understand the story John Reed tells, to understand its vital significance as it relates to today, to understand it for what it actually is, an indictment of the Stalin regime written years before that regime was established, be sure to read the introduction in LABOR ACTION of September 21.

ated the city, however, soldiers went about under bombardment, posting on all walls and open spaces this proclamation:

German Soldiers!

"The Russian soldiers of the Twelfth Army draw your attention to the fact that you are carrying on a war for autocracy against revolution, freedom and justice. The victory of Wilhelm will be death to democracy and freedom. We withdraw from Riga, but we know that the forces of the Revolution will ultimately prove themselves more powerful than the force of cannons. We know that in the long run your conscience will overcome everything, and that the German soldiers, with the Russian Revolutionary Army, will march to the victory of freedom. You are at present stronger than we are, but yours is only the strength of brute force. The moral force is on our side. History will tell that the German proletarians went against their revolutionary brothers, and that they forgot international working class solidarity. This crime you can expiate only by one means. You must understand your own and at the same time the universal interests, and strain all your immense power against imperialism, and go hand in hand with us—toward life and liberty!"

A month later mutiny broke out on the German fleet at Kiel. The sailors of the Russian battleships in the Baltic, in convention assembled, sent this greeting:

"The revolutionary sailors of the Baltic fleet... send their brotherhood greetings to their heroic German comrades who have taken part in the insurrection at Kiel.

"The Russian sailors are in complete possession of their battleships. The Sailors' Committees are the high command.

The yacht of the former Czar, the Polar Star, is now the headquarters of the Fleet Committee, which is composed of common sailors, one from each ship.

"Since the Revolution, the Russian Fleet is as busy as formerly, but the Russian sailors will not use the fleet to fight their brothers, but everywhere to fight under the Red Flag of the International for the freedom of the proletariat throughout the entire world."

BOLSHEVIKS APPEAL TO WORKERS

The first act of the Bolshevik uprising in November was to order all company, regimental and army committees on the Russian front to begin fraternization with the Germans and to conclude immediate temporary armistice treaties with the military units opposing them.

On the night of November 8, in the Congress of Soviets, Lenin read the decree of peace, part of which said:

"Addressing this proposal for peace to the governments and peoples of all the belligerent countries, the Provisional Workers' and Peasants' Government of Russia addresses itself also in particular to the conscious workmen of the three most advanced nations of humanity and the greatest of the powers participating in the present war—England, France and Germany. The workers of these countries have rendered great service to the cause of progress and socialism; the Chartist movement in England, the series of revolutions carried out by the French proletariat, and lastly, the heroic struggle against the laws of exception in Germany, and the long, stubborn, disciplinary work of creating proletarian organizations in Germany, which ought to serve as a model for the whole world—all these mod-

els of proletarian heroism and historical creation are guarantees that the workers of the above-named countries will understand their duty, which is to deliver humanity from the horrors and results of war. These same workers, by their decisive and energetic action, will help us bring to a successful conclusion the fight for peace and at the same time the liberation of all the working classes from slavery and exploitation...."

At the same time a proclamation to the German soldiers was drawn up, printed in millions of copies and not only smuggled across the front but dropped from airplanes inside Germany. It begins:

"To the German Soldiers!

"Soldiers, Brothers!

"On October 25 (old style), the workmen and soldiers of St. Petersburg overthrew the imperialistic government of Kerensky and placed the whole power in the hands of the Soviets of Workers, Soldiers and Peasants' Deputies. The new government, under the name of the Council of Russian Congress of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. Our program, to the execution of which the government has immediately proceeded, consists in a proposal of an immediate democratic peace, which has already been communicated to the belligerent nations and their governments, in the transfer without compensation of all the land to the peasants for their use, and in the realization of workers' control over production and industry.

"We have taken all measures and will in the future leave none untried, in order that all the belligerent governments and peoples shall be informed of the full content of our peace negotiations. In addition to the above-mentioned peace proposal, we consider it our duty to address ourselves particularly to you, as representatives of a nation which is at the head of the coalition engaged in war against Russia on an extensive front.

"Soldiers, Brothers! We ask you to stand by socialism with all your might in the struggle for immediate peace, as that is the only means to secure an equitable and permanent peace for the working classes of all countries and to heal the wounds which the present most criminal of all wars has inflicted on humanity...."

