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We Say—

Conscript War Industries Under Workers' Control!

MARCH 9, 1942

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

F. D. R.'S TAX BILL SOAKS THE POOR

Labor Haters Start Phoney "Work or Fight" Drive

So you think you may go on strike if things get too tough to bear? Not on your life, not if certain boss politicians have their way. You'll "work or fight!"

Coercion is bad in Nazi Germany—but in America it is good for you. Walter W. Stokes, senator in the New York State Legislature, where he has introduced a "work or fight" bill, ought to be able to tell you all about this DISTINCTION WITHOUT A DIFFERENCE.

His bill aims at "prohibiting men of draft age who have been exempted on account of employment in essential industries from striking or participating in any manner in any labor dispute, and if they do so participate, they immediately render themselves liable for the draft."

Inside Story Of the Budd Company Union

The following article makes public for the first time the details of the Labor Board examiner's report on the anti-labor practices of the Budd plant in Philadelphia, known throughout the city as the "slaughter house" because of the terrible conditions under which the workers are sweated. LABOR ACTION has already presented a series of articles on the hearings, held with the company and the CIO's United Auto Workers, which is conducting an organization drive on the plant. As before, the Philadelphia newspapers have boycotted all reference to the fact-finding of the trial examiner's report, issued on February 20. LABOR ACTION presents here in summary the inside story of the Budd company's union-busting campaigns.—Editor.)

About a month after the National Recovery Act was put on the books in June, 1933, the United Auto Workers, then affiliated with the AFL, started an organization drive on the Budd plant, keystone of Philadelphia's open shop labor-haters. As

Los Angeles in a Dither Over Mysterious (Ssh!) 'Air Raid'

By EMANUEL GARRETT

The people of the Los Angeles area last week were subjected either to a monstrous illustration of inefficiency or some plain and fancy chicanery which might have had dire results. You no doubt read about the big "air raid" in this area last week and the ensuing contradictions that issued from the offices of Secretary of the Navy Knox and Secretary of War Stimson. One or the other is guilty of misrepresentation. Which it is, is no small matter to the people out here.

Bethlehem Men For 10-Hr. Shift By Narrow Margin

SAN PEDRO, Feb. 28—By a narrow margin of 45 votes out of some 3,300 votes cast, a majority of the workers at the Bethlehem shipyards in this city agreed to work a 10-hour, two-shift day. It is believed that the votes of the day shift workers, who are less affected by the injustices of the Bethlehem plan than the night shift, carried the election.

SPEED-UP ON THE HOME FRONT



Rumors of 'Concession' to India Increase Real Freedom Can Be Won by Independent Action of Indian Masses

As the Japanese armies drive closer to the borders of India and threaten its ports with bombing raids, the proposals to solve the "Indian question" grow more and more numerous.

Everybody has his own proposition: Sir Stafford Cripps, new "white hope" of Britain; the British Labor Party; liberal journalists; American senators, etc.

But all of these suggestions have TWO things in common:

First, none of these proposals offer to the people of India the only thing they really want: freedom and self-government right here and now. They all speak of a "temporary arrangement," with the basic problems left until after the war.

Secondly, all of them speak about "giving" India something—as though that great nation of 385 million people was some sort of a poor cousin, or a beggar pleading for a few crumbs at the table of its wealthy relatives.

It is understandable why British Tories and imperialists—who have milked India of its wealth and resources for 250 years—should now speak among themselves in terms of "giving" back some of the loot and plunder they have accumulated, but such language will not satisfy the Indian workers and poor people. They are thinking in terms of taking!

Labor Action's Tax Program:

Here's a tax program which works in the interest of labor and the poor, and not in the interest of the rich. If this tax program were put into effect, far more than the additional money which the Administration proposes to raise by new taxes could be raised without touching the pocketbook of the workers. That's why labor must fight for a tax program along the following lines:

- 1) A 100 per cent tax on all war profits.
- 2) A capital levy on accumulated wealth.
- 3) A stiff tax on corporate undivided profits.
- 4) A 100 per cent tax on all personal incomes over \$20,000.

By BILL HAINES

As a result of the new war taxes proposed to Congress by Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau, in the name of the Roosevelt Administration, on March 3, the American working class faces the most serious threat to its standard of living in recent history. Adoption of the Treasury's proposals to double present income tax rates in the lower brackets and to increase social security and excise taxes would be the direct equivalent of sweeping wage cuts and a lowered standard of living for every worker.

The Treasury proposes to raise \$9,610,000 in new taxes next year in the following ways:

- Three billion dollars from increased individual income taxes;
- Three billion dollars from increased corporation taxes;
- Two billion dollars from increased social security taxes;
- One and a third billion dollars from increased excise taxes;

The Banker Speaks

In a declaration broadcast from Bombay, Sir Victor Sassoon, head of a large Far Eastern and Indian banking company of British financiers, has offered his "solution" to the problem of India.

Bombs on Devil's Island

The first point in India to be attacked by the Japanese was the Andaman Islands, located in the Bay of Bengal.

The "democratic" press—so solicitous now of the fate of India's 385 million people—has told us all about the Andaman Islands. Their location, their products, their strategic value, etc., have all been described.

Protect Labor's 40 Hour Week!

By E. Lund

The Smith amendment to do away with time and a half for overtime has been defeated but the capitalist press still carries on its campaign to rouse the country against workers being paid extra for overtime.

"It is time to forget the 40-hour week when extra hours can put airplanes, tanks and guns where they are so desperately needed at the fighting front," says an editorial in the New York Times of last Thursday.

What 40-hour week, Mr. Times Editor? What guns, planes and tanks are not being produced because of the 40-hour week? In New York? Chicago? West Coast? Everywhere workers put in from 48 to 74 hours in defense plants. Does anyone know of a defense plant anywhere working a 40-hour week? If the Times knows about one it has failed to mention it.

Europe in Revolt

News from the Socialist Third Camp

"RACIAL" THEORIES IN BOTH WAR CAMPS

This is supposed to be a war against racial prejudice and for the abolition of race hatred. LABOR ACTION has consistently pointed out how little of these claims is true, especially for the millions of Negro people in America and in the British Empire.

But today we want to point to another incident which deserves as much attention. All the virtuous democratic propagandists have accumulated scientific evidence that there is no such thing as a pure Aryan race. After having exploded this myth, these gentlemen develop, not a genuine theory of equality to oppose to the Nazi myth, but rather do they propose another race theory.

The new myth is not that of the superiority of the German people, but rather of its inferiority. The more liberal among the democratic spokesmen want to "educate" the Germans after the war... but first the Allied army of occupation is expected to do ITS job of educating the German people.

The more violent of the democratic spokesmen want to sterilize and put into concentration camps large parts of the German population. But we are less concerned with these lunatics who wish to physically mutilate and destroy a nation of 65,000,000 people than with the proposals based on assumptions that there is something inherently inferior in the German people.

There is, for example, the recent book of Sigrid Undset, famous Norwegian novelist and Nobel Prize winner. She was supposed to be a liberal, but now she turns out to be a racist. Nazism and Prussianism, she asserts, "have been traits in the psychology of the German people since time immemorial, which Nazism has brought into the full light of day." And "it is impossible for the Norwegians to get into their heads that the Germans are people as we are."

THE CASE OF EMIL LUDWIG

Mr. Emil Ludwig, a German Jew from Prussia, wrote a book to prove that Prussian militarism is responsible for the Nazi horrors, and that the "Prussian spirit" has to be eliminated. There are but two examples: the list is well nigh endless. These ideologists of "democracy" who turn out this trash merely rationalize the bid of Allied imperialism for world domination in terms of "German inferiority" as Alfred Rosenberg rationalizes the bid of German imperialism for world domination in terms of "German superiority." They also lay the basis for the theory that even the watery Atlantic Charter cannot be applied in Germany since here is a people mentally unfit to enjoy the fruits of freedom, "just as India or Africa."

It is of course undeniable that many express a feeling of hatred against the German people which has sprung up spontaneously in the occupied countries. Even if this sentiment is at least understandable when expressed by a starving Pole, it is none the less deeply reactionary when dressed up as a social theory by Undset or Ludwig.

Mrs. Undset thinks that "since time immemorial" Germans were warlike and militaristic. Mrs. Undset's memory must be exceedingly short, since only 150 years ago, when Europe was dominated by "warlike" France, Germany was represented as a romantic, music loving people who abhorred warfare. France then was the "villain"—the "warlike race since time immemorial."

