

LABOR ACTION

AUGUST 31, 1942

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

Censorship Hides News on India

A heavy censorship, imposed by the British authorities, is hiding the story of what is happening in India during the course of the civil-disobedience campaign for independence.

In the last week the authorities have permitted hardly any news to come through. The little that did come told a story of continued street battles with the police in such scattered cities as Bombay, Calcutta and Nagpur; demonstrations of peasants in small towns and areas near the large industrial centers; a continuation of police and soldier violence against the people and innumerable arrests throughout the country.

In the city of Bombay many students were arrested for marching and demonstrating; in the city of Nagpur 350 people were arrested in one batch. But there was virtually no news from other sections of the country.

The first wave of bloody fighting and strikes is apparently over and a period of comparative quiet has come to India. Both sides, the 400,000,000 people who want their independence on the one hand, and the small handful of British authorities on the other, are preparing for the second stage of the struggle for national independence.

The fact that the conservative group among the Indian nationalists have been unable to make any progress toward a compromise indicates that this stage will not be long in coming. During the course of the week the British-appointed Viceroy turned down the letter of Gandhi which again repeated the demands of the Congress Party for independence.

New Mob Terror In Sikeston, Mo.

By ROY GOULD

ST. LOUIS—Scarcely two weeks after the Federal Grand Jury announced that there is no law against lynching, the Sikeston mob is terrorizing Negroes again.

At 2:44 a.m. on August 19 the Rev. J. B. Ross jumped onto a train that happened to be passing through Sikeston and sought protection from the mob pursuing him. The conductor locked him in the men's washroom just as the mob arrived at his heels. About fifteen or twenty youths pounded on the washroom door and tried to break it down, until the conductor threatened them. After cursing and making threatening remarks, the crowd left the train. The colored minister told the conductor that he had been condemning the lynching of Cleo Wright in his church.

After the lynching last winter,

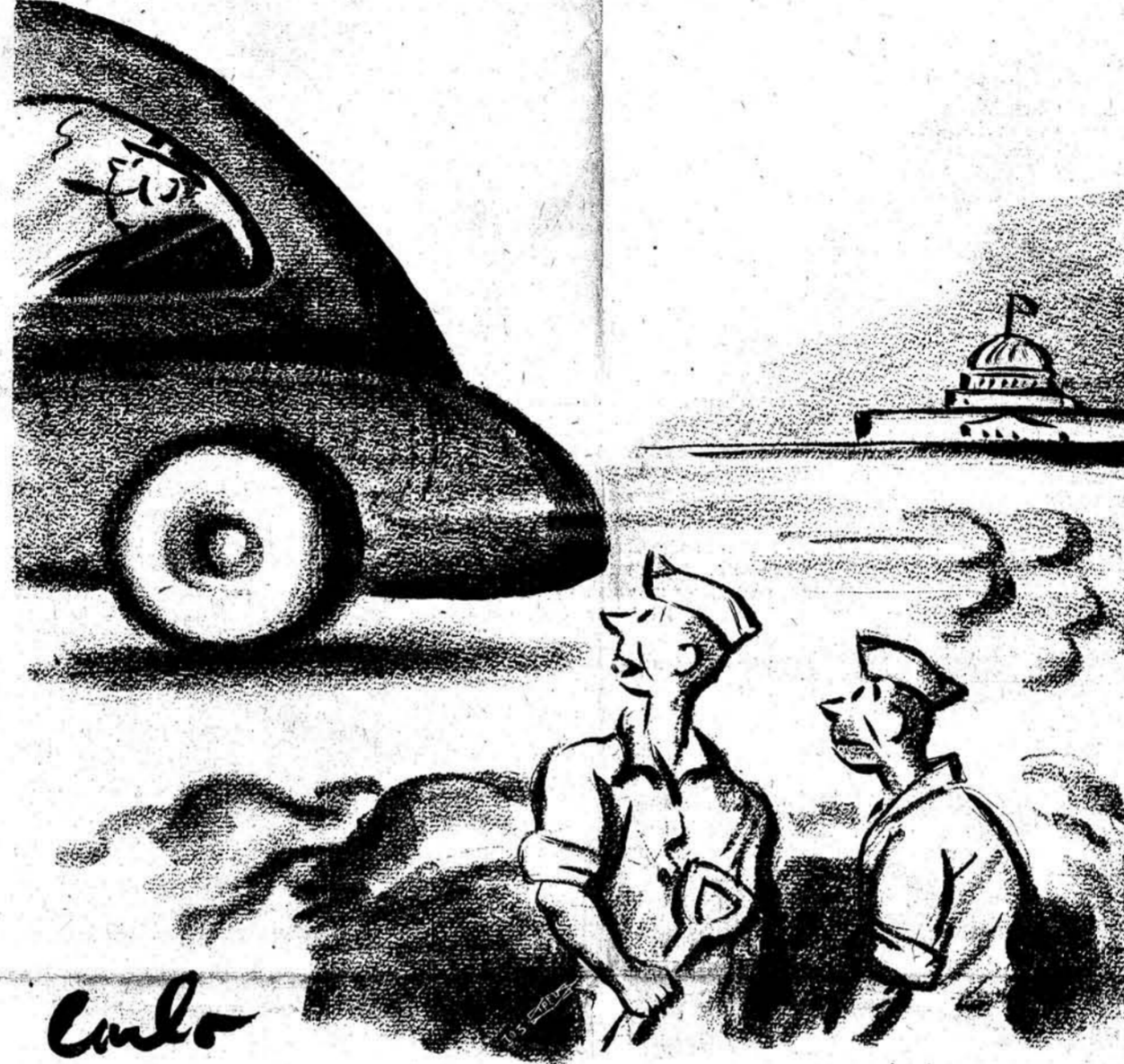
threats to run the Rev. Mr. Ross out of town were made. Readers of LABOR ACTION will remember that this is the man who organized the defense at Sunset Village at the time of the Wright lynching. He roused his people into a defense which may have prevented further bloodshed and came to St. Louis to get the support of the colored community.

For giving the Negro people of Southeast Missouri some confidence in their own organization and their own action, the Sikeston mob cannot forgive this man. The mob knows that its own power is ended once the Colored people organize for defense.

The mob also knows that its own mob action will go unpunished as far as local, state or federal law is concerned. And the Colored people know that they must depend largely on their own strength. In fact, there are already many places in Southeast Missouri where the mob would not dare strike.

PRICE CHIEF PREDICTS 30% RISE IN COST OF FOOD

'How Does He Do It on a Dollar a Year?'



Harlem Pays More for Food

A recent survey made by the NAACP shows that housewives in Harlem pay as much as 10 per cent more for food than in other parts of New York. For example, a shopping list of products (excluding meats) in various sections would be priced as follows:

Harlem, \$2.96.
Greenwich Village, \$2.80 (5 per cent less).
Lower East Side, \$2.66 (10 per cent less).

Not only do they pay more for the food they buy, but the food is inferior. A survey shows that many stores in Harlem do not carry Grade A eggs. And the price for Grade B eggs is even higher than the price for Grade A in other sections of the city.

ALP Circus Antics Indicate Need of An Independent Party of Labor

By SUSAN GREEN

Of all the political clowning that characterized the nominations for governor for the state of New York, the best circus show was put on by the American Labor Party—although the Democratic and Republican Parties did not do too badly in this respect.

The two old parties continued the antics of tweddledee and tweddledum—with a little variation in the Democratic Party due to the Roosevelt-Farley tiff. But the American Labor Party gave final and conclusive demonstration of the fact that it is not an independent political party and definitely does not represent labor's interests.