This was followed by the "Appeal to the Toiling and Exploited Peoples of All Lands," and the texts of the decree on peace and the decree on land.

A proclamation printed for the Austrian trenches hailed Friedrich Adler, arrested for assassinating a reactionary Minister in Vienna, as the "Eagle" (ADLER) of the international social revolution.

(Continued in next issue)

Strike Figures Prove That Labor in U. S. Is Ready to Fight for Its Union Rights

By HARRY ALLEN

The report of the War Labor Board on strikes in war industries exclusively during the first seven months of 1942 are informative and revealing, not only for labor's future efforts and aims, but also as indicative of the future efforts and aims of the employers and the Administration.

A significant feature of the figures published in an adjoining "box" is that 300,000 workers disregarded the "no strike" agreement of the Administration and the union officialdom and struck to protect their interests.

The Administration attempts to minimize the importance of these strikes by simple arithmetic, declaring that less than 3 per cent (or an average of eight out of every 10,000 workers) of the total number of workers employed in these industries went on strike.

Nevertheless, the evidence shows that the Administration, while continuing to pooh-pooh the strike figures, prepares to and is ready to crack down on every manifestation of labor struggle and militancy.

Why does the Administration have this two-faced attitude? First, it wants to give every worker the feeling that he is isolated, that his grievances are exceptional, and that his militancy would arouse no support. But more important is the fact that the Administration heeds the judgment of the National Association of Manufacturers and other employers in these matters.

The National Association of Manufacturers speaks out more plainly on the meaning of the "wildcat" and "outlaw" strikes. The employing class is very much aware of the strength and power residing in labor's hands should the latter become conscious thereof and choose to use it. The NAM points out that "Less than 1 per cent of American labor [because of its strategic place in industry—H.A.] could effectively halt production of virtually every tank and plane under construction today."

Employers and boss commentators from every side describe these strikes as evidence of a worsening situation on the labor front and the general disintegration of the "spirit of unity."

The Administration policy of minimizing the strikes only confuses the public mind, complains the NAM. "The walkouts," declares the official NAM statement on the subject, "serve to emphasize the growing rebelliousness of labor minorities which continue to ignore the appeals of both union leaders and the War Labor Board."

Correct on both counts. The manufacturers recognize that increasing numbers of workers are unwilling any longer to surrender their interests and are conducting strikes—that is, pursuing the class struggle. So the government in its own way takes heed of the warnings of the NAM and big business interests generally, in respect to labor's small but growing resistance

and militancy. Threats of "drastic action... even to the application of the laws of treason, if necessary" (spokesman of the War Labor Board) take on flesh and blood. Further, the "benevolent" Roosevelt Administration, the "friend of labor," has now clearly indicated its policy which is more and more quickly becoming a reality, namely:

1. Freezing labor to its jobs.
2. Freezing wages.
3. Reclassifying draftees who resist boss victimization.
4. Nullifying collective bargaining agreements by executive order (e.g. premium pay) or by War Labor Board decision.

To counteract, if possible, the growth of strikes, labor officials demand greater representation in the government administration (on the

various government boards), hoping this will give them prestige with the ranks. They hope that such recognition or "prestige" of labor will compensate for lack of gains or even losses. Instead of pursuing a policy of demonstrating labor's very real independent power, they thus act as servants of the ruling class rather than as representatives of the working class.

When 300,000 workers strike in war industries—with all the dangers of discrimination, black-listing, job loss, draft reclassification, and despite tremendous pressure and overt threats from the government, the bosses and a weak union officialdom—this is concrete and positive evidence that a growing section of labor is looking first to labor's interests and needs.

A Comment on the 'Cannonite' Position

What Are the Russian Workers Fighting For?

Now we really know why the Russian workers are fighting in the war. It is all explained to us in a few succinct sentences and nobody can pretend ignorance after reading them. The man who throws all the necessary light on the subject is named George Collins, and this is what he writes:

"But the workers and Red soldiers

of the Soviet Union fight with a bitterness unmatched in this war because they are defending the socialist achievements of a workers' revolution. Factories, mines, mills, railroads, workshops belong to those who work them. The soil belongs to those who till it. A man who will not defend such treasures is either a coward or a traitor; a man who

fights to the death for them is more than a hero—he is a socialist worker."