Mr. Ludwig thinks that the "Prussian mentality" is responsible for everything. But the cradle of the Nazi movement was not Prussia, but rather Bavaria. At least half of the leading Nazis come from South Germany and not from Prussia... But enough of this nonsense.

BEHAVIOR PATTERNS NOT ETERNAL

It cannot be denied that there exist certain differences in the behavior patterns and attitudes of different peoples, but these special traits are not fixed biologically once and for all; they are the products of history, and they change with it continually. Furthermore, the real essential differences which arise are socially determined and not racially fixed; a German and a French worker have much more in common than they have with their bourgeoisie.

All these so-called democrats do not want to abolish the essential inequality of present-day society, the difference between oppressed and oppressor, between worker and capitalist; nor do they wish to abolish racialism. Their racial theories—in their application to the Negroes and the colonial people—are really the inspirer of Hitler's theories. And their theories in regard to Germany are but an equally reactionary inversion of Hitler's reactionary theory.

In a deeper sense, they aid Hitler. They allow Hitler to say: "See what will happen to you, German people, if these democrats who believe in the inferiority of the German people are allowed to gain control over you."

They allow Hitler to maintain his grip over the German people. They are incapable of breaking that grip. That is why it is only in the struggle for socialism that it is possible to find a basis for opposing all forms of racialism and Hitlerism, a basis for winning the German people away from Hitler.

Europacus.

American Labor in the Last World War

War Labor Boards Couldn't Prevent Wave of Strikes

By SYLVIA MERRILL

When America entered the First World War, the government did not try to prohibit strikes, as the British did. It profited from the British experience, which showed that rather than stopping strikes, the anti-strike legislation gave added importance to those strikes that took place.

America's policy was to recognize that unions did exist and to attempt to buy them off by including labor representatives in the war councils. But this step could not silence the rank and file, which felt the pressure of the rising cost of living.

Even before the U.S. was officially at war, Samuel Gompers, president of the AFL, was appointed to the advisory commission of the Council of National Defense, when it was first organized in October, 1916.

The appointment was viewed openly as a bribe on labor. All the dollar-a-year men were open in their contempt of the labor representatives and cynically termed Gompers' appointment as a "sagacious example." Similarly, when the War Industries Board was organized in July, 1917, and Hugh Frayne, organizer for the AFL, was appointed to a post on that board, G. B. Clarkson, who was associated with the Council of National Defense, said that, "strictly speaking, Frayne was not on the board to represent labor, but to manage it..." This was particularly meaningful with reference to that board, on which sat the best representatives of American industry, like Rockefeller, Guggenheim, etc.

Critical of Gompers

Despite this attitude on the part of industry, Gompers sought to rally American labor for the impending war. For this purpose he called a conference of the executive council of the AFL which claimed to speak for millions of Americans. But the conference declaration which supported the war did not go unchallenged. Criticism of the resolution was widespread. This critical response on the part of the ranks of labor corroborated a conviction on the part of the government and industrial circles that labor was not enthusiastically behind the war.

The Council for National Defense, in April, 1917, immediately upon the declaration of war, called upon labor and employers to maintain the status quo. This was asking the impossible, since prices were soaring and wages had to be brought up to meet them. It became evident that labor intended to try to make wages meet the rise in the cost of living regardless of the positions held by their "representatives," which buckled under as each crucial issue arose.

The first contest came over the closed shop. Gompers and Secretary

of War Baker had reached an agreement in June, 1917, for the supply of skilled labor to the building of cantonments. The legal expert of the Council for National Defense discovered that the contract contained the possibility of a closed shop interpretation. This was an impossible situation! And of course, Gompers, whose consent was sought for the inclusion of an open shop clause, swallowed hard, registered his protest and then gave in.

The governmental departments soon discovered that, "Gompers, having had his say, which had been written into the record, became amenable to the appeals of reasonable men."

The War Labor Board was created remained the chief mediation body by proclamation in April, 1918, and to the end of the war.

Causes of Strikes

The original commission appointed by President Wilson to investigate the causes for the strikes, had recommended "the elimination to the utmost practical extent of all profiteering during the period of the war as a prerequisite to the best morale in industry." But the War Conference Board in its report did not mention the adoption of a fixed minimum wage. The WCB made several other proposals: (1) give workers right to organize in trade unions and bargain collectively; (2) give employers the right to organize and bargain collectively (as if they needed permission); (3) employers were not to dis-

charge workers for membership in trade unions or for LEGITIMATE trade union activity. (Who was to define "legitimate" they did not say.)

But the fourth point virtually nullified points one and three. The board in one breath (points one and three) granted labor the right to organize for collective bargaining and then in point four prohibited workers from urging other workers to join their union.

On the basis of these findings the permanent war board was born. It was a foregone conclusion that on the basis of such a policy it would conduct itself as it did.

All of the boards, no matter what their "front," and some of them had liberals and labor people on them to make them more palatable to labor, had one purpose: to keep labor in its place. This meant no strikes, no organizing of labor during the war, maintenance of the status quo—or freezing of wages, compulsory arbitration or the "cooling off" period, and all the reactionary measures we hear spoken of today.

In the next article we will deal with the employers' open shop offensive after the peace of 1918, which sought to take advantage of Gompers' attitude of "going along" with the government during the war. We will see that labor erred in not fighting harder and in not understanding that the repressive measures of the war would be turned into open warfare against labor in an effort to break the backbone of the trade union and socialist movements that arose from the slaughter of 1914-18.

Bethlehem Men Vote--

(Continued from page 1)

after virtually the entire Bethlehem yard had demonstrated its opposition to the new time plan by quitting work after eight hours, on the call of the union. Involved were not merely hours and pay, but also the entire matter of Bethlehem relations with the union. But it is possible that the union officials did not make sufficiently clear to the workers the nature of the issues involved.

While Bethlehem's chiseling on wage schedules was the immediate issue involved, there was a greater issue underlying the dispute. With about 95 per cent of the men members of the Shipyard Workers Union of the CIO, Bethlehem has thus far refused to sign a contract with the union. The company has stalled in negotiations with the union and indicated its disregard of the union by announcing the new schedule on the very day that it was to hold a con-

ference with the union negotiating committee. It was the business of the union to make it clear to the workers that they were voting on this as well as the simpler matter of hours. Also that they were voting on the general question of upholding union standards on shift schedules. This the union evidently failed to do.

Under the circumstances the workers merely voted on whether or not they stand to lose or gain by the 10-hour shift. The night shift is still aroused. Some of the night shift workers have been angrily suggesting that the day shift be compelled to alternate with it on night work.

READ, SUBSCRIBE TO NEW INTERNATIONAL

American Youth to Pay the Military Price for Collapse Of Allied Political Strategy

By SENTINEL

"The best laid schemes o' mice an' men gang aft a-gley."

The Allies are now experiencing just such a situation. Their best laid plans have been thrown for a loop by Japan's amazing blitzkrieg. The British and Dutch imperialist hold on the colonial peoples is rapidly being broken. The Nazi military machine is being regeared for a junction with Japan. And Allied shipping losses are again reaching dangerous proportions.

The Allied plans to blockade the Axis become more and more unrealizable. On the contrary, the Axis threatens to close the line of supply to China, the Middle-East and Russia. The Allies and especially the United States are beginning to comprehend that they cannot sit back and wait until the overwhelming forces that they are building are ready to deal the enemy a knockout blow.

Stalling for time is no longer favorable to the Allies. In this way empires can be and are lost. Malaya and Singapore have fallen because of imperialism's bankruptcy. The British oppressor found out that the natives there didn't care a hang about fighting in defense of British imperialism. The British in turn did not even dare to enlist them since arms in the hands of the exploited natives are dangerous weapons.

Burma Explodes

Now it is Burma. Successive British military failures have emboldened the Burmese to the point of revolt against their British rulers. A report of an American pilot returning from Burma shows that this revolt is widespread. According to this pilot "lawlessness existed in the majority of the Burma districts." He further said:

"Native in many districts have rebelled and are killing unarmed Britishers. The Burmese are assisting the advancing Japanese in every possible way. All over Burma it is dangerous for foreigners to move around unless they are armed, and in some districts the Burmese have even attacked armed Britishers. Meanwhile, the British are feverishly evacuating all large British towns, including Prome and Mandalay. Some are leaving by plane, some by automobile and some are forced to walk. I am unable to estimate the number of British killed, but I believe it is not few.... Foreigners risk their lives when they walk in the city, (Rangoon), which is completely in the hands of looters and killers, who are running amok."