The course of the ALP has been clearly charted. It has been to corral the votes of labor in New York behind Franklin Delano Roosevelt, "enlightened" political representative of dominant capitalist interests in this country. So pro-Roosevelt are the ALP big-wigs that when Senator Mead lost the nomination to Attorney General Bennett—political tools respectively of Roosevelt and Farley—the ALP big-wigs decided to outdo Roosevelt in their pro-Rooseveltism.

To consolidate the Democratic Party for the election, the Roosevelt contingent at the convention was willing to "forgive and forget"—and get behind Bennett for governor. But the ALP was content with nothing less than a "New Deal" candidate. So at its own convention it put up for governor one Dean Alfange, who, it is reported, accepted after six other "favorites" had refused the honor.

And who is this Alfange, the white hope of the ALP?

He is a dyed-in-the-wool Tammany politician. He is a member,

(Continued on page 4)

Price Control Is a Farce Unless Labor Is in Charge

If advances recorded from mid-June to mid-July continue at the same pace, there will be a 30 per cent increase in the cost of food in the next year!

That's the prediction of Leon Henderson, price control administrator.

Henderson, of course, made no prediction of wage increases to meet the higher cost of living.

From June 15 to July 15 uncontrolled food prices jumped 2.5 per cent. Prices "controlled" by the OPA went up 0.3 per cent.

In the same period prices of unregulated articles and services rose 1.6 per cent.

Over the longer period of May to June the cost of living on unregulated items went up 2.4 per cent.

THAT'S MONEY OUT OF THE POCKETS OF THE WORKERS!

And there is no end in sight. The price control administration is a farce. The whole set-up of price control is a farce.

Before it even got working, the powerful farm lobby, composed of poll-tax congressmen and monopolists, forced the OPA to omit ceilings on farm prices until these had risen to 110 per cent of parity.

And since its first enthusiasm of price control announcements—with many items excluded from control—the OPA has systematically lifted one ceiling after another.

LABOR ACTION last week detailed several of the cases in which ceilings have been lifted.

These continue. Ceiling prices for jams, jellies and preserves will be lifted 15 per cent. Five important dried fruits and raisins will go up 15 per cent. Pancake flour prices will get a 20 per cent lift.

There are at least 25 vital items in the cost of living budget which have no ceiling at all.

There is indeed no end in sight. The OPA howls about inflation, but what is its solution? To tighten price control? Spread it? Make it fool-proof? Put it in the hands of those who are most interested in it—working class housewives? Propose higher wages to meet the increasing cost of living? Put severe limits on profits?

NO!
Its solution is to DEPRESS wages. Just that!

It now takes \$1.19 to buy what could have been bought for \$1.00 in 1939 (when prices had already risen steeply!).

Wages that have not kept pace with that rise have already been depressed. But even at that the OPA is not satisfied. It would prefer a standard of living such as the working class "enjoyed" in 1932.

(Continued on page 2)

Morgan-Mellon Combines Pull the Strings

Power Monopolies Bar Cut in Light Bill

By JOHN BERNE

The General Electric Co., the Westinghouse Electric & Manufacturing Co. and the big utility corporations of the country are using their monopolistic power to keep the electric bill of the country pegged at \$2,665,000,000.

But for this monopoly control of an indispensable commodity—power—the electric light bill of every working class family could be cut down to one-half or even to one-third of its present size.

But for this monopoly control of electricity, the portion of the prices of commodities which represents the manufacturers' electric bill could also be reduced to one-half or even to one-third of what it is at present.

It is a question of using fluorescent or incandescent lighting. Fluorescent lighting is cheap—incandescent lighting is dear. So, presto! Fluorescent lighting is kept off the general market by General Electric and Westinghouse—who make money from the manufacture and sale of incandescent lamps—and by the major utility companies—who make a pretty

penny out of the \$2,665,000,000 paid by consumers of electric light.

Maybe you think this is too small a matter to fuss about when the whole world is being torn apart by the wolves of war, however, this is no small matter. This is no isolated phenomenon. The whole capitalist system has developed to the stage of monopoly—which, as will be pointed out later, ties right up with the cause of the war.

Last week—for a day—there strutted and fretted across the front pages of the press the story of this power monopoly. It told how this economic octopus holds in its grip every branch of industry from the manufacture of fixtures and equipment to the manufacture of power itself.

But the story published by the capitalist press did not go far enough. It did not reveal that such financial oligarchies as the Morgans and the Mellons own the power monopoly.

A few weeks before this exposure of the gigantic power combine, the press displayed the story of the stranglehold of the steel trust on that industry. The reports related

how the production of cheaper and better steel was being prevented by the huge United States Steel monopoly—in the interest of its own profit.

But again the story did not go far enough, and therefore did not give a true picture. It did not reveal that the House of Morgan—which is the power behind General Electric and certain utility companies worth many billions of dollars—is also the financial pillar of the United States Steel Corp., to say nothing of other industries, of railroads, etc.

Before the steel trust exposed there were other periodic revelations on how monopoly capital strangles production. There was the juicy account of how the aluminum trust limited the production of that metal to keep the price up and altogether prevented the production of other cheaper light metals.

But once more the story was incomplete. For it failed to make all the connections. It did not say that the Mellon group, which owns the aluminum trust, also controls Westinghouse, several important utili-

ties—and banks, railroads, mines and other industries.

And when the Standard Oil monopoly was put up to public view because of its restriction on the development of cheaper, lighter fuels and because of its retarding the production of synthetic rubber—again the capitalist press distorted the truth by not telling all of it. For it did not state that the Rockefeller outfit which owns the Standard Oil trust also has its grip on related industries, on banking and so on.

So you see, the power monopoly that keeps fluorescent lighting from general use and makes you pay two or three times more for light than you should, is no small potatoes. A complete picture shows up modern capitalism for what it is—a full-blown monopoly system. The monopolists are the few powerful financial oligarchies in whose restrictive clutches the national wealth has been concentrated.

Their control production for their private gain. Most of the profits from the labor of the working class eventually flows into their coffers.

With their ever expanding wealth they seek new fields for investment and for further expansion. When they run head-on into the same bunch from other modern capitalist countries like Germany and Japan, the collision means war.

That's the tie-up between the General Electric-Westinghouse utility monopoly and, the horrors we are living through today—no small matter!

Yes, it all ties up very neatly. And from the comparatively unimportant matter—these days—of reducing your electric bill by one-half or by two-thirds, we come around to the necessity of freeing production from the death-grip of modern monopoly capitalism. This is necessary to produce the goods that the people need. This is necessary to bring peace to the world.

Unless and until capitalism is replaced by socialism—workers' control of industry and workers' government—peace and plenty for all will remain empty words—no small matter!

Confidential Company Letter Admits Western Electric 'Is Making too Much Money,' but--

Bosses and WLB Deny Western Electric Workers 10¢ Increase

By H. ALLEN

On August 18 the War Labor Board rejected the demand of 21,000 Western Electric workers, Kearny, N. J., plant for a general wage increase of ten cents an hour on the ground that such an increase would be "contrary... to the national program for wage stabilization." The WLB awarded increases of three to five cents an hour to a section of the workers.

A brief review of the struggles of the workers for the past period graphically exposes, first, the utterly baseless, iniquitous and fraudulent side of the bosses; and, second, the complete futility of workers placing their hopes on the WLB for a fair judgment of their demands.