Where do you think this gem appeared? In the Daily Worker? In the New Masses? In the Moscow Pravda? In some other Stalinist Sheet?

It appeared in the Cannonite weekly paper, The Militant, for September 12, prominently displayed right on the front page.

WHO OWNS THE FACTORIES?

That it could have appeared in the Stalinist press does not permit of the slightest doubt. In fact, you can read the same bureaucratic deception in almost any issue of a Communist Party periodical. The question is: What was such a statement doing in a paper that calls itself Trotskyist? Because if this statement of Collins has anything in common with what Leon Trotsky tried for years to teach the vanguard of the working class movement, we do not know what it is.

Let us see just what Trotsky did say about who owns the "factories, mines, mills, railroads and workshops" in Russia today—not everything he said, for that would take too much space, but some of the essential things. All our quotations are from Trotsky's latest, and best, study of the Soviet Union, "The Revolution Betrayed," and the page references are given in parentheses.

"The new constitution—wholly founded, as we shall see, upon an identification of the bureaucracy with the state and the state with the people—says: '...the state property—that is, the possessions of the whole people.' This identification is the fundamental sophism of the official doctrine." (236.)

This quotation should suffice—Collins is trying to inculcate into his readers not just one of the sophisms of the Stalinist bureaucracy but, as Trotsky so rightly says, its fundamental sophism. But there is more.

"State property becomes the property of the whole people only to the degree that social privilege and differentiation disappear, and therewith the necessity of the state. In other words: state property is converted into socialist

Flint, Mich., and taken off the picket line by Army officials in order to investigate their "loyalty." (New York Times, August 30.) In still another case (Western Cartridge Co., Alton, Ill.), a local union president was suspended for entering a restricted area of the plant, causing a strike which even William Green, AFL president, described as due to the "arbitrary anti-union tactics" of the company.

The conclusions one must draw from the strikes of the past months are:

1. The sentiment of the ranks against the "no strike" policy will become larger and sharper, even though repressive measures or legislation may hinder actual strikes.

2. Those who stand in the way of a return of labor to a militant policy will be regarded with increasing suspicion by the ranks as either enemies or agents of the bosses within labor's house.

3. The rank and file will give more consideration to house cleaning, with the object of obtaining better, more militant leadership.

property in proportion as it ceases to be state property. And the contrary is true: the higher the Soviet state rises above the people and the more fiercely it opposes itself as the guardian of property to the people as its squanderer, the more obviously does it testify against the socialist character of this state property." (237.)

We must correct Trotsky: It SHOULD be "more obvious" to everyone, particularly to one who calls himself a follower of Trotsky. But to Collins, it is not obvious at all. He thinks the state property, which is actually entirely in the hands of a counter-revolutionary oppressor, belongs... to the workers and peasants.

Again: "From the point of view of property in the means of production, the differences between a marshal and a servant girl, the head of a trust and a day laborer, the son of a people's commissar and a homeless child, seems not to exist at all. Nevertheless the former enjoy lordly apartments, enjoy several summer homes in various parts of the country, have the best automobiles at their disposal and have long ago forgotten how to shine their own shoes. The latter live in wooden barracks often without partitions, lead a half-hungry existence and do not shine their own shoes only because they go barefoot. To the bureaucrat this difference does not seem worthy of attention. To the day laborer however it seems, not without reason, very essential." (238-9.)

From whose point of view does Collins repeat the reactionary falsehood that the property in Russia belongs to the workers and peasants? If what has already been quoted from Trotsky is enough for an answer, the reader can profitably read a dozen other passages from the chapter entitled "Social Relations in the Soviet Union," where Trotsky is at his most effective in smashing Stalinist myths. Better yet, the whole book should be read.

NOT A WORKERS' STATE

Now, lest it be thought that we are too harsh with Brother Collins, we want to add that there is something

fundamentally sound about his remarks—something. Collins and his friends are "for defense of the Soviet Union" in the present war. Why? Because, like Trotsky, they consider the Soviet Union a workers' state. Simple, honest Collins thinks Russia is a workers' state because, as he writes, "the factories, mines, mills, railroads, workshops belong to those who work them." And he is absolutely right in this sense: IF the means of production belonged to the workers, Russia WOULD BE a workers' state—and not otherwise. Collins is absolutely right in assuming that and in following it with his dramatic conclusions.