From this report we cannot tell to what extent, if at all, the Burmese are helping the Japanese. However, there is no reason to doubt that in

their political immaturity and impatience with British rule some Burmese may have permitted themselves to become the pawns of Japan instead of standing up against both British and Japanese imperialism. Nor is it difficult to understand the rage and violence which are aimed at the British overlord, who has been hated since his rape of Burma in 1885.

What we want to point out right now is that the rapid disintegration of the Allied empire is forcing new decisions of both a military and political character. We see this in the recent changes of the British cabinet, the new talk about dominion status for India and the widely publicized discussions revolving around the question of an Allied offensive.

The Allies' Dilemma

The dilemma of the Allies is further augmented by the fact that Germany and Japan are attempting to politically exploit the unrest of the colonial peoples. Demagogically, Japan proclaims "Asia for the Asiatics." The German radio puts the so-called Indian leader Bose on the air with an appeal to the Indians.

Because of this, Allied spokesmen are now proposing a political re-statement by the Allies to meet this situation.

Dr. Frederick L. Schuman, professor of political science at Williams College, bluntly posed this problem by asserting that "The Atlantic Charter, as evolved by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill, was not strong enough to be used as a rallying point for the conquered or backward nations of the world."

He said that "We must lay the basis now for winning the peace, for if we do not we will lose the war. In this kind of war a program for winning the peace is not a problem for post-war reconstruction; it is a prerequisite for military victory."

Allies Lack Program

If a bourgeois professor could go so far in his criticism of the Allies, we can readily imagine how worried the latter are. However, the fact is that the Allies have no program to offer to the peoples of the world beyond the generalities of the Atlantic Charter. Otherwise, they live from day to day. If they should offer anything concrete, like dominion status, to India, it will be because they are in danger of losing India altogether.

So far the British rulers have not gone beyond a reshuffling of their cabinet. They have called upon Sir Stafford Cripps, the "left wing" Laborite, to stem the tide of criticism. Though the bankruptcy of capitalist imperialism of both the Allied and Axis variety is clearly indicated more than ever by the war, the British Labor Party remains true to its pro-capitalist traditions. While the present situation clamors loudly for socialism and liberation of the oppressed colonial peoples, the Labor Party comes forth with a "program" no different from the Atlantic Charter. The British Labor leaders do not even come out clearly for dominion status for India. (For details of this program see an article on page 4.)

"A Raw Deal"

With support such as this and the enlistment of Cripps as chief counsel for the government in the House of Commons, it is not surprising that Jay Marchbank, general secretary of the National Union of Railway Men, should refer to the Cabinet changes as "a masterpiece of political skill in which labor has gotten a raw deal."

It is clear, then, that the cabinet reshuffle changes little and settles nothing. The crisis of Allied politics remains.

Lacking a real political program for the masses, the Allied capitalists find it necessary to solve their difficulties on the military plane. That is why there is so much talk these days of an Allied offensive. General Marshall has come out with a statement that "The time has come when we must proceed with the business of carrying the war to the enemy and not permitting the greater portion of our armed forces and our valuable material to be immobilized within the continental United States."

This of course has but one purpose. It is to prepare the minds of the American people for large scale participation by American troops in those vital sectors which are one by one being lost by the Allies.

In defense of a tottering imperialism the youth of America will be sent in the millions to face the Axis armies. They are the ones that will prevent with their bodies the junction of Germany and Japan. That is the kind of "offensive" that the American ruling class is preparing. American youth will be thrown into the breach because the imperialist Allies of the United States can no longer hold their own in the war. In this sense the war is only beginning. The U.S. is not coming in at the tail end to deliver the knockout blow as in the First World War. The American people are going to bear the full brunt of the blood bath for a long time to come. This is what decadent capitalism has in store for the youth and working class.

The Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

(NOTE TO OUR READERS: In recent weeks we have been receiving more "Letters to the Editor" than ever before in the history of LABOR ACTION. Unfortunately, a good many of those letters have had to remain unpublished. While we are willing to devote the necessary space to these letters, we cannot publish those which arrive at our office anonymously. If our readers so request, we will withhold their names when publishing their letters, but we must have their names attached to the letters as evidence of good faith and the authenticity of the letters.)

Thus, for example, we have a long and interesting letter from a "Washington Negro Worker" criticizing our position on labor unity which we shall be glad to publish and answer if that reader will inform us who he is.

Our readers, we are certain, will readily understand the necessity of such a procedure. We hope that they will continue to use this space as a means of expressing their opinions.—Editor.)

Wants Articles on Jewish Problem

Dear Editor: Having read your paper several times, it seems to me that you try to completely ignore the problems of the Jewish people. You write pages and pages about Jim Crowism and discrimination against Negroes, but hardly a word about anti-Semitism. You feature special articles about India and Burma, the West Indies and Africa, but the situation in Palestine you don't consider worth your attention.

It so happens that, at least in New York City, the problem of anti-Semitism is especially acute. About 30 per cent of the population of this city is Jewish. The vast majority of the Jews in New York are proletarians, existing by selling their labor power to a boss. The job discrimination against my people is at least as bad here as it is against Negroes. You will find many Jews working

around 36th Street and Seventh Avenue for maximum wages of \$17 a week. But among the better paid mechanics or other relatively well paid factory workers, there are hardly any Jews. The problem for Jewish women is even worse. There are no jobs open or them enabling them to be independent. The most they can hope for is a little spending money.

(The complaint of reader E.B. is quite valid. While there are several extenuating circumstances for this—first, our lack of space, and second, the fact that the Jewish press and leaders, unlike most of the Negro press, have pursued a deliberate policy of not publicizing anti-Jewish discrimination, thus making it difficult to secure the facts—we admit that we have not published enough material on this situation.)

Last week's issue carried an article on this subject and we hope, in the near future, to give it the attention it deserves.—Editor.)

Dunne's Meeting In Syracuse

Dear Editor: V. R. Dunne had a very interesting meeting here in Syracuse last Tuesday, February 24, in which he explained in detail the ways and means in which Dan Tobin with the aid of the government was attempting to break the militancy of the Northwest workers.

Due to the attitude of the local CIO and AFL unions the meeting was not as well attended as might have been expected. A member of the Civil Rights Defense Committee had been to two locals of the CIO here, one SWOC and one UAW, and collected \$25 from each of them from the rank and file. The UAW had promised the use of its hall for the meeting but conveniently forgot its promise.

Militancy is the thing which the AFL and CIO leaders at present in the saddle want least of all. Syracuse. J.L.

Lambastes the "Greedy-Guts"

Dear Editor: Capitalists WANT wars. Politicians DECLARE wars. Preachers PRAY FOR VICTORIES in war.

Workmen DIE in wars.

WHAT THE HELL FOR!!

A bayonet is a knife made by the working class, sharpened by the working class, nicely polished by the working class, and then "patriotically" shoved into the working class by the working class—for the boss class—the ruling class!

Dammit! When the hell are the working slob in America going to realize that this "best of all possible systems"—capitalism—is rotten-ripe for the grave?

IF THE GREEDY-GUTS WANT BLOOD, LET THEM CUT THEIR OWN THROATS!

How much longer will it be before the workers get wise to the fact that capitalism and its hideous offspring, fascism, are coining profits out of the ripped flesh and snapped bones of betrayed men and boys?

Class-conscious Worker. P.S.—L.A. is swell!

Labor in War-Time Conference

Dear Editor: Recently I attended a joint government-labor conference which was held in Philadelphia. The "Labor in Wartime" Institute was initiated by the Labor Division of the Office of Production Management, Consumers Division of the Office of Price Administration and the U.S. Treasury Department. The conference was called by the University of Pennsylvania, Temple University and Pennsylvania State College.

This conference was supposed to prove that labor was well represented in the conduct of the war. On this score the conference failed.

In spite of the fact that the conference was cluttered up with former trade union officials who today have soft government jobs, the conference could not prove the myth it was trying to build—that labor had a great deal to say in Washington. The myth was blasted by the words of the staunchest pro-Administration men. James B. Carey, national secretary of the CIO, had to admit that "labor was hamstrung by the brass hats in Washington." He confessed this rather reluctantly and apologized for President Roosevelt. And this was blasted further when Robert J. Watt, secretary of the Defense Committee of the AFL, pointed out the irony in having an Army officer as head of the labor division of the new War Production Board; and that "under this colonel were six labor men whom he could consult if he wished to." He repeated that "labor was being used as window dressing in the war program" and that it had "no actual authority, only responsibilities."