In hearings which began on April 30 before a panel of the War Labor Board, the Western Electric Employees' Association (an independent union) called for an over-all wage increase of ten cents an hour from the Western Electric Company in order to meet higher living costs and correct the company's slow and one-sided method of adjusting wage rates. The company's proposition was entirely unsatisfactory, with the result that the panel declared it would submit recommendations to the full War Labor Board, with a decision expected by May 20.

1. "Making Too Much Money"

The adamant attitude and "difficult" position of the Western Electric

Co. in respect to the wage increase jumps at one as verbatim reports before the War Labor Board hearing are revealed.

As evidence regarding the company's financial status, the union submitted a copy of the following letter to a private individual from H. B. Thayer, then president of the Western Electric Co., which an investigation by the Federal Communications had revealed:

"The Western Electric Co. is making too much money, and at the present time it would be enormously harmful to that company and to our general interests if it were known what its profits were. I trust that there will be no in-

formation given out until matters are in better shape.

"I think it well for you to destroy this letter."

2. Taxation by Misrepresentation

In the face of its unquestioned and established ability to pay the proposed ten cents an hour wage increase, the Western Electric Co. had the brass to contend that it was better, more patriotic, to pay taxes to the government in the "national emergency" than to increase wages. There are no limits, dear brothers, to the duplicity and gall of the PAY-TRIOTERS when they want to avoid disgorging even a little of their swollen profits to the workers. A second letter of the aforesaid

president of the Western Electric company to one of the company stockholders, introduced by the union, punctures holes in this "patriotic" taxation argument of the company, to wit:

"The taxation situation in Illinois is getting to be almost impossible. The laws are not clear and the application of them takes the form of legalized blackmail, particularly on the large taxpayers. This law in the state of New York, under which we propose to incorporate, seems to be admirably suited for our purpose. We have wanted for some time to capitalize our surplus, BUT HAVE WANTED TO AVOID THE PUBLICITY OF 'MELON-CUTTING.' For obvious

reasons we want as little publicity on this proposition as possible, either before or after the event, which is my reason for asking you to consider this in the light of a confidential communication from me."

Presumably the company must think the workers are pretty gullible or naive, when, on the one hand, it opposes wage increases on the ground that these reduce taxes to the government and—on the other hand—it devises such elaborate schemes and plots to avoid paying taxes.

3. Job Insecurity

Workers cannot afford to forego wage increases in the name of wage

stabilization, not only in view of their present needs and requirements but also because they have no guarantee that they will not be thrown out of work next month or year. This is especially true in the case of the Western Electric workers, as an excerpt from the brief submitted by the union to the WLB on the matter of job insecurity and labor turnover at the Kearny plant of Western Electric demonstrates:

"This company has the reputation of wielding as ruthless an ax with respect to jobs as does the headman in Germany who deals with marked victims. The labor turnover at the Kearny works has been greater than in any other

(Continued on page 2)

Europe in Revolt

News from the Socialist Camp

THE NAZIS ARE GETTING WORRIED

Three little stories which have recently come out of Germany vividly describe how the Nazis themselves, in spite of their official propaganda boasts, are getting increasingly worried about their ultimate fate and are beginning to think about ways and means of protecting themselves if things "turn out the wrong way."

Jewish refugees who managed to escape from Germany to Switzerland report that Nazis are willing to pay up to 500 marks for their Stars of David, the badge every Jew is forced to wear as a sign of dishonor. This story seems to be incredible yet it appears to jibe with their calculations. They think that if a revolution should break out, there would not be a surer protection for themselves than to put on these Stars of David in order to pass as Jews and thus escape.

An American girl married to a German Nazi recently left Germany and arrived here. She herself is full of admiration for the Nazis, but then she reports: "I really do not understand why all my friends and my husband urged me so much to go back to the United States. They all said that in this way, at least our money over here would be safe and might help us after the war... An officer friend of mine came to the train when I left Berlin and told me: 'You do not know, Madam, how much I would like to be in your place.'"

LETTER FROM GERMANY ON

A letter from Germany from an oppositional communist gives a very good description of the state of the anti-fascist forces. It confirms the indications we have recently published here from other sources.

There is very little organized activity along political lines. Even the little circles which have been kept up during all the years of Hitler's terror have now nearly completely ceased to exist. Not so much because of new arrests by the Gestapo but because of the fact that the few members are now dispersed over the whole of Europe and practically without any means of contact. Some are in the Army, others have been commanded to work very far from their homes. It is thus nearly impossible to know much about the different friends.

Since the beginning of the war the Nazis have been emptying the concentration camps and many of the younger comrades have been sent to the front at the most exposed places, right after their release from the camps. There have already been many who are known to have died at the front. Many of the older men have been executed...

All this indicates that the coming

The most incredible but nevertheless true story is the following: A former well known Communist deputy now living in a neutral country needed a "certificate of good behavior" in order to get his papers in order. Although without any hope of getting it, he nevertheless wrote to the mayor of the small German village in which he was born and had lived for a long time. He thought that he could thus at least prove to the authorities that he had done the best he could. How great was his surprise when a few days later he not only got the certificate stating that he had always been a decent and law-abiding citizen, but found in the same envelope a letter from the mayor which read as follows: "My dear schoolmate: I was very glad to hear that you are well, and like the place where you are now. Nevertheless I am sure that soon there will come again the days when you will be here again and we will then have a glass of beer together..." Things must be pretty bad when Nazi officials remember their former anti-Nazi relations again. This sort of person always has a rather fine nose...

Reports from Norway state that the morale of the troops now stationed there (consisting mainly of older men) is very low. Many cases of suicides, even among officers, have been reported. There have also been several cases of attempts to desert across the Swedish border.

POLITICAL UNDERGROUND

revolution in Germany will have to depend almost entirely on new fighters. The older generation, politically active in pre-Hitler days, has been partly wiped out by Hitler's terror.

But whereas the report thus far is rather pessimistic it strikes on the other hand a very encouraging note. The comrade states that among the factory workers in general there is a very hopeful mood. They say: "This simply cannot go on for very long any more. We work 14 to 16 hours a day, the food situation has been steadily deteriorating after the occupied countries had been completely looted. Nobody can stand this any more for long. Things simply will go to pieces very soon. Next Easter Hitler will be finished..."

It should not be overlooked that such an optimistic attitude among the workers with regard to the near end of the regime has already occurred several times and has slowed down again after new successes of the Nazis. But it is nevertheless a very important sign, especially when confirmed by the above mentioned reports about the sentiment among the Nazis themselves.

Europacus.

Panchelly, Woodworth And Brown Are Freed

By C. T. WOLF

After five years in a New Jersey prison, three West Coast seamen who were framed on charges of robbing a scabberder in 1937 were freed through the efforts of the West Coast Seamen's Union and the Workers' Defense League.

These three seamen, Anthony Panchelly, Edward Woodworth and Donald Brown, members of the Marine Firemen, Oilers, Waterfenders & Wipers Assn. (unaffiliated West Coast black gang union) participated in a seamen's strike against the West Coast Waterfront Employers' Association, in Hoboken, N. J., that lasted ninety-nine days in 1936-37.

In an effort to break the strike and sail the ships out of the harbor with laden bottoms, the shipowners began to recruit scabs (with or without the proper Maritime Commission papers) to man the struck ships. One of the scabberders, a waterfront character, Frederick Schwartz, approached Panchelly, Woodworth and Brown to sail as scabs on the very ships they were striking. They refused and in the altercation that followed Schwartz was severely beaten.

Five Years in Jail

In order to intimidate other seamen to man the ships, Panchelly, Woodworth and Brown were arrested and held incommunicado for 72 hours. During this time many methods were invoked to make these staunch union seamen sign a statement to the effect that the union strike leaders had committed criminal acts. When they refused to comply with this absurd proposal, the ship owners and Hague's police threatened to have them rot in jail until they signed that statement.