Collins is, however, absolutely WRONG in assuming that in present-day Stalinist Russia the workers do own the means of production and exchange. Even though Trotsky concluded that Russia was a "degenerated" or "country-revolutionary" workers' state, he knew perfectly well that the workers DO NOT own the means of production. They are STATE property; but the state is completely in the hands of the bureaucracy, which enjoys absolute totalitarian rule in Russia, and is the only beneficiary of the state property.

That is why we consider Stalinist Russia to be a bureaucratic collectivist state, and in no wise a workers' state.

In a lucid moment, one of the Cannonites, John G. Wright, writing in their magazine a year and a half ago, put the whole thing fairly well:

"...the mass of the Russian workers are being held by force in the factories. They have already served six months of their lifetime imprisonment... the wasteful, arrogant, ruthless vampire-bureaucracy unveils itself before the masses as their oppressor-jailer. The most advanced capitalist countries have as yet to devise a jail from which men have not planned escape and—succeeded." (Fourth International, January, 1941, p. 20.)

That's not a workers' state. It's a workers' prison! Collins wants us to believe that the prison "belongs" to those who are incarcerated in it, that it is a "treasure" (no less) and should be defended. Everyone to his taste.—M.S.

In the September Issue of *The New International*...

Winston Churchill vs. Lenin and Trotsky



Read Trotsky's scathing denunciation of Winston Churchill, the man who tried to destroy the Russian Revolution!

Read Lenin's remarks about Winston Churchill, spokesman for British imperialism.

None of this material has ever appeared in any American publication! Printed here for the first time!

ALSO

- (1) Lenin and Trotsky on "The Road for India."
- (2) Max Shachtman's reply to the "Fourth International" on the Chinese Question.
- (3) A review of de Sevsky's "Victory Through Air Power."
- (4) Afterthoughts on a CIO Convention—and other articles.

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Editorials

Poll-Tax Must Go!

A small victory against poll-tax has been won by passage of the Soldier's Vote Bill, waiving payment of the poll-tax for men and women in the armed forces.

However, apart from the limits put on it by the Soldier's Vote Bill, poll-tax goes on its vicious way in eight tax states. In these states, millions of people, because they are Negro and because they are poor, are denied the right to vote.

There are, for example, 9,300,000 people living in these four poll-tax states: Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina. But only 264,419 of them voted; and they elected 32 representatives to Congress. (Rhode Island with a population of 687,000 cast 314,023 votes and elected two representatives.)

The poll-tax bloc in Congress, which numbers among its leading members staunch political friends of Roosevelt (representing the "Solid South"), has for years held up any legislation aimed at abolishing the poll-tax. For years they have prevented the Anti-Poll-Tax Bill from coming to the floor of the House. Now, thanks to an organized campaign by the National Committee to Abolish Poll-Tax, in which the unions participated, the fight against poll-tax, is nearing a victorious conclusion.

Only ten more signatures of congressmen are needed on a petition to bring the Geyer bill on the floor. Dozens of congressmen (Democratic and Republican) have not yet signed, but a little pressure will persuade ten more to sign. (As we go to press we learn that the petition has been completed and handed in.)

And with that done, and the bill on the floor for discussion, we need a rousing statement by organized labor, sufficient in strength to trounce the poll-tax (and sweat shop) bloc and pass the bill.

Are You Prepared?

Over the Labor Day week-end there occurred an event of outstanding importance. The Flatbush Congress House, a Jewish center in Brooklyn, was broken into and wrecked. A juke box was smashed to bits. The typewriter was ruined by pouring a pasty liquid over it. Desk drawers were pulled out, the contents dumped on the floor and trampled upon.

This Flatbush section of Brooklyn was a hunting ground for the Christian Fronters before they "dissolved." That they were the wreckers of the Jewish center—though "dissolved"—was attested to by the swastikas painted in black over the walls of the place.

This history begins to repeat itself—the first performance having been put on by the original Nazi. The same wrecking technique was used in Germany not only against Jewish neighborhood centers, but against trade union halls and all working class organizations.

It is reported that a police lieutenant has

been assigned to investigate the Flatbush incident. But can this police lieutenant be relied upon? Who is he? What are his connections?

As we should have learned from the bitter experience of Germany, in fighting the Nazis, the workers can rely only on themselves. The Jewish people must create neighborhood guards to protect their centers and streets. The workers must form guards to protect their union headquarters and their organizations.