Charles Weinstein, business agent of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and a known Hillmanite, started an interesting and amusing flurry when he asked: "If labor is only a window dressing, why not pull out its representatives from the War Production Board as we did from the National Defense Mediation Board—till we get real representation?" This apparently frightened Mr. Carey into a brief sermon. "Labor has two paths," he answered, "the revolutionary path or that of evolution or social reform. The CIO follows that of social reform. To pull out of the WPB would be to take the path of revolution as the only road out." To this both Mr. Weinstein and Charles Erwin, an editor of the Amalgamated's newspaper, protested indignantly and righteously. Neither wished to be accused of being "revolutionary"—and there was little chance that either would be.

Philadelphia. W.L.

Wants Articles on Russia, China

Dear Editor: While I read your paper regularly and enjoy the excellent articles and coverage of the British-American phase of the war, I am puzzled by the consistent lack of analysis on the Russian phase of the war, since actually that is the major front today.

I note Cecil Brown's reports on the fake "scorched earth" policy of the British in the Far Eastern campaign, which is in stark contrast to the policy of the Russians, who showed no hesitation in destroying their own property and resources in making their fight against Hitler effective.

I would very much like an analysis by LABOR ACTION on the very obvious difference between the method of fighting of the Russians and that of the rest of Hitler's opponents. Also, I have looked in vain for an analysis of the Chinese war in the light of the new situation in Asia. Despite this criticism, LABOR ACTION is about tops in labor journalism, particularly since the most important fight is at home and every issue is an eye-opener.

A Regular Reader.

(Our correspondent is quite wrong about our handling of the role of Russia in the war. Especially in reference to the application of the policy of "scorched earth" has there been considerable material.

Before the active entry of America into the war, the column "World at War" devoted a large portion of its space to explaining why the war of Russia is at present reactionary and an integral part of the reactionary imperialist war. While the active entry of America into the war forced us to rivet our attention on this more pressing matter, we have continued to print considerable material about Russia's role in the war.

As for China's present role in the war, that matter is under advisement at present and a statement will shortly be forthcoming.—Editor.)

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Nehru - Leader of a Free India?

By HENRY JUDD

When General Chiang Kai-shek visited India recently for the purpose of swinging that country over to the side of the United Nations in the war, he spent much time with Nehru—leader of the Indian Nationalist Congress and right-hand man of Gandhi. Those who speak of India's future always do so with the idea that Nehru will be at its head.

What sort of a man is this Nehru? Can we really expect him to stand at the head of a free and independent India?

His record and his character, far from leading to such a happy conclusion, point rather to his becoming a spokesman and leader for a modified British rule in India.

Nehru is known among his friends and the people of India as "The High Priest of Confusion."

He has earned this uncomplimentary title by his actions over a long period of years—actions which we can summarize as follows:

(1) He has always been the adjutant and stooge of the conservative Gandhi in the Nationalist movement. Whenever the Nationalist radical wing threatened to get out of line Nehru was there to patch up affairs.

(2) Nehru has always—at moments of crisis—supported the right wing of the Congress, as opposed to the left wing. At every opportunity he has made it clear that the slow, easy-going methods of the conservative leaders are more suitable to his tastes.

(3) His claims of being a socialist are really something to laugh at. His "socialism" is no more radical than that of Sir Stafford Cripps or Bevin—both of whom sit in the English war cabinet along with

Churchill, leader of England's Tory Party. Nehru has no idea what constitutes the theory and practice of revolutionary socialism.

(4) Nehru has constantly worked for an agreement with the British during the course of the war. When Gandhi said "Our objective should not be to embarrass the opponent in his hour of need," Nehru nodded his agreement and approval to this cowardly policy.

Nehru has—along with the reactionary Congress leadership—aided in the stifling of every desire on the part of India's 385 million people to take their fate into their own hands and gain their freedom by their own action against the British or any other foreign power that attempts to rule them.

Nehru sees himself NOT at the head of a free and unified India, but at the head of a national government that will rule and administer India supposedly in the name of the people, but actually in the interests of British imperialism because its REAL power, its ECONOMIC power, will remain unbroken under such a set-up.

Nehru—son of a wealthy, high caste and aristocratic family—does not represent the great working class and peasant masses of his country. He is far closer to the native Indian capitalists, landlords and bankers who wish to rule in conjunction with the white British capitalists, landlords and bankers. This "High Priest of Confusion" proves his real character now—in India's hour of crisis—when, instead of issuing a ringing call to the people to rise in their own defense, he indulges in secret and suspicious negotiations and conversations with Chiang Kai-shek and other British agents and representatives. Nehru will not lead a free and independent India.

Anglo-American Economic Pact Solves No Problems - - Present or Future

By SUSAN GREEN

On February 24, Acting Secretary of State Sumner Welles and Viscount Halifax, British Ambassador, signed an economic pact which was hailed by capitalist spokesmen as a "further step forward." This praise is as indefinite as the terms of the pact itself, which is supposed to implement that nebulous plan for a post-war world of "peace and prosperity" known as the Atlantic Charter.

But hold on a minute. The indefiniteness applies only to the post-war paradise stuff. That part—in which the masses are interested—is only frilly trimming to boost war morale. The main purpose of the pact is to state what's what with regard to lend-lease aid.

It is quite clear from the provisions of the agreement that John Bull's Uncle Sam is going to be a very strict "guardian" for the duration. It is furthermore beyond the shadow of a doubt that the United States does not intend to allow its ward any military advantages after the war.

Aside from the above definite agreement as to who cracks the whip over whom, the other "principles" are along the sketchy lines of the Atlantic Charter. Article VII states that when final settlement of lend-lease aid is made between the United States and Great Britain, it will "not burden commerce between the countries" but will "promote mutually advantageous economic relations between them." Furthermore, all nations of "like mind" are to be invited to the settlement party to lay "the material foundations of the liberty and welfare of all peoples."

These grandiose and vague phrases, which also constitute the essence of the Atlantic Charter, are as much to be trusted by the peoples of the world as is Hitler's new order or Tokyo's Asiatic prosperity sphere.

It is impossible for imperialists—be they Yankee, British, Nazi or Japanese—to lay the foundations for peace and prosperity, for liberty and well-being for all peoples. The foundations of imperialism are rooted in production for sale and profit, inevitably leading to international competition and war.

The nature of imperialism can not be changed by charters, new orders and "prosperity" spheres than a devouring wolf can be turned into a meek animal by dressing him up in a lamb's skin. The international competition for post-war profits will be more deadly than ever before in human history. The war itself has intensified the competitive struggle.

Those very nations which heretofore afforded markets for the big imperialists, have been developed by war production into seekers of markets as competitors. Very interesting on the subject of our good neighbors is Ralph Hendershot, financial editor of the New York World-Telegram:

"It is a splendid thing that we

have Canada's production facilities to supplement our own in the present emergency. But we may be deploring the competition from that quarter before another ten years have rolled around. Her aluminum capacity, for instance, is something to ponder in view of the tremendous expansion in the production of that metal that has taken place in this country in the last two years.

"For many years Canada has been one of our best customers. We have sold her millions of dollars worth of manufactured products. The chances are that such exports will suffer sharply after this

war is over. It is worth noting, too, that virtually every country in the world has greatly increased its industrial capacity in recent years. Much of this capacity, to be sure, has been diverted to war production, but the time undoubtedly will come when it will be used largely for peacetime manufacturing. Even most South American countries are seeking actively to become industrially self-sufficient."

C. Hartley Grattan, globe-trotter for the Carnegie Corporation and for the Institute for Current World Affairs, in an article in Harper's Magazine entitled "A Warning to the Peace Planners," bluntly states:

"It will be just as necessary to calculate how Canada and Australia and India are going to sell their stuff, including manufactures. And with regard to manufactures, it will be necessary to take into the calculation not the dribslets they poured into the international market before the present war broke out, but the vastly increased quantities they will be pouring out when they shift their war plants to making peacetime goods."

Mr. Grattan shows how India, which has almost destroyed England's cotton industry, will, with its enormous reserves of rich iron ore—the greatest in Asia, if not in the world—also become a major steel producer in competition with the rest of the world.

China Industrializes
Mr. Grattan states further that China is permanently committed to industrialization and "It is a possibility that China, freed from foreign domination, will put Japan in the shade as an industrial nation."

Australia, whose industrial plant in 1941 already was "infinitely more elaborate than the one she had in 1939, is looking to the lands and islands of the Far East as her natural export market, according to the report of a British commission to Australia.

These are only a few of the new competitive factors. They have intruded themselves into a world where already the competition was so great that it developed into the war that is now engulfing us. Nor have the imperialist diehards of old been marking time. In Germany and Japan, in the United States and England, the war is forcing an almost fabulous plant expansion that will be converted to peacetime production.