And rot they did for five miserable years after Hague's court found them guilty of (guess what?)... robbing the scabberder Schwartz of \$21.60. For that they received unusually stiff sentences of 14 to 15 years each.

The shipowners failed to intimidate the militant striking seamen with this act and "the hook hung" for ninety-nine days, until the ship owners finally became convinced that the maritime unions on the Pacific Coast were here to stay. The union hiring hall had been firmly established and the last effort to smash it had failed.

On July 21, 1942, after five years of suffering, the victimized seamen were finally released.

Don't Be a Hog!

When you've finished reading this paper, don't hog it! Pass it on to a friend.

Better yet—why not buy him a sub? Twenty-five cents for six months as an introductory offer!

Europacus.

4-Day Strike in General Tire

Protest Against Rate Cut Ends When Union Leaders Desert Men

By GERALD McDERMOTT

AKRON—One hundred and twenty workers in the band room at the General Tire Co. have ended a four-day strike for fair wages only after being deserted by their own short-sighted leaders.

The strike, which shut down the entire plant of 1,700 employees, came as a protest against a cut in rates. Striking workers were receiving the lower rates paid women in the rubber industry, although the work has become so heavy in recent years that men have replaced women at the band-building machines. The additional cut in rates put the earnings of the band room

workers far below the average in this town where the war boom long ago sent prices soaring.

The strikers militantly withstood government threats and the fake and quickly conjured up "public opinion" of the boss press, but when their own local president threatened to break the strike by replacing them, the workers returned to their jobs pending negotiation of the grievance.

The general strike experience demonstrated a sound union principle. Only when unionists demand equal pay for women will they be safe from cuts through being paid women's wages. If workers, leaving

for the Army, allow a lower wage for women who replace them, then the men will return to the jobs at the lower rate.

The General band-builders should know that their fellow workers would not have stood idly by and seen them sold out. They should know that no other skilled men were available to break the strike. And they should remember the lessons of the great strikes of five years ago, when the Rubber Workers Union was born. The bosses have never stood up to organized, militant labor, demanding its rights. And they never will, labor bureaucrats notwithstanding.

Local 9 Is Still Waiting For Repair Conference

SAN PEDRO, Aug. 23—Local No. 9 Repair Workers are still getting the run-around from the Shipyard Stabilization Committee. It is now more than six weeks since the government promised that there would be a special repair conference in San Pedro. The government representatives have also promised that repair workers in the harbor area would get the prevailing rate on the West Coast for repair workers, that is, \$1.34 an hour for mechanics. But so far nothing but promises.

In addition, the repair workers are, first, intent on keeping double time for holidays and Sundays; second, they are asking that all time after twelve hours in the same day shall be double time—the first four hours after eight at time and a half; and, third, that these rates shall apply to all repair work regardless of whether it is Navy, Maritime Commission or commercial work.

Shipyard workers should keep their eyes on Bill Mulholland and the repair negotiating or stabilization committee. Mulholland, not a repair worker himself but chairman of the committee, has already stated that the demand for double time on Sundays would be a good bargaining point. With such an attitude it is doubtful if the repair negotiating committee will obtain any real gains for the men. But as yet the government hasn't even called the scheduled repair conference, so the committee hasn't yet had a chance to let the men down.

What is needed right now is a pressure campaign by Local 9 on the government and shipyard companies so that the repair conference will be called.

Minneapolis Defendants File Appeal

The first step in the appeal on behalf of the eighteen unionists (Local 544-CIO) and members of the Socialist Workers Party was taken this week. An eighty-page brief was submitted by the defense challenging the constitutionality of the Smith "Gag" Law under which the convictions were obtained and the unconstitutional procedure employed in applying the "gag" law in this case.

The appeal was filed in the Circuit Court of Appeals in St. Louis. The government will reply to the arguments of the defense by the end of September. It is expected that oral arguments will take place before the Circuit Court of Appeals some time in November. It is likely that there will be a decision then.

The Minneapolis case has aroused a large number of progressive trade unionists and their organizations to the need for an effective defense because this case represents the first major legal attack by the Roosevelt government against trade union leaders for following a militant policy. To accomplish its purpose, the Roosevelt government used the infamous and undemocratic Smith "Gag" Law, whose provisions are so loose as to be of use to any anti-labor district attorney in a drive against progressive union militants.

The Civil Rights Defense Committee, which is in charge of the Minneapolis case, is appealing for funds to finance the appeal. All labor organizations and individuals interested in this case and in the defense of free speech are asked to write to the CRDC, 160 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Penn R. R. Locks Out Strikers

Several weeks ago 1,500 trackmen on the Pennsylvania Railroad, 99 per cent of them Negroes, went on strike against the cattle-car traveling facilities provided for them. They also struck for higher wages and against the system whereby they donate several hours each day to the company while traveling to and from the tracks they repair. Through their militant strike action and with the assistance of the Utility Workers Organizing Committee, UWOCC-CIO, the men were able to win coach facilities instead of the box-cars into which they had previously been herded.

Shortly after the first strike, the trackmen, now 2,000 strong and including hundreds of white workers, went on a sit-down strike for their other demands, particularly for a wage increase to bring their pay up to that of trackmen of the New York Central Railroad. They were protesting as well the notorious Jim Crow policy of the Pennsy whereby Negro workers are given only the

dirtiest and lowest-paid jobs of coach cleaners, baggage men and track workers.

At a subsequent meeting of the strikers, organized by the UWOCC, the men voted to go back to work pending consideration of their case by the National Mediation Board and pending further organizing efforts by the UWOCC which would strengthen their bargaining power.

When the men returned to work, however, they found themselves locked out by the company, which now refused to deal with the UWOCC or take back the majority of the men on the ground that there was in existence an agreement with the AFL which had been violated by the strike action of the men. Appeal to various governmental agencies, including the War Labor Board, brought no response. Finally, upon receiving a telegram from the UWOCC organizer, the National Mediation Board upheld the action of the company and stated that the men could only offer themselves for re-employment as new employees.

As a result, the majority of the trackmen have been thrown out of work and face an especially acute problem of unemployment in view of the pernicious system of Jim Crow discrimination against Negro workers in industry.

It is significant that the Pennsylvania Railroad did not recall or invoke its agreement with the AFL until the second strike, when it realized that the men would be content only with substantial improvement of their working conditions. It is obvious that the company is merely using the AFL agreement and the appearance of a jurisdictional dispute as a pretext for a lock-out now that the workers, newly-organized by the UWOCC, are ready to fight militantly for bona-fide union standards.

The National Mediation Board, in upholding the "legalities" of the situation, is merely playing the traditional role of government agencies in ruling in favor of the bosses.

Price of Food - -

(Continued from page 1)

And if labor is not on guard that is just what will happen. Wages are being assailed—by higher prices, by tax levies, by sales-tax proposals, by WLB denials of wage increases.

Prices rise day by day, month by month. A little flip of an OPA hand and prices go up on controlled items. Uncontrolled items don't need that.

Wage increases take long weeks or months of negotiating, during which prices continue to rise.

Workers have to sweat the tiniest increase out of the boss and the WLB. Prices pretty near go their own merry way. And profits, of course, pile up.

There is only one solution to price control. PUT LABOR IN CHARGE OF IT!

Let the unions and committees of working class housewives keep prices in check!

But price control is not enough. With the best system—and you can be sure that the OPA will not grant any approximation of it without mass pressure—all it saves is the given standard of living.