In its anti-fascist fight, the Workers Party has had experience in self-reliance. When, for instance, Coughlin in his heyday organized his famous march on Union Square, the Police Department did not see fit—in the interests of law and order—to deny him a permit. But when the Trotskyists called upon the workers of New York City to rally to a counter-demonstration and received enthusiastic support, things began to hum and Coughlin was forced to retreat.

The wreck of the Flatbush Jewish center is a warning signal. ARE YOU PREPARED?

Visas, Not Talk!

The State Department has expressed itself as shocked and repelled by the bestial plan of Hitler's puppets in France, Laval and Petain, to deport thousands of Jewish people from France to Hitler occupied eastern Europe.

But now that the State Department has shed its few crocodile tears, how about getting it to do something concrete!

The problem is to save the persecuted Jews (and anti-fascist refugees of all creeds—for they are ALL involved) from the hands of the Nazi torturer!

A few thousand visas for anti-fascist refugees now living in France would do a world more good than barrels of moral indignation by Secretary Hull.

Up to now the State Department has put insuperable difficulties in the way of working-class, anti-fascist refugees seeking to get out of Europe. These anti-fascists face certain death through Nazi violence and torture, or starvation through life in a hide-out. Refugees with connections, or plenty of cash—for example, that parasitic clique of witless do-nothings, the countesses and princesses who made up the "international set"—have been able to make it. But only here and there has a genuine anti-fascist been able to sneak through.

We repeat: less "indignation"—and MORE VISAS!

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Henderson Prevents Action By Missouri Cotton Pickers

MISSOURI — Cotton picking time has come to Southeast Missouri and Donald Henderson and his Stalinists of the UCAPAWA have prevented any effective union action. The result is that crowds of poor and hungry cotton pickers, white and colored, can be seen just after dawn any morning wandering down the road, begging for work at miserable wages.

I observed one instance where some pickers were told to return the next day. They were followed back by dozens of would-be pickers, hoping that they too might be needed. The owner was off to town and when he returned he found a huge crowd busy in his fields, without most of them even knowing or asking how much they were to be paid. As a result, all of his cotton was picked before noon and no one had earned very much, especially since the owners are paying \$1.50 per hundred pounds picked. This is only 25 cents higher than last year.

Compare this situation with the cotton chopping in this same area last spring. At that time the UCAPAWA authorized the local unions to organize a campaign for higher wages. The result was a magnificent demonstration and stay-at-home, organized by Local 313, which doubled the wages over the previous season.

But an effective union which is prepared to strike for the workers' rights is exactly what the Stalinists and the UCAPAWA do not want. As a result of Local 313's successful action, although it had been authorized by Henderson himself, Henderson

suspended this local for 90 days starting last July 15. He also put the whole Missouri Agricultural Workers' Council on probation, because most of the other locals supported Local 313.

Henderson Dictatorship

He set up a seven-man dictatorship, appointed by himself, to handle all union funds and activities for the 90 days. If any local made a single public move it was warned that it would be expelled from the UCAPAWA and the CIO. All funds had to be turned over to the appointed committee and members of Local 313 were asked to sign a loyalty oath, giving their support to these undemocratic and un-called-for acts. Otherwise they would be individually expelled.

At the same time, Henderson announced a policy of \$3.00 per hundred for cotton picking and said that only his seven-man dictatorship could do anything about getting it. However, the picking season is here and the committee has done nothing yet, except to try to get members of Local 313 to sign the loyalty oath.

So that is what Donald Henderson has done for the workers of Southeast Missouri. He has tied their hands right up to the middle of the cotton picking season and set up a committee which has done nothing.

He furthermore went out of his way to get even with the St. Louis CIO Industrial Union Council, which supported Local 313 to the limit and refused to call off its support when Henderson's man Whitfield appeared

to slander Local 313. Unable to hoodwink the workers on the CIO Council, Henderson went to Washington, where he persuaded the CIO officials to step on the various international representatives in St. Louis and make them get out of his jurisdiction. In this way Henderson not only fails to help the Missouri agricultural workers, but also prevents other CIO unions from helping them. Sikeston Gets \$2.25

That a real union could be effective at this time is shown by the experience of the unorganized workers of Sikeston. There the union was not able to do much last spring, because of the lynch terror. The Sikeston workers do not know very much about unions, but they know that last spring the workers of Lilbourn, Parma and Dexter doubled their wage scale by staying at home.