Mr. Grattan graphically states: "There will be some terrible traffic jams in the crowded streets of the post-war trading world." The director of the National Resources Planning Board the other day declared that the post-war period may well be "almost indistinguishable from war."

The sooner the people of the world understand that it is impossible for any imperialist gang to lay the foundation for peace and prosperity, the sooner will the masses find the way to do it for themselves. For the purposes of war morale the imperialist governments fool around with such phrases as "liberty and welfare of all peoples." But to all the peoples of the world it is absolutely necessary actually to accomplish this end. Without such a foundation this war will inevitably be followed by another and still others.

There is but one way to get the peace and prosperity that the people crave. The charters, new orders and "prosperity spheres" of the imperialists are snares. Socialism is the real thing.

"Youth on the Rampage"

The Scars of War Take a Strange and Awful Toll

By PHILIP MARSH

CHICAGO—The recent violent eruptions of this city's younger generation are beginning to disturb the war-harried press, legal authorities and a whole variety of social uplifters. Their alarm is well grounded. With swift succession (and with increased tempo since Pearl Harbor) there have occurred a series of crimes of a proportion to excite the interest and imagination of the entire city. The crimes are of a motley variety: rape, suicide, burglary, murder, juvenile delinquency, draft dodging. And most of the offenders are in the teen-age group or in that age vicinity.

One reads that the Juvenile Protective Association at its annual meeting this week charged that "juvenile crime, drunkenness, prostitution and venereal disease are greater than at any time in Chicago history." You read on with the question "why" hovering in your mind. Why this rapid deterioration of the previously-accepted moral standards of youth? Could it be the war? Is it possible that these ugly, distorted forms of social rebellion are motivated by an inability to cope with the accumulated horrors of a war-diseased society?

But there is no enlightenment provided on this score by the experts. The association is concerned only with the cure, not the diagnosis of the cause. More law enforcement is their cock-sure remedy.

A headline case was that of a clean-cut, 18-year-old college student convicted of rape and now facing life imprisonment. At the time of the trial numerous psychiatrists testified that the youth was suffering from schizophrenia, a mental disease, and needed hospital care. The

law paid no heed and shortly afterward confined the youth to a cell. The Chicago Tribune, righteously spitting on the possibility of a human frailty caused by a temporarily disordered mind, editorialized gleefully on the court's "swift justice," and complimented the judge for discarding the medical testimony.

What matters it if this boy was diagnosed as mentally ill by competent physicians? Put him in the can, make him suffer for the mental disorders caused by a decadent social system—that's the advice of the Tribune!

And what matters it if today's newspapers carry the report of the boy's complete mental collapse in his jail cell, which necessitated his immediate removal to a hospital ward?

The Chicago Sun, the "liberal" Marshall Field paper, is also concerned with "youth on the rampage" and contributes the cynical and brutal explanation that "perhaps the war is serving as a great sifter... sifting the weak from the strong." And "the strong are or will be in the armed forces," continues the Sun. (This last opinion, incidentally, will gain little headway among the many new-style Carrie Nations who are currently walling in lusty WCTU fashion about the "disgusting sight of Chicago saloons packed with drunken soldiers and sailors.")

War's toll on the battlefields reaches appalling figures. Never, however, does it approximate the permanent agonies and scars inflicted on living society. A society continually exhausted by war holds little hope for youth. The present reaction of Chicago youth is burning testimony of the need for a new society founded on justice, peace and equality—socialism.

Story of Budd Co. Union - -

(Continued from page 1)

Budd's personnel manager, McIlvain, testified, the shipping department and the machine shop were "most disturbed."

McIlvain and Assistant Works Manager Sullivan therefore gathered together a group of employees from these two departments, whom they felt they could rely on as "loyal" stooges, and began writing up the company union set-up. The chief stooge, one Thomas Alminde, was then a packer but has since become night superintendent in charge of all operations, as his reward for treachery. Until September 5, Alminde was a frequent visitor to the administration offices, where he alone "read what we were writing up," said the assistant manager.

On September 5, each time card rack got a pamphlet describing the "Employees Representation Plan" and a ballot. The "election" was held the same day throughout the plant, conducted by the time keeping department and with all expenses paid by the company. Thus the company "complied" with the collective bargaining provision of the NRA and the only change they had to make a year later was to take out a specific rule that the management could veto all amendments to the plan.

McIlvain presided at the first meeting of the company union representatives and Alminde was elected chairman at his own request. The representatives were paid \$2.00 by the company for every meeting they attended. When some of them protested the company's veto power, they were told that this was to prevent them from doing "something foolish," that is, from fighting for the workers' interests.

The company then pulled a trick which they may now repeat, granting a 10 per cent wage increase throughout the plant, in order to convince the workers that Budd was so big hearted they didn't need a union.

When the UAW called a strike in November, Budd requested Alminde and the others to sign a full-page ad denouncing the union and whitewashing the company. These obliging Judas-goats were rewarded with a trip to Washington, expenses paid, to testify against the union in time which they could keep free from other amusements.

The Employees Representation Association was entirely financed by the company. In addition to paying

for the fake elections held, they gave the ERA a total of \$10,000 in your years, exclusive of 1939, when no records were kept. The company union did not even bother to keep any membership records; there were no membership dues and not one membership meeting was ever held. When in March, 1934, the NRA required that an election be held between the ERA and the UAW, the company set down its own rules for eligibility for voting, ignored the protest even of the NRA and carried through the election under the auspices of public accountants which it hired and paid for, in spite of the fact that at least 500 men were then still out on strike. Thus Budd held the union wolf away from the door of his feudal domain until 1941.

Budd's Blarney
Early in that year the UAW-CIO began its organization drive. As the drive gathered support, President Budd opened his patriotic heart to the men in a posted notice which he signed and slapped over the plant: "In living up to our obligations under the law and under the National Defense Program," it said, "I want to assure you that I still consider each of you my personal friend and will, at all times, try to be guided by your wishes."

What this meant in practice, the men found out: a campaign of terrorizing the workers who wanted to join the union, under open threats of lay-off. Foreman Fred Rickley, for example, openly informed his men that the company would never permit the UAW to organize the plant.

The officers of the company union—Fleming, Brownsey and Mullen—worthy successors of Alminde, acted as spies for the company in reporting union men. Workers who joined the union were spied on, not only

inside the plant, but even on the streets.

This state of affairs was brought out clearly in the case of one of the men who was later fired for union activity in 1941. He had been elected an ERA representative in 1938, and for three and a half years was seldom engaged in production work while drawing full pay. In addition he got four individual wage raises until his pay was \$1.05 an hour plus an 8 per cent bonus. In March of last year he joined the UAW and became an active member, in spite of threats by supervisors to "get" him. In July he met two other workers to turn over information about the company union to the Labor Board and found out that this meeting on a street corner had been spied upon and reported to McIlvain. He was fired two days later.

The two conclusions from the evidence by the trial examiner were a complete exposure of the company. Budd is ordered to cease and desist from any connection with the ERA and to cease to recognize the ERA as bargaining agent. It is to cease from discouraging membership in the UAW. It is to offer reinstatement to five men fired for union activity, plus back pay. But the question of more than 400 men who were fired en masse by the company last year after a union button demonstration in the plant was never presented to the board by the UAW and therefore does not figure in the report.

The first response of the company to this decision was an ERA leaflet to the men, informing them that the company was going to use court action to hold up the enforcement of the decision "for one or two years" and that therefore the report means nothing. This brazen declaration of intention to sabotage the right of the UAW to organize the men is doubtless backed up by the other open shoppers in Philadelphia, whose fate depends largely on what happens to Budd's last stand.

The chief danger lies in the possibility that the union will now sit back and rely completely on Washington to complete its organization drive for it, instead of intensifying its efforts among the men. The future of the whole labor movement in Philadelphia depends largely on every Budd worker signing up with the CIO and sewing up his department as tight as a drum in preparation for an election. Putting the CIO inside Budd's may mean breaking the back of the open shop in this city among the war industry profiteers.

British ILP Polls 29% of By-Election

A number of issues of the New Leader, organ of the British Independent Labor Party, have just reached us. For some unexplained reason, they were delayed considerably more than usual. These issues contain much interesting material and we will publish excerpts from a speech which John McGovern made in Parliament in our next issue.