That standard of living is no good. That's a fact! There is no reason on earth why labor should be content with whatever its miserable standard is. Especially with the bosses grow-

ing fatter each day on the profits of war production.

Labor's standard of living must go up!

Let the WLB, OPA and manufacturers' associations howl and lament, labor's job is to RAISE its standard of living, to ask for HIGHER wages!

You Can Buy LABOR ACTION In Harlem at:

- 125th STREET
- Northeast corner (9th Ave.)
- Northeast corner (8th Ave.)
- Northwest corner (7th Ave.)
- Northwest corner (Lenox Ave.)
- Southwest corner (Lenox Ave.)
- 116th STREET
- Northeast corner (Lenox Ave.)
- Southeast corner (Lenox Ave.)
- Southwest corner (Lenox Ave.)

Wanted! Wanted!

Copies of the July August and September, 1941, New International for purposes of binding. We will appreciate your sending these copies to: The New International, 114 West 14th Street, New York City.

The Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

Sends in Sub, Liked Meeting

Dear Editor: Enclosed you will find a quarter to pay for six months' subscription introductory offer of LABOR ACTION starting with edition of August 24.

Congratulations to Henry Judd and Emanuel Garrett for the fine forum on Sunday.

N.S.

Answers Jacoby On Needle Trades

Dear Comrade Editor: In his clear and valuable letter to the Editor, (LABOR ACTION, August 24), Brother Jacoby takes issue with my article on the crisis in the needle trades (LABOR ACTION, July 20) on one point, to wit: "There is no 'law' that says that garments are to be made only in the East. The industrialization of the South, in the last analysis, is to be welcomed by unionists, militants, class conscious workers."

Jacoby contends that while this is abstractly correct, this industrialization is a conscious effort of military officials to break the Eastern industry and its unions and is not a natural or necessary expansion of the garment industry.

It is certainly necessary to expose the motive and aims, as our article did, of the Southern congressmen who have successfully exerted pressure on the Administration and convinced with the Army officials to establish non-union Southern plants. But the establishment of these Southern factories is a fact. More important, too, is the fact that thereby has been created a mass of new, non-union factory workers. What is to be done about that? Tell them to get out of the factories? Nobody suggests such an absurdity.

Therefore, it is relatively unimportant, except as a matter of exposure of employer - governmental aims, HOW these Southern plants came into existence. When North-

ern employers imported Southern Negroes to work in the huge steel, meat packing and other industries in the North, it also was relatively unimportant HOW the hitherto agricultural working Negroes got into the factories.

The basic task then became (and in a large measure still remains) for the unions to abandon (as the CIO unions in large part have) their own Jim Crow bars and to organize the Negro workers side by side with the whites into the unions in order to protect the existence of the unions and their standards.

The comparison is not only analogous; it is quite identical with the prime necessity today for the garment unions in the East to ORGANIZE THE SOUTHERN NEEDLE TRADES WORKERS to preserve their unions and their union standards. Every other immediate aim is also necessary, but in all important aspects these are real only in proportion to the degree and militancy with which an organizing campaign is recognized as the KEY to the crisis in the needle trades.

Therefore, what is necessary are the following:

1. A militant class struggle policy by the unions; abandonment of the union officials' policy of behind-the-scenes deals or seeking "favors" from the Administration, with the membership kept virtually in the dark.
 2. Membership meetings and MASS DEMONSTRATIONS to exert pressure for the workers' demands—the maintenance of existing union standards, jobs, etc.
 3. The demand for NO GOVERNMENT CONTRACT WITHOUT A UNION CONTRACT.
 4. An allied needle trades unions campaign to ORGANIZE THE SOUTHERN PLANTS.
- The maintenance of the needle trades unions on solid foundations is the fundamental question at stake. That solid foundation is menaced by and therefore contingent on what is done about the Southern non-union

shops. The union standards—employment, wages, hours—flow from the state or degree of organization of the unions, as is of course obvious from the effects already on jobs, proposed lowering of wage standards, etc., in the East.

Unless the southern plants are successfully organized, the weakening of the needle trades unions will go on apace, and with it the destruction of the living standards of the workers.

H. Allen.

The Buffalo ALP Leaves Workers Cold

Dear Editor: The primary vote on August 11 shows how little response the American Labor Party was able to evoke from Buffalo workers, with their policy and candidates which are indistinguishable from the Democratic and Republican Parties.

In the city-wide contest for city judge nomination, only 469 ALPites voted. Last November, 7,424 cast votes for the same office. The total votes cast in two of the assembly districts were 106 and 81. In at least half the cases, one vote was all that was needed to elect someone as an ALP Erie County committeeman. The others were elected with votes of two or three, the highest vote for state committeemen was equally unimpressive.

This poor turnout came after many meetings, statements in the press, rallies—all based on the fight between the right and left wings of the ALP for control of the party.

Shipyard Workers:

LABOR ACTION will devote a considerable section of its September 21 issue to the problems confronting the convention of the CIO Shipyard Workers Union. You are invited to submit letters and articles on your local situation and problems. Copy must be in by September 12.

The issue seemed to be: which leadership would offer the best all-out support for Roosevelt's war policies.

The right wing (which won nearly all the county and state committeemen) is built around Robert A. Hoffman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, some trade unionists, and pale kinds of all sorts. This group charged that if the left wing won, the ALP would lose all support in

New York state. The left (Stalinist) wing cried: "Unity, unity—and all out behind the war effort!"

Neither group had anything to say about labor's demands or rights, nothing about fighting for a decent standard of living, nothing about improving the slum areas in Buffalo, nothing about protecting civil liberties. They spoke only of the ALP's willingness to have the work-

ers sacrifice everything for the war. All the candidates for the nomination—two assemblymen and the city judge—were regular Democrats and Republicans. Not one candidate was an ALP man. Thus, instead of arousing the workers and trade unionists with a GENUINE Labor Party program, the ALP left them cold.

J. C.

Western Electric Wage Case -

(Continued from page 1)

manufacturing industry so far as New Jersey is concerned, and this is the statement, not of the union but of the New Jersey State Department of Labor. The average labor turnover for 1938 in New Jersey was 18 per cent while at the Western Electric, Kearny works, it was 43 per cent.

"In 1930, 22,000 were employed at the Kearny works and in 1933 less than 4,000 were employed. In 1937, the payroll increased to 9,500 and in 1938 the payroll dropped to 5,000. Length of service or rate of pay is no guarantee that an employee will not be affected by the next or future layoff. The tragic implications involved in such discharges are emphasized by the fact that the skills developed by employees on jobs of the Western Electric Co. are of little or no use in outside industry."

The short employment life of a Western Electric worker at the Kearny plant is an important factor to be considered in any wage adjustment. It would be shocking to one's sense of justice for the company to be able to take off the cream of prosperous years and leave employees the skimmed milk (and very little of that) during the lean years."

The Kearny union is beginning to grasp the "to hell with the workers" attitude of Western Electric, which is only a more crass example of the attitude of the BOSS CLASS everywhere. That class will resort

to any measure—deceit, duplicity, crime—and will use might and main to hold what they have. Harsh experience will show to the Kearny workers, as it shows to other workers, that a strong union and the readiness to use that strength, is necessary to protect their interests to the extent possible under the capitalist order.

The Kearny workers have just learned what "a sense of justice" means—(1) to the bosses and (2) to the War Labor Board (the government) so far as the workers are concerned. In the last analysis, when the basic economic and political interests of the employers are concerned, the bosses and the government stand together in opposition to the needs and interests of the workers. For the Western Electric workers at Kearny, the WLB's policy of "wage stabilization" means the continuance of huge profits by the company and a continued low living standard and job insecurity for the employees.