Last week a bunch of them decided that no one should work for less than \$2.25 per hundred. They went out every morning and pulled the workers off the trucks unless the landlords would promise \$2.25. The result is that in Sikeston the cotton pickers are getting \$2.25 or at least \$2.00 per hundred, while everywhere else they are working for \$1.50.

A real union could have been built by the UCAPAWA during the summer, capitalizing on the tremendous enthusiasm of the thirty cents an hour victory of last spring. A real campaign could have been organized this fall which would have brought \$2.50 per hundred. The landlords are trembling. But they are winning by default.

Profits Have Risen 400% - -

(Continued from page 1)

on which to feed, clothe and shelter his family.

That's capitalist "equality" for you. And that is also the background against which are set the wage freezing bills soon to become law.

You must, however, add to that background this: prices have risen and are rising despite price ceilings to the extent where they may reach a 40 per cent increase by the end of the year.

That increase in prices is just as much a deduction from the worker's pay check as taxes, or wage cuts.

Food prices have increased 30 per cent since January, 1941!

In the Senate today, the farm bloc is jockeying for regulations on parity ceilings which will continue the high price of food—raise it! (The Department of Agriculture has reported that beef, lamb and wool prices are 135 per cent of parity; tobacco, veal and hogs are 120 per cent of parity; milk and chickens are 110 per cent of parity.)

By the time the farm bill comes out of the Senate it will most surely be of a kind, what with its phony "parity" formulas and the like, as to give the rich farmer the gravy. The poor farmer, who needs to be assured of an adequate price in consultation with working class committees, and the wage laborer will get it in the neck.

Already the Senate has adopted a wage freezing formula fixed at the wage rate of September 15. In as much as the WLB has already fixed wages at the January 1, 1941, level for 75 per cent of the workers (allowing a 15 per cent increase while food prices have gone up 30 per cent!), the Senate has in effect also fixed wages at the January 1, 1941, level.

It refuses to tax war profits 100 per cent. It refuses to limit incomes to \$25,000. It refuses even to impose such severe taxes as would nevertheless leave the wealthy with stupendous, undeserved incomes. BUT IT DOES FREEZE WAGES!

Freezing wages in fact means lowering the standard of living of the people. Even at best it means continuing the present low standard of living.

It means, for example, continuing the low wages of the seven and a half million Americans (19 per cent of the total working population) who now earn, according to Department of Labor statistics, LESS THAN 40 CENTS an hour.

It means, with prices rising, A LOWER STANDARD OF LIVING.

Wage stabilization is no improvement over wage freezing. The little increase in wages it might allow to meet increased costs does nothing to upset the fundamental injustice and fact: THE STANDARD OF LIVING OF LABOR IS TOO LOW.

In virtually every case the WLB, under its wage stabilization formula, has denied workers increases to which they were entitled—AND WHICH THEY NEED. It has now gone further and threatened unions that any militant action, such as a strike, to enforce labor's demands, will be answered by deny-

ing the closed shop, maintenance of membership, etc.

To all of this labor can have the last say, if it says it loud enough.

President Murray of the CIO has declared himself against wage freezing. But where is the campaign, the motion of union masses to halt wage freezing at this, the eleventh hour, before it is enacted into law?

Where is the campaign to throw the war-tax burden off the shoulders of labor, where it now is, onto the shoulders of the profiteers, the coupon-clippers, the high-paid corporate executives?

LABOR CAN DO IT! LET'S GET DOWN TO THE DOING!

Militant Action Wins Negro Women Jobs in Akron Rubber Factories

By MARY BELL

AKRON—For the first time in the history of this city, Negro women are being hired in the rubber factories!

This is a victory which the campaign of the Young Negro Women's Civic League and cooperating organizations have to their credit. By a militant program of picketing and other forms of pressure and publicity, they have broken through the closed doors of Akron rubber and aircraft industries. Forty have gone to the B. F. Goodrich Co., over twenty have gone to Goodyear's aircraft training school and applications are still being made.

LABOR ACTION has been informed, however, that discrimination still exists in the aircraft training school. Negro women applicants are required to prove mathematical ability, so that all but the educated are eliminated. No such stipulation is made in the case of white women. Rather, they have been told by instructors: "It doesn't matter if you can't do fractions, or even if you don't learn to rivet. There will be a job for you at Goodyear."