What will, however, interest LABOR ACTION readers is the result of the most recent by-election for the House of Commons held in central Edinburgh. The ILP candidate, Tom Taylor, polled the considerable sum of 1,950 votes or 29 per cent of the total vote. The government candidate, Watts, polled 4,771 votes, but they were based on the support of all the other parties, Conservative, Liberal and Labor.

Not only is the large percentage of the ILP, lately engaged in a "For a Socialist Britain NOW" campaign, significant, but it should be noted that the total vote was very low, indicating an apathy toward the political scene on the part of many workers in the area.

Col. Jones Jumps Off the Deep End

An almost incredibly stupid and preposterous twist was given to the war profiteering scandal last week when Col. Roy M. Jones, supervisor of the Eastern Air Corps Procurement District, sent out a letter to the East Coast warning them that a "whisper movement" to create labor unrest with stories of vast war profits made by the bosses was being spread by Axis agents, though he admits he has nothing to substantiate his charge.

Were it not for the high position which Col. Jones holds, it would be almost impossible to take his statement seriously.

Doesn't Col. Jones read the papers? Doesn't he KNOW that congressional committees—Truman and Vinson—have published lengthy reports giving the FACTS about war profits made by the bosses? And that the financial pages of every newspaper carry these figures daily?

And since when is anyone who exposes the FACTS about war profiteering "an agent of the Axis"? Where does this colonel get off with this

kind of raw stuff? LABOR ACTION, as well as any other labor paper worth its salt, has published regularly the facts and figures about how the big bosses are profiteering out of the war program, how for them the "war for democracy" which the politicians lather about means nothing more nor less than a grand profit grab-bag.

And LABOR ACTION intends to continue telling the truth about war profiteering. We don't think that publishing the true FACTS will help Hitler, who is the enemy of the workers, or the domestic enemies of the workers—the bosses.

Just to put Col. Jones wise, we're going to end up this little article with a few figures on profits. Let him try to show what's "slanderous" or "poisonous" about these FACTS.

For example, here's the compilation from the Truman House committee of what war corporations have been earning:

General Motors Corp., Cleveland Diesel Engine Division—on 15 contracts, from 12 to 27 per cent profit. Bath Iron Works—on eight con-

tracts, from 8 to 29 per cent. Bendix Aviation Corp., Eclipse Division—expects 27 per cent profit on contract; Pioneer Instrument Division expects 30.8 per cent on another contract.

Bridgeport Brass Co.—profits from 16 to 26 per cent. Brewster Aeronautical Corp.—18 per cent.

United Aircraft Corp.—reported 211 per cent on a \$1,950 contract. Weston Electric Instrument Corp.—247 per cent on a \$1,033 contract. Aluminum Co. of America—129 per cent on an \$8,756 contract.

Now we have a proposition for Col. Jones. We propose that in his letter to war production workers he take these profit figures one by one and explain to us exactly what is "poisonous" about publishing them. Any time he wants, we're ready to show him hundreds of similar profit figures.

NAACP Lawyer Slugged in Nashville

NAACP Release
NASHVILLE—Leon Ransom, member of the legal committee of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and acting dean of Howard University Law School, was attacked in the hall on the sixth floor of Davidson County courtroom here at four o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, February 26.

The attack came when Ransom walked out into the hall from the courtroom, where he was sitting with Z. Alexander Looby, local NAACP attorney, on a case involving Negroes on a jury.

As he stepped out, Dick Fessey, a former deputy sheriff, rushed at him and knocked his glasses off. When the scuffle began, Negroes who would have aided Ransom were held back by a former constable named Hill, who drew a gun and shouted: "We are going to teach these Northern Negroes not to come down here raising fancy court questions."

Crane Speed-Up Causes Wave Of Accidents

CHICAGO—Crane workers are completing the third month of a seven-day work week and the inevitable effects on their health and the efficiency of production are becoming apparent.

The accident rate has leaped way beyond the capacity of the company's medical facilities to give even adequate emergency treatment. A single interne is in charge of the night shifts, which employ 8,000 workers. Even injuries that are obviously serious are hurriedly sewed up and left to wait until late in the morning, when the first physician arrives. Recovery from all accidents is prolonged by the company's policy of requiring injured workers to maintain perfect attendance, despite their weakened condition. Bandaged arms, hands and fingers are common.

Some men return to work so weak they can do little more than watch the hands of the clock roll around. The three months grind has at the same time led to a marked increase in absences from work of stretches lasting from one to two weeks. The fact that the seven-day run is responsible for the workers losing this time is clearly shown by their remarks upon returning to work—"I guess I was just generally run down," or "I thought I would just take one day off but couldn't drag myself back for five more," or "I just couldn't shake off a cold," or "The wife insisted that I take off."

The only sensible solution to the problem of the seven-day week is the one proposed by the United Automobile Workers, CIO, which is carrying through an organizing drive at Crane. The union's proposal is for a "swing shift." Under this schedule every worker would get a day off per week—although it would fall on a different day each week.

A system of relief workers would keep the machines rolling while the men took off.

PRESS ACTION

"The various circulars and letters about the LABOR ACTION subscription drive have been received. Our literature agent is busy at work and you will hear from him shortly. We are acting on sub proposals this week and we expect many things to be done." (Chicago, Ill.)

The LABOR ACTION and NEW INTERNATIONAL subscription drive has gotten off to a good start. Below we list the subscriptions we have received during the past two weeks. Some of them are the \$1.00 combination subs, but most are "regulars" on the old basis.

We want to point out that this is the best subscription effort that has been made by LABOR ACTION in many a month. We hope the splendid work will continue and grow during the two month sub drive.

Next week we'll publish the FIRST results of the \$1.00 sub drive. Send in news about your work and it will be published in LABOR ACTION next week.

St. Louis	16
Missouri	15
New York City	4
Chicago	1
Cleveland	1
Los Angeles	1
Akron	1
Arkansas	1
New Jersey	1
Total	41

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How Can Negroes Solve Their Social and Economic Problems? Is There a "Race" Solution?

Guest Speaker: JOHN GRAHAM

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Editorials

LABOR ACTION'S 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!

1. Hands off the right to strike! For the defense of civil rights and all workers' rights! Against any wartime dictatorship measures!
2. Thirty hours a week; thirty dollars the minimum wage; time and a half for overtime! Rehire the jobless millions by a six-hour shift!
3. 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!
4. No government contract without a union contract! The closed shop in all war industries!
5. Maintain and increase all government social services!

SOAK THE RICH—LET THEM PAY FOR THEIR WAR!

6. A government levy on capital to cover the costs of the imperialist war! Confiscate all war profits!
7. Conscript all war industries under workers' control!
8. 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!

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

SMASH JIM CROW!

11. 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!

BE PREPARED!

13. For Workers' Defense Guards, trained and controlled by the unions, against vigilante and fascist attacks!
14. For an Independent Labor Party and a Workers' Government! No political support to the Roosevelt government!
15. 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!

The Greek "Government in Exile"—a Fascist Racket!

By TOM TANAKOS

On August 4, 1936, General Metaxas, with the aid of King George II of Greece, forced a fascist dictatorship upon the people of that country. The fascist regime of Metaxas carried on its ruthless policy of crushing all liberties and civil rights until it was relieved of this task by a bigger and stronger gangster dictatorship, that of Hitler.

Two weeks ago, King George II announced that he had put an end to the Greek dictatorship. This announcement was made for the following reasons:

1. Pressure from his allies, who in insisting that this is a war of "democracy vs fascism," find it difficult enough to answer the status of their colonials and democracy at home, without having the Greek government, even in exile, maintain its fascist set-up.

2. Fearing the wrath of the workers, he hopes to save the monarchy by "divorcing" it from any association with the hated Metaxas fascist dictatorship as well as from the fascist dictatorship of Hitler.
3. The King is planning a trip to the United States, where he must undo much of the damage already done by his advance agents who have exposed their reactionary hand.

The leader of these agents is the former mayor of Athens, Constantine Kotzias, now living in New York City. He was Metaxas' right-hand man and was made vice-premier of Greece by the fascist clique when Metaxas died.

When Kotzias arrived in this country last August he said his main mission was to extol the virtues of democracy and to present the gold medal of honorary Athenian citizenship to President Roosevelt. But his activities since that time reveal that his real purpose here is to rebuild his prestige and to make sure that if Hitler is overthrown, he and his fascist clique will be considered the "logical" heads of the government in Greece.