As we go to press a news dispatch carries the significant announcement by the Western Electric Employees Assn. of Kearny, N. J., that they have refused to participate in ceremonies awarding the Army-Navy "E" to the Western Electric Co. for its war production efforts. The union, in its statement, denounced and gave as a reason for its decision, the company's failure to maintain fair labor standards. The

anti-labor practices of the company, in the name of patriotism and "national unity," have thus been dramatically exposed by 22,000 workers who demand their rights "at home."

Simultaneously with this action the union, following a membership meeting, announced that it was petitioning the War Labor Board to reconsider its ruling for a meager 3-5 cents an hour increase to a part of the workers, in view of the unanimous recommendation of the board's panel for a wage increase of 5-8 cents to a greater number of employees.

The union's petition says directly that the views of the panel cannot be "so completely overruled by the board without precipitating disturbing feelings of restiveness, uneasiness and general dissatisfaction among so large a number of workers as are involved in this case." This plain-spoken attitude of the union is a favorable omen. Western Electric workers, too, like increasing numbers of workers elsewhere, are taking note of the peculiar workings of the WLB; for example, where panels of the WLB have proposed more favorable rulings for the workers, only to have the WLB ignore the recommendations.

Have you subscribed to LABOR ACTION? Twenty-five cents will bring it to you for six months.



Introductory Offer Cards:

We have mailed out to all our literature agents the attractive two-color sub cards describing LABOR ACTION's special twenty-five-cent introductory offer. We hope to be receiving a flock of them back soon, filled out with the names and addresses of new readers!

New Subscriptions:

The following new subs arrived at our office within the last two weeks:

- Los Angeles 14
- New York City 12
- Buffalo 8
- Chicago 5
- Ohio 4
- Missouri 4
- Maine 1
- Total 48

Notice Re Rate Cards: LABOR ACTION's rate card offer has expired. We cannot accept any more orders for rate cards. We will, however, continue to accept rate cards already purchased and now being filled out by new readers.

Of Special Interest To Women

By Susan Green

To the housewife wheat is what goes to make bread and cereal, even though to the capitalists it is something out of which to make money.

You will, therefore, be interested to know that this country has mountains of wheat. For the season of 1942-43 there is on hand 1,589,000,000 bushels of what is known on the market as cash wheat.

This is not all new wheat. It includes the 634,000,000 bushels not consumed last year. In the 1941-42 season the consumption of wheat was 697,000,000 bushels. So that there was then almost twice as much wheat as was used up—even including soldier consumption, lease-land, etc.

You don't have to be a wizard to see at a glance that the 1,589,000,000 bushels on hand for this year's use is a tremendous amount. It equals what was actually consumed last year plus the surplus left over last year and leaves a super-surplus above that of more than 200,000,000 bushels. In a word, THERE'S AN AWFUL LOT OF WHEAT AROUND.

In fact, there is so much of it that it is being dumped in open fields for lack of storage space. The weatherman and farm children are having the time of their lives playing on these mountains of the wherewithal for making bread and cereals.

With wheat bins bursting and the field decorated with loads of wheat, bread and cereals should be cheap. But are they?

On the contrary, all kinds of bread have gone up at least ten per cent in the last few months. The A&P Marvel bread which was selling two loaves for fifteen cents, is now ten cents a loaf. This is an increase of thirty-three and a third per cent. The A&P whole wheat bread, which was nine cents a loaf, is now ten cents, an increase of over eleven per cent. And the prices of cereals have risen by ten, twelve and a half and sixteen, and two-thirds per cent.

Now what you are to figure out, dear reader, are the why and the wherefore of rising prices of bread and cereal, while a super-colossal crop of wheat is going to waste on the open fields.

Do I hear you exclaim: "Elementary, my dear Susan!" You said it! Huge private interests—with the cooperation of Congress—are pay-triologically taking advantage of the war to line their own pockets with gold.

On a Jersey road I was given a lift by a woman employed in an unorganized out-of-town mill operating exclusively on Army orders. From her fragmentary remarks, the following story shaped up:

The stretch-out is in full force. One woman is on twenty-four looms. The only help she gets is from a young girl who feeds the spindles for her and for several other operators.

The temperature of the work rooms is kept at 96 degrees—an Army requirement because the cloth for uniforms comes out better when made in this heat.

Needless to say, women are constantly passing out. A six-hour day is the most they can take. Absences are not permitted. In case of illness necessitating a day off, a woman herself will arrange with a worker from another shift to take her place.

Being consistent in its taboo on absences, the boss pays the woman who is supposed to be on the job and not the one who actually did the work for that day. The worker herself settles accounts with the substitute who did her the favor of working through twelve hours in 96 degrees of heat.

With a wry smile, my informant commented that twelve hours of labor in that temperature doesn't do the substitute any good, either.

Under such deplorable conditions millions of yards of cloth are turned out for the Army—while the organizing department of the United Textile Workers seems to have put up a sign reading: "Closed for the Duration." That sign must come down.

From here and there one can piece together a picture of how soldiers spend their spare time. The mass of khaki-clad up-rooted humanity that swarms into the "soldier towns" must be a sad sight.

To these two-by-four towns, which boast perhaps a drug store, a movie, a bar and a restaurant, the hordes of soldiers come from the camps for a change of atmosphere. But there is nothing to do.

They sit around in doorways and lean against posts, just doing nothing by the hour.

The USO buildings don't even begin to accommodate the khaki influx into these towns. Besides, many soldiers just don't care for the USO.

The soldier who can get himself a girl is a man apart. Provincial mamas are not particularly anxious to have their girls traipsing around with lonely, women-starved soldier boys.

For a change from warming a doorstep or leaning against the post, the private gets the opportunity to salute officers who may have the hardihood to stroll down the street. Army regulations require this undemocratic procedure.

No WORKING CLASS ever wins a war. The working classes of the Allied Nations and the working classes of the Central Powers alike lost in the last war. And no matter who the victors of this war will be, the INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASSES can only be the losers—of their sons, their health, their homes, their jobs—when the war is over.

And that is what every working class mother should teach her children about war—Dorothy Thompson to the contrary notwithstanding.

Dorothy Thompson, whose name is never written or spoken without appending the words "celebrated columnist," perhaps thinks she is so great that she doesn't have to be consistent.

In December, 1929, when nobody was yet seriously thinking about the Second World War, she was very outspoken on the subject of war. "If I had children," she wrote, "I would tell them just one thing about the last war, and I would tell it to them over and over again: No nation won it. Every one lost it. And from now on all great wars will always be lost by all the combatants."

In December, 1939, when the Second World War was a reality and this nation was preparing to get in, Dorothy scurried onto the war-mongering bandwagon with such decided opinions as: "The statement that 'no body ever wins a war' is pacifist propaganda and poppycock."

Obviously Dorothy suffered amnesia and forgot what she had said a decade before, which is the pattern followed by all liberals—BRAVE BEFORE THE EVENT. However, the statement that "no body ever wins a war" actually is cock-eyed nonsense. The RULING CLASSES of the Allied nations won the last war and got as their spoils Germany's colonies and foreign trade. If the hated Nazis win this war, the RULING CLASS of Germany will get as its spoils the colonies of the United Nations and most of their world-wide trade.

Obviously, SOMEONE does win a war—and it is for this kind of victory that billions of dollars and millions of lives are staked. But—

What Are the Issues and Objectives?