A spokesman for the YNWCL said they will continue their efforts until the last vestige of discrimination that blocks the hiring of Negro women has been eliminated. They also plan to investigate the rumor that the Firestone Tire & Rubber Co. will organize a Jim Crow plant, just as in the past they have offered to build a segregated cafeteria for Negro men employees.

The method of obtaining their

success by the Akron group should not be lost on Negroes everywhere who are attempting to enter industry. These people from the outset of their campaign stated their allegiance to the union movement and used the time-honored methods of union organization, namely, picketing and militant action. They thus secured in advance the cooperation of their only real ally, the labor movement.

The problems these girls run up against in the future on their jobs can also be solved only by militant effort and the intervention of the labor unions. There has already been some indication of friction caused by the heavy concentration of Southern workers in Akron war industry. The problem of educating these workers and building up the solidarity of black and white workers rests squarely on the shoulders of the CIO unions. The problem is well on the way toward being solved by the induction of Negro women workers into the union movement.

Detroit Stand Now Carries Labor Action

DETROIT — LABOR ACTION can now be bought each week at the newsstand at the corner of Fort and Woodward in this city.

FDR's SPEECH

A Step Toward Total War Regime

By Henry Judd

LABOR ACTION has already analyzed and explained in detail the economic proposals of FDR contained in his Labor Day speech and the effect these propositions will have upon American living standards.

Here we want to consider the speech in its broader sense, particularly its POLITICAL meaning as related to the war effort and the growth of totalitarian forms and techniques in the United States.

DIFFERENT FROM PAST "PRECEDENTS"

As everyone knows, war—particularly modern imperialist war against a highly organized and determined totalitarian opponent—can only be conducted in the most centralized manner possible. A democratic capitalist nation, combating a fascist capitalist nation such as Hitler Germany or Hirohito Japan, must adopt, one after the other, the methods, manners and practices that prevail in the country of his opponent. This is what we are witnessing now; this is the pattern into which the Roosevelt attack upon Congress falls.

Reporters like Arthur Krock of the New York Times can cite previous wars (the American Civil War and the First World War, under Wilson, for example) to prove that the centralization of supreme authority under Roosevelt is quite a natural thing, during wartime, with numerous precedents in American history. Supreme Court decisions can be quoted from now to doomsday to prove that everything the President does—from his first to his latest war decree—is quite "constitutional." But all this citation of past history misses the MAIN point, the reason why the speeches and acts of FDR are different in kind from those of his predecessors.

When Lincoln made himself a wartime presidential leader, he was fighting a war to establish progressive capitalism's right to rule over the whole of the United States. Capitalism, at its birth, was eager and 'rarin' to go. After THAT war was over, the military rule (except over the conquered South) vanished and a wave of capitalist prosperity accompanied by the growth of democracy came to America.

In the First World War the military and dictatorial powers granted to Wilson likewise proved to be temporary wartime measures which were gradually relinquished in the post-war period. Both these wars took place at a period when American capitalism was still going forward and progressing. The measures taken during the two wars were TEMPORARY and could be abolished by the ruling class once victory had been assured, because capitalist democracy is based upon concessions made to the people by a happy, profit-making capitalist class.

However, the analogy with Roosevelt's powers and demands is false because his measures are not and cannot be temporary. They are a PERMANENT FEATURE of every capitalist nation, to a greater or lesser degree, today. They represent steps and measures that capitalism MUST adopt if (1) it is to win the war against its fascist opponents and (2) if it is to establish its rule and maintain ITS idea of peace once the war is over.

For instance, instead of the ruling class talking about liquidating its huge standing conscript army once the war is over (as it did the last time), we now hear ONLY talk about its permanency and perpetuation for the purpose of policing the world and keeping "law and order" throughout the universe! Just this one fact alone shows the DIFFERENCE between today and yesterday.

ROOSEVELT DEMANDS GREATER POWERS

Consider the Roosevelt message to Congress, even the FORM in which it was cast. FDR blurted to Congress (as well as the American people, to whom he held Congress up as an object of ridicule, delaying and hampering the war effort) that if it did not take certain measures he proposed and give him certain powers he demanded, he would take those measures and assume those powers by himself, under his own responsibility. Clearly, this had nothing in common with the traditional powers of Congress, which is supposedly the origin and source of all Presidential legislative powers.