After Hitler came into power in Germany, Kotzias was known as the leading pro-Nazi in Greece. At one time he grew a "Hitler" mustache and tried to popularize it throughout Greece. He became a close and personal friend of Hitler, Goering, Goebbels, Von Papen and the other leaders of the Nazi Party, visited them frequently and was often photographed with them. Kotzias and Metaxas not only brought about fascism in Greece by using Hitler's methods

but were able to remain in power through Hitler's aid. Kotzias' quarrel with Hitler was not one of "democracy vs fascism" but the falling out of two gangsters, both wanting the lion's share of the Greek booty.

Clever and Shrewd

The former mayor of Athens should not be considered as just a broken-down politician in exile. He is shrewd, clever, ruthless and has millions at his disposal, as we shall show later.

During the Greek fascist regime, Metaxas controlled the army, and Kotzias represented the rich, who wanted to perpetuate fascism in Greece and keep the workers in slavery. Kotzias ruthlessly eliminated all civil liberties in Athens and in order to pry into the homes and also train future fascists, he forced the youth of Greece into organizations modeled after those of Hitler and Mussolini.

Kotzias was part of the fascist clique that spent twenty-nine billion drachmas as a war budget during the five years of the dictatorship's existence, and yet over 25,000 Greek soldiers lost arms, legs, or died from the cold, while fighting the Italian army, because they did not have any sweaters, wool hose, or warm clothing. There is no question that a very large part of the twenty-nine billion drachmas went into the pockets of the fascists.

Previously, in the early part of 1937, when the people of Greece began to realize what had been put over on them and unrest was in the air, Kotzias urged his cohorts to use violence to keep the people down.

"ATHENS, Feb. 11—Prominence is given in today's newspapers to speeches delivered in various parts of the capital by Constantine Kotzias, governor of Athens. The speaker also praised to a sensational degree, the use of violence against those among the people, who, through being out of harmony with the regime, spread rumors concerning dissatisfaction. 'Use your hands,' the governor cried in accents as loud as his insistence on the present regime, its strength and durability. 'We are, and shall remain, in power forever,' he declared." (New York Times, February 12, 1937).

Kotzias in the U.S.

Constantine Kotzias arrived in the United States accompanied by a group among whom were the finance minister of the fascist dictatorship,

Andreas Apostolides, and the wealthy pro-fascist, John Diacos. In Buenos Aires, Constantine Maniadiakis, chief of the Athens secret police, with twenty of his henchmen, is preparing to leave to join Kotzias in New York. Maniadiakis has been re-elected by American journalists as the "worst hated man in Greece, having systematically terrorized the Greek people."

John Diacos' role is to line up the wealthy Greeks in this country. Thus Kotzias will not only have their financial and political aid, but through them can get control of the Greek organizations in the United States. Progress has already been made along these lines. The reactionary New York Greek Daily Atlantis regularly calls editorially upon Kotzias "to assume leadership of the Greeks in America."

In Cincinnati, Ohio, he was the speaker at the convention of the amorphous conglomeration of Greek organizations, the Pan Hellenic Congress. After a mass meeting in Boston, the following telegram was sent to King George: "...Thousands of Greeks, thirty-four Greek organizations and four church communities...hearing the great Greek patriot, Mr. C. Kotzias, we ask you that Mr. Kotzias be appointed as head of the Greeks in America with headquarters in Boston."

In many cities where the reaction against Kotzias is strong, weekly newspapers are beginning to appear, praising this fascist.

There are a number of revealing side-lights on his visit to Boston. A group of "unfriendly" elements asked him a few embarrassing questions and even made some grave accusations in his presence. Forgetting for a moment that he was playing the role of a great democrat, he snapped back: "Whatever government is established in Greece, whether a democracy or fascism, I will be the head of Greece and let anyone set foot in Greece who is against me!"

Then he asked one of his questioners: "What kind of a worker are you?" The man answered that he was a restaurant worker. Kotzias yelled: "Hear, a restauranter. He feeds the people hamburgers, the other one sells bananas, the other olives and cheese, and they want to criticize me who, all my life, have been buying and selling people!"

And this is the "leader" of the "Free Greece in Exile" movement.

STEFAN ZWEIG

His Suicide Marks The End of an Era

By IRVING HOWE

In the midst of a time such as the one in which we live, it seems almost inconsequential to discuss the death of any ONE man—even if it be the suicide of an author as Stefan Zweig. The capitalist world in which we live values human life so little—far less, for instance, than a good lather part or a few Garand rifles—that one becomes hardened, almost indifferent to the phenomenon of premature death. When the casualties are numbered in figures too large to have any vivid significance in the minds of those who remain, one is tempted to ask: what is the importance of another death—and the death of a man who lived his entire life in comfort and was not forced to die with the horror of the battlefield as his last image of consciousness?

Yet there is an importance to the suicide of Stefan Zweig—an importance which even the casual commentators of the capitalist press could not fail to note; and it was that which made them so uncomfortable in discussing Zweig's last act.

Zweig was not really a great writer. Nothing that he wrote bears promise of living much beyond the present; and much of what he wrote—the biographies and historical sketches—were little more than pot-boilers.

Zweig's forte was the minutely polished short story, the stylistically meticulous work—perfect in its small way, but adding little to the reader's emotional or intellectual stature.

To a degree this method was the reflection of the class to which Zweig so completely adhered: the Viennese petty bourgeoisie with its light façade of culture, its freedom and its shallowness. Zweig never made any pretense at being interested in social or political life. He was the respectable and successful author throughout; not even the First World War, apparently, affected his literary development to any vital degree.

It was only the Second World War—the TOTAL war, which leaves nothing untouched—that finally brought Zweig face to face with the reality of our times. And his one great act of intellectual decency is the statement he left at his suicide, in which he admitted that he was incapable of meeting that reality.

Zweig—be it remembered to his credit—did not attempt to rationalize when he left this world. Even in his exile he had lived humbly; material or financial cares never entered his life, and he was honest enough to so admit in his parting statement.

HIS EUROPE COULD NEVER RETURN

He had come to the end of his day. The Europe, he wrote, which he had known and loved—was devouring itself; the language which he loved was now the property of the fascist maniacs. Whatever would happen, one thing was certain: his Europe could never return. Rather than a painful and dubious attempt to reorientate his life to these new conditions, he had decided to leave. It was the end of his day.

Zweig, never interested in politics, was yet the victim of politics; but even in his death he could not analyze in political terms. We would say that Zweig was expressing, in his farewell letter, the end of a culture and a society; that, regardless of his realization, his suicide epitomized the blind alley of the culture he personified. Whatever was fine and beautiful in it can only find new expression in the cultural renaissance which is the promise of socialism; or it can find permanent burial in the concentration camps of fascism. But the verdict of history does not permit it to live again as it did once before.

That, then, is the choice as we see it. We can hardly blame Zweig for not seeing the same way. His entire life precluded such an understanding. We can at least honor him in this: his final act in life was his most understanding—and far more courageous than many others of his genre who live on as useless, dried out skeletons.

Never able to break beyond the bounds of the bourgeois world, Zweig was both one of its most accomplished personifications and cruel victims. He was no less a casualty of the Second World War than any of the American, British, Dutch, German, Russian or Japanese boys who may be dying at this very moment.

March New International Will Appear Next Week

The editorial board of *The New International*, monthly magazine of revolutionary Marxism, announces another interesting and diversified issue, dated March, which will appear next week.

This issue will contain the following material:

- An Economic Review of 1941 by Albert Gates—lengthy consideration of recent developments in American economy.
- An article on the Allied plans for post-war Germany, by Henry Judd.
- A discussion article on the role of the national revolution in Europe.
- A document on Indian revolutionary policy. Part I of the study by Gregory Zinoviev, *The Social Basis of Opportunism*.
- An editorial consideration of recent problems of the war.
- And a book review by Jack Wilson of Gunther's *Inside Latin America*.

The *New International* sells for 20 cents. Don't miss it.

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Block the Stalinist Lynch Campaign!

For the past several weeks, the Stalinist Daily Worker has been carrying "news" items from its Mexican correspondent which pointed to the launching of a campaign against a group of well-known, radical, anti-Stalinist refugees now situated in Mexico.

These dispatches have attempted to paint a picture of these men as "agents" of the Gestapo doing Hitler's work, etc. None of the well known Stalinist ability at creating amalgams, slanders and plain falsehoods has been spared in these articles.

Who are these men? Victor Serge is known throughout the radical world as a writer and critic; Julian Gorkin was formerly a leader of the Spanish POUM; Marcceau Pivert was leader of the French Socialist Party, the PSOP; Grandizio Muniz, a Spaniard, is the only Trotskyist among them; and Gustav Regler is a former commander of the International Brigade which fought in Spain.