Behind the Murray - Lewis Dispute

By MIKE STEVENS

Will John L. Lewis continue his militant attitude or will he buckle under and follow the appeasement policies of Philip Murray and the other labor leaders? Events of the next few weeks may prove a straw in the wind when the United Mine Workers decide the question of working overtime, and the wages to be received for overtime. The manner in which the union handles this problem will be a deciding factor in the CIO's future attitude toward the Miners Union and John L. Lewis.



If the miners agree to work overtime at the regular rate of pay, many CIO leaders will make open overtures to John L. Lewis and the union, but if the miners militantly insist on overtime rates, open warfare against John L. Lewis and the union will increase with greater intensity.

From his strong entrenchment within the United Mine Workers Union, Lewis may decide that this is the time to make a bid for national leadership and ride the crest of militancy now brewing in the rank and file. On the other hand, he may decide that the time is not yet ripe.

WHY THE FRICTION?

The friction between John L. Lewis and the executive board of Philip Murray is not primarily one of personalities or prestige, as the capitalist newspapers would like to have us believe. The basic reason for the friction is the refusal by John L. Lewis to go along with the other CIO leaders in their blind and unquestioning participation as part and parcel of the Roosevelt War Administration.

Lewis also supports the war, but remembering full well the results of the last post war period, he is not only cautious as to what particular gains labor gives up during the war, but with his finger on the pulse of the masses and an eye to the future, he is also extremely careful that his name is NOT associated with those leaders who give up these gains.

Philip Murray understands that his leadership and the CIO's allegiance to Roosevelt is threatened if Lewis stands apart from the rest of the CIO leaders. He fears that Lewis will become the rallying point for all progressives who object to the present non-militant and appeasement policies of the CIO. Murray's own position in steel will be in jeopardy. The steel workers, seeing their first cousins, the coal miners, refusing to retreat and managing to hold their own, may seek new leadership.

While awaiting the War Labor Board's decision on the \$1.00-a-day demand of the steel workers, Philip Murray mailed out thousands of copies of the brief that the steel union had presented to the War Labor Board. This 364-page book was to impress everyone with the magnificent job done before the board, so that in case of an adverse decision no one would blame the leaders. But when the 44-cent decision was handed down (months late, so that a large sum of retroactive pay would look good and keep the workers contented) it

possibly reminded many steel workers that the coal miners, under Lewis, had gotten their \$1.00 demand. This is what the CIO leaders fear and this is the reason for their condemnation of John L. Lewis.

WORKERS DO NOT FORGET

Daily throughout the country workers talk of striking against the decisions handed down by their leaders and the boards. Often the leaders prevent these strikes by making promises that they know cannot be fulfilled or by appealing to "patriotic duty" or threatening to expel the plant or local leadership. In spite of this the workers frequently rebel against the union leadership and stage sit-downs, slow-downs and prolonged strikes.

When this happens the capitalist press and Roosevelt are immediately informed by the union leaders that they did not authorize the strike and that they are doing their damndest to get the workers back on the job. The strike is thus weakened from the start.

The workers do not forget these sell-out tactics nor will the men who were prevented from striking forget. Every time the cost of living rises, or the boss takes back another union concession, the workers will remember the union leaders who stopped them from getting real increases in wages and a better union contract. These workers, as well as large sections of the unorganized, will undoubtedly seek new leadership.

THE ISSUE OF DEMOCRACY

Philip Murray and his executive board, especially the Stalinists on it, are prepared to sacrifice many more of the past gains and possible future gains of the labor movement, whenever the Roosevelt Administration sees fit. But they know it will be impossible unless John L. Lewis is working openly with them and his conduct and policies are indistinguishable from their own. John L. Lewis' refusal to "go along" is their reason for attempting to destroy his influence in the labor movement.

All other points raised by the CIO executive board as legitimate reasons for their opposition to Lewis are a lot of poppycock. Philip Murray condemns Lewis for being a dictator within the Mine Workers Union. This is absolutely true. We of LABOR ACTION, who insist on the rank and file controlling their own unions, hold no brief for Lewis' ruthless and dictatorial policies. But in connection with Murray's charge it must be remembered that within the labor movement there are many who have objected to and opposed Lewis' methods and regime. Of these people, some are with Lewis today and some are with Murray. But there is one individual in the labor movement who worked with Lewis for thirty years, and during that entire period not only did he not open his mouth once against the dictatorship of Lewis, but acted as Lewis' right-hand man in smashing any opposition within the Mine Workers Union that raised its head to ask for a little more democracy. THAT MAN IS PHILIP MURRAY.

In the early thirties, when the mine union treasury was pretty low, the miners in convention wanted to drop Murray and save his salary. John L. Lewis considered Murray so necessary and valuable to his machine that he threatened to resign the presidency of the union if Murray was fired. Only a year ago Lewis lifted the charter from one of the Pennsylvania coal districts. With the charter went the autonomous rights of the district. The miners' representatives appeared before the United Mine Workers international executive board to appeal from John L.'s act. Philip Murray, who now insists that he is for democracy within the miners union, did not even sit in on that session to help the miners of that Pennsylvania district get their charter back.

After Forty-four Years of U.S. Rule

Puerto Ricans Want Independence

By WILLIAM BRAD

"The bars of the American flag have become looked upon as liberators. But the disillusionment was swift and bitter. By 1916, only eighteen years later, there was already a full-fledged independence movement against the U.S.

When American troops first landed, they were looked upon as liberators. But the disillusionment was swift and bitter. By 1916, only eighteen years later, there was already a full-fledged independence movement against the U.S.

PROFITS RUNS HIGH

In that short space of time U.S. capitalists had extended their strangling tentacles to the whole of the island. The sugar companies and the banks had begun to take up huge areas of the best lands. The peasantry was driven off the land they had owned for centuries. Wall Street banks, through loans and money manipulations, took control of all public utilities and of the Puerto Rican treasury.

The wealth of the island was annually drained off to American investors. The leader of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Iglesias, has stated: "Since the U.S. occupied Puerto Rico, the island's exports and imports totaled \$2,700,000,000. Two-thirds of this business and profits obtained by bankers, commerce and industries reach the U.S. to be redistributed and reinvested."

Profits to U.S. owned sugar companies run from 12 to over 100 per cent. In the depression years of 1932 to 1936 they averaged a yearly income of 12 per cent. They have taken from Puerto Rico many times their original investments. One nationalist writer has put Puerto Rico's economic status very succinctly: "The American flag found Puerto Rico penniless and content. It now flies over a prosperous factory worked by slaves who have lost their lands and may soon lose their guitars and their songs."

SOCIAL POLICY

The social policy of Yankee imperialism has been just as reprehensible. All schools must teach English as the primary language. Spanish, the island language, is secondary. Pupils are taught American but not Puerto Rican history.

Before the U.S. came, the Puerto Ricans did not know racial discrimination. The U.S. has installed Jim Crow, has attempted to divide Negro and white, against the resistance of the natives.

The government of Puerto Rico is dominated from Washington. The governor is appointed by the President. The electoral structure is in the hands of an American commission. The Legislature is a fraud, since its acts must have the approval of the appointed governor, in the final analysis, of the President in Washington.

Freedom of speech and press (one of the four freedoms in the Atlantic Charter) do not exist for

Philip Murray is now head of the Steel Workers Union. He helped draft the constitution of that organization only a few months ago while he was blasting away at the non-democratic methods of the Mine Workers Union. The steel workers' constitution is certainly not an example of rank and file control, and in many ways is less democratic than the mine workers' constitution.