But how does this represent a growth and step toward totalitarian institutions? Have not previous Presidents threatened and fought with their Congresses? Yes, but again this is different. First, in the magnitude of the powers demanded by the President (right to control wages, prices, etc.). Secondly, in the fact that a GENERAL authority, rather than a specific bill, is demanded. In other words, the President demands that certain Congressional powers of legislation be handed over to HIM, and removed from Congressional control. And thirdly, no President ever delivered an ultimatum in the form that FDR did—namely, give me what I want or else I take it!

WHY THE ATTACK ON CONGRESS?

But has not LABOR ACTION maintained that this particular Congress is a pro-capitalist and anti-labor Congress—in fact, the most anti-labor body for many years? Why should not the ruling class be satisfied with this Congress? Why strip it of its powers?

It is, of course, quite true that this is a viciously anti-labor Congress and FDR has not failed to play upon this demagogic note in his efforts to ridicule Congress before the people. But this is not the point, the rulers of American imperialism are well satisfied with Congress' anti-labor bias. It is rather the fact that the growth and development of authoritative and military methods of rule DEMAND the sacrifice of such democratic bodies as Congress, which are products of liberal, growing capitalism.

For the dictator, Congress, with its open discussions and investigation committees and public hearings, can prove mighty embarrassing and annoying. It handicaps rapid, determined political and military decisions of the imperialists; it is an annoyance, a luxury that a militarized capitalist regime can no longer afford. The whole tendency of modern society—that is, of modern CAPITALIST society—is to become centralized and fascist in its method of rule. Congress, especially a Congress with the teeth of independent legislative powers, might stand in the way to the extent that it reflects pressure from below. Therefore, it must be shorn of these powers and reduced to Reichstag-like puppetry.

Does this mean that FDR aims at abolishing Congress and imposing a fascist war dictatorship upon America? Not at all—FDR is not prepared for such measures, as yet—Congress can exist—quietly; Congress can legislate—as FDR's representatives dictate to it; but Congress must have less to say about the war, war economy and how the war is run. That belongs in the hands of the President, his close advisers, the Army and Navy authorities.

WORKERS PARTY PLATFORM
Against Both Imperialist War Camps! For the Victory of World Labor and the Colonial Peoples! For the Victory of the Third Camp of Socialism!

LABOR MUST DEFEND ITSELF!

- Hands off the right to strike! For the defense of civil rights and all workers' rights! Against any wartime dictatorship measures!
- Thirty hours a week: thirty dollars the minimum wage; time and a half for overtime! Rehire the jobless millions by a six-hour shift!
- Wage increases which meet rising costs! No sales tax on consumer goods; no taxes on wages! Freeze rents and food and clothing prices at the 1940 level to stop the rise in the cost of living!
- No government contract without a union contract! The closed shop in all war industries!
- Maintain and increase all government social services!

SOAK THE RICH—LET THEM PAY FOR THEIR WAR!

- A government levy on capital to cover the cost of the imperialist war. Confiscate all war profits!
- Consent all war industries under workers' control!
- Expropriate the "Sixty Families"—the 3 per cent of the people who own 96 per cent of the national wealth!

DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS TO THE DRAFTEES!

- The right of free speech, free press and free assembly for the men in the armed forces
- Sixty dollars a month minimum for draftees!

SMASH JIM CROW!

- Down with Jim Crow and anti-Semitism! All discrimination against Negroes in the Army and Navy or by employers in industry must be made a criminal offense!
- For full political, social and economic equality for Negroes!

BE PREPARED!

- For Workers' Defense Guards, trained and controlled by the unions, against vigilante and fascist attacks!
- For an Independent Labor Party and a Workers' Government! No political support to the Roosevelt government!
- For Peace Through Socialism! For immediate independence of all colonies! Only a socialist world will destroy capitalist imperialism and fascist barbarism. For a League of Socialist Nations!

New York Workers Attention!

LABOR SINCE PEARL HARBOR

Will Be the Subject of a Speech by

MAX SHAGHTMAN
(Nat'l Secretary of the Workers Party)

Sunday, Sept. 27, 8 p.m.

IRVING PLAZA IRVING PLACE AND 15th ST.