It is these men—who have spent their lives in the service of the socialist movement—who are accused, in the words of the Daily Worker's editorial of March 2, of preaching propaganda of which "no important difference" can be found with "the propaganda of the Falangists and Sinarquists, Hitler's most dangerous fifth column."

When the Daily Worker comes down to cases, we see what it is really driving at. It says that these men are guilty of preaching the Trotskyist line that this is an imperialist war and not deserving the support of the working class. Also that "they insult and slander Stalin and the Soviet Union, as well as the Communists of Mexico and other nations."

Such are the crimes for which the Daily Worker and the Mexican Stalinists want these men to be interned and deprived of their liberties.

The irony of the situation is that of the five men named only one, Muniz, is opposed to the imperialist war. The other four, as far as we know, support the Allied side of the imperialist struggle and have, as a matter of fact, engaged in the bitterest polemics with Trotsky and the Trotskyist movement.

But these niceties of fact hardly concern the Stalinists. What they know is that these people have dared to raise their voice in Mexico to express their point of view on international affairs and have even gone so far as to "insult Stalin"—which is of course, the crime of crimes!

What causes the Daily Worker to steam itself up into such a lather is the fact that over 100 nationally known American figures have issued a statement denouncing the Stalinist inquisition in Mexico. With characteristic integrity, the Daily Worker broadly hints that this statement is merely the work of the Trotskyists and their friends. Thus, with one swoop of the pen, we now see Matthew Woll of the AFL, David Dubinsky of the ILGWU, Roger Baldwin of the ACLU, Frank Graham of the University of North Carolina, and A. Clay-

ton Powell of the New York City Council transformed into... "Trotskyists."

What is involved is obviously more than the rights of some refugees in Mexico. What is involved as well is the rights of minority radical groups in America.

The Stalinists, one of the most unscrupulous elements in the American political arena, must not be allowed to get away with this lynch campaign. Freedom for all dissent in the labor movement must be protected; its suppression would be but the first step toward suppressing the labor movement itself!

Human Life Or Property?

Confronted with the urgent need to provide some measure of protection for workers hit by priorities unemployment, Congress refused to pass the appropriation.

But the same Congress has provided royal compensation for the owners of industrial machinery to be requisitioned from civilian to war production.

The appropriation asked for workers made jobless by priorities was a drop in the bucket, \$300,000,000. The idea was to supplement regular unemployment relief so that an unemployed worker could get 60 per cent of his regular wage, but in no case more than \$24—until he could find another job.

Yet every imaginable objection was rolled out by congressmen, including the very playful one that a worker could live so soft on \$24 a week he would not be interested in a job! Finally the judicious congressmen decided that they would, in some mysterious way, be infringing upon states' rights if they appropriated that small sum to help the unemployed workers. One pretext is as good as the next.

What it came to protecting the bosses, however, that one about states' rights was completely forgotten. The ardent congressional guardians of capitalist property would actually have denied the Administration the right to requisition machinery without the stipulation about paying the bosses—and paying them plenty.

The compensation will not be merely for the face value of the machinery itself. The government can't be such a piker. The payment will include, in addition to the face value, the worth of the machinery as "units of the entire productive capacity of the plant." On top of that will be added "all incidental damage inflicted upon a business through the loss of the machinery." Lots of money can be squeezed through these loopholes. It's not going to be exactly a losing proposition for the boss to have his property requisitioned.

When making the laws of the country, however, Congressmen follow the ethics, not of enlightened human beings, but of the grubbing, boss-dominated capitalist system which they so faithfully serve.

F. D. R.'s New Tax Bill - -

(Continued from page 1)

duct and send to the Treasury 10 per cent of all employees' earnings above \$16 a week for a single person or \$32 a week for a married person.

Payrolls will be further reduced by larger deductions from social security to raise a total of two billion dollars in additional revenue.

Since 70 per cent of all wage earners in the United States earn less than the \$2,400 estimated by a University of California study as the minimum necessary for a decent standard of living, it is clear that next year's payroll taxes will mean less food, less clothing and less of every necessity for the great majority of workers.

'Work or Fight'--

(Continued from page 1)

of living will be trampled under foot. The basic need to survive will force labor to strike in order to get more wages. That's what happened in England.

Yes, the war is only begun. But already the tempo of production is being felt in the length of the working week and in the intensification of speedup. The screws will be tightened even more. Again the basic need to survive will force the workers—never anxious to strike—to do so in order to remind the bosses that the human machine has limits of endurance. This also happened in England.

Undoubtedly Mr. Stokes and his brethren are looking ahead. They do not rely on the ability of labor leaders to control the workers under more pressing circumstances. They want to make sure that the workers' only weapon of self-defense is broken.

"Work or fight," worker! Work on a starvation wage—or into the Army you go.

The capitalist politicians get patriotic fits at the mere mention of a law to stagger wages upward to parallel the cost of living. They cry "traitor" at those who want to protect the health of the worker under unprecedented war pressure. They have a simple solution for all labor problems. It is based on the elementary truth that benefits for the workers cut into the profits of the capitalist. Their solution, therefore, is to try to put the workers inside a straight-jacket. Their proposal: either work under the conditions we set down, or into the Army you go.

What will be labor's answer?

Workers' standards of living will be further lowered by the Treasury's proposed new and increased excise taxes on fifteen products including soft drinks, candy, chewing gum, gasoline, cameras, beer, wines, tobacco, cigarettes, telephone and telegraph. Excise taxes are the most unfair of all possible taxes because they bear no relation at all to ability to pay and fall most heavily on the poor. Nevertheless, the Treasury proposes to raise \$1,340,000,000 from this source!

The unfairness of the Treasury's proposed excise taxes are accentuated by the fact that almost all of the 15 commodities to be taxed are virtual necessities of life, mostly purchased by the poor, while taxes on luxury goods, purchased by the rich, are not being raised.

While the poor are thus hit hardest by the Administration's tax proposals, the wealthy corporations will be allowed to continue most of their war profiteering. The excess profits tax, which is virtually meaningless at present and is expected to yield only 100 million dollars for 1941, is being increased by only about 15 per cent to rates which are still far below the 100 per cent excess profits tax in effect in England.

Two Big Loopholes

Worse yet, the two alternative methods of computing excess profits taxes, the main reason for the present ineffectiveness of the tax, are being left unchanged. Thus the Coca Cola Company will be able to clear 42 per cent on its investment without paying one cent in excess profits taxes by utilizing the 1936-39 "average earnings" method of computation, while railroads will be able to triple pre-war profits without paying any excess profits tax, by utilizing the "8 per cent investment" alternative method to compute their tax. In addition, the Treasury's plan calls for special concessions to wealthy corporations through repeal of existing declared value excess profits and capital stock taxes and through post-war rebates to corporations on part of their taxes.

Although the Treasury's tax plan will raise three billion additional revenue from corporation taxes, the sum is only a drop in the bucket when compared to the amount of money which could be raised from this source, and thus not tax the poor. This was admitted by Randolph Paul, special tax advisor to the Treasury, who testified before the

House Ways and Means Committee that:

"Corporations could safely pay total taxes up to more than 60 per cent of their total estimated net income of 18 billion dollars, or a sum of about 10 1/2 billion dollars."

The rich will suffer only slightly from the Treasury's proposed increased estate and gift taxes. This is so because of the plan to have exemptions for \$60,000 for the estate tax and \$30,000 for the gift tax.

As a result, a worker earning \$20 a week will pay more in taxes next year than a wealthy individual will pay on an inheritance of \$60,000!

Workers, through their unions and organizations, must demand the defeat of these discriminatory, anti-labor taxes. It is necessary to make the rich pay for their war; it is necessary to soak the rich and not the poor.

British Labor Party Out-Tories The Tories

The National Executive Committee of the British Labor Party has issued a report giving its proposals on post-war reconstruction. The report is worthy of the most reactionary Tory imperialist interests. It appears to have stemmed from the Bank of England, rather than from the party of British labor.

Here are some of the "reconstruction" plans of these gentlemen who sit in the War Cabinet along with Tory Churchill:

(1) Solution of the "Indian question" after the war is over (see page 1 for more on this).

(2) All colonies should remain in the hands of the "democratic" powers, only the administration of these territories should be "liberalized."

(3) The peoples of the Axis nation are responsible—along with their dictatorial rulers—for the war and should be punished after their defeat. In other words, a new Versailles Treaty should be imposed upon them.

British labor, keenly aware of the post-war problems it will inevitably face, cannot find any answers in this report. As for the colonial peoples of the British Empire, to them it is only a guarantee and promise of a continuation of their present enslavement.