When John L. Lewis, as permanent chairman of the CIO unity committee, proposed unity between the AFL and the CIO in January of this year, Philip Murray objected on the ground that no man had the right to call for unity unless the present executive board decided it or a convention called for it. A few months later, this same Philip Murray, without a meeting of the executive board or a convention or referendum, announced that he was calling for unity talks with the AFL and had already named his committee.

These examples and facts are not intended to prove that Philip Murray is as big a bureaucrat and demagogue as John L. Lewis but only to wipe away any impression that Philip Murray is fighting Lewis because Lewis is a bureaucrat.

WHAT ARE THE STALINISTS' AIMS?

The Stalinists may be in fundamental accord with Murray in wanting to integrate John L. Lewis into the war machine. But whereas Murray does not want to weaken the CIO numerically by losing the miners union, the Stalinists are all for getting rid of Lewis and the miners union. It matters little to the Stalinists if in the process of attempting to destroy Lewis they wreck the miners union, for, as in the past, they have no scruples in striking a blow at the labor movement when it happens to suit their own narrow interests.

It is not, as many have written, that with the miners out of the way the Stalinists expect to capture the CIO (the other non-Stalinist unions have grown during the past two years and will offset that danger), but for other reasons.

1. The Stalinists know that if Lewis gets into a position in the CIO to exert any influence on its policy, he will not be willing to sacrifice everything for the sake of production.
2. They are also aware that if Lewis becomes a power in the CIO again, their goose is cooked. He will never make the mistake again of thinking that he can "control" them.
3. The Stalinists will not tolerate any possible chance of a genuine progressive group developing within the labor movement, and with Lewis out of the way they expect to minimize that danger.
4. Whenever a militant worker objects to their sell-out tactics they can immediately raise the cry of "Lewisism," hold a "Moscow trial" and prove that the worker is in cahoots with, and a co-conspirator of, "the expelled betrayer of the industrial union movement."

Revolt In India -

Is featured in the August NEW INTERNATIONAL

In addition the issue contains: "Trotsky's Struggle," by Max Shachtman. "Tomorrow in America," by Harry Allen. "The Myth of the United Nations," by Henry Judd. "A Labor Base for Negro Struggle," by Ria Stone. "The Polish Workers Take the Floor," by J. W. Smith—a supplement to the discussion article on the national question that appeared in the last issue. "An Answer to the Stalinist Critics," by Leon Trotsky—in the Archives Section. Plus other articles and book reviews.

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Tax Dodgers Want a 10% Sales Tax - -

By David Coolidge

The National Association of Manufacturers has climaxed its underground campaign against "union security" and for a national sales tax by coming out into the open with the demand for a 10 per cent sales tax.

The NAM is the union of the bosses, big and small. It is dominated of course by the big bosses. The little bosses are in there looking for hints and ideas on how to become big bosses. While the NAM is busy trying to see to it that the workers and the poor get squeezed by increased taxes, they have nothing to say on a little matter of tax dodging that was the subject of some remarks by the Secretary of the Treasury before a joint congressional committee on internal revenue.

The reason of course is clear: the tax dodgers are members or potential members of the NAM; that is, they are bosses and exploiters. If the government can get larger sums from the workers then the Treasury Department might not become so noisy in connection with tax dodging by the bosses.

USES VARIOUS METHODS

Secretary Morgenthau testified that "the method used by the taxpayer was to inflate expenses with the evident purpose of avoiding normal and excess profits taxes on corporation earnings. The devices used include the payment of excessive salaries, the distribution of unearned bonuses and the payment of unreasonable sums for the purported services to persons closely connected with the management of the companies involved." He cited seven cases without revealing the names of the companies. He said that Congress should decide the question of revealing the names. The seven cases cited by the Secretary follow:

"Company A makes an important airplane part. This corporation is owned by one man, who hired himself as its sales representative. His compensation in 1941 was \$1,656,000. By consolidating these earnings with those of the corporation, we have blocked this obvious attempt to divert profits and we have increased the corporation's income tax by \$1,117,000.

"Company B makes steel. All stock in this corporation is held by three families. Excessive salaries were paid to officers who were also stockholders. The revenue agent has recommended disallowance of \$82,000 in salaries, and the company has already agreed to a disallowance of \$58,000.

"Company C makes vital equipment for airplane pilots. This corporation paid \$31,104 in rent in one year to the wife of the president for using property which had cost her \$45,412. A brother of the principal stockholder, without special training or ability, drew a salary of \$15,000 a year and a son and daughter, just out of school, got \$7,500 a year each.

"Company D makes tools and dies. This company is owned by two brothers and their wives. It paid dividends of \$40,000 in 1940 and \$100,000 in 1941, while salaries totaling \$128,000 were paid in 1941 to the president, his wife and his brother.

"Company E makes forgings. The stock is owned by three families. From 1938 to 1941 the salaries of employees who were stockholders and relatives of stockholders increased 523 per cent. Excessive salaries for 1941 have been disallowed to the amount of \$568,000.

"Company F makes equipment for airplanes. Three principal officers of this corporation took salaries of \$100,000 each and the corporation claimed it had set aside over \$75,000 in bonuses. Salary and bonus payments totaling \$516,000 were found to be excessive. Other disallowed deductions included \$16,000 paid for watches given to employees, \$14,000 for banquets and picnics, \$4,000 for photographs taken at banquets and picnics, and \$1,900 for tickets to football games. Other important deficiencies were found in the tax return.

"Company G makes a device important to aviation. This corporation is owned almost entirely by one man, his wife and his brother. The two men increased their salaries from \$12,000 and \$15,000 in 1939 to \$72,000 and \$90,000 in 1941. The royalty rate on the patent jointly held by them was increased, with the result that with expanded sales for war purposes the royalties paid to them increased from \$87,000 in 1939 to \$1,170,000 in 1941."

TYPICAL OF THE WHOLE BOSS CLASS

It would be interesting but it is not especially important that we know the names of these companies. It is significant, however, that Congress does not make public the names of the "pay-triots." It is not especially important to know their names because they are only typical of the whole boss class. Furthermore, the instances cited are all probably comparatively little fellows, who are only among the big boys like Standard Oil, General Electric and U.S. Steel. Right at the time when they are making a drive against the workers, their liberties and living standards, the bosses feather their own nests and the nests of their relatives and closest stooges.

It is literally true that the bosses look on the CIO slogan of "equality of sacrifice" as having nothing to do with them. For them it means equality of misery and want for the workers, and equality of opportunity to increase profits, dividends and salaries for the bosses.

Editorials

Senate and India

Last week in the U.S. Senate, an ex-pal of Hitlerism, Senator Reynolds of North Carolina, created an uproar by saying that Britain should grant India its immediate independence and that the United States should exert its influence on the British government to that effect.

His fellow senators fell all over themselves in their efforts to get the floor and denounce this suggestion of Senator Reynolds. One of them—that great "liberal," Senator Norris—asked Reynolds a pretty good question: How would he like it if the British government put pressure on Washington to get the poll-tax abolished in his (Senator Reynolds') home state of North Carolina?

The motives of Senator Reynolds in saying that India should be free are not hard to find, nor do they have anything in common with the genuine democratic demands of the people of India and socialists throughout the world. Reynolds is an American totalitarian who belongs to the anti-British, isolationist and appease-Hitler section of the American ruling class. What a reflection on the rest of the senators (supposedly democrats and liberals) that this man is the one who speaks out for India's right to freedom!

Senator Norris no doubt thought he had made a devastating answer to Reynolds when he made the crack about the poll-tax. But it didn't answer the question of India's right to freedom! Two wrongs still don't make a right, not even in the Senate! Norris and Reynolds only proved that both of them stand in the wrong.

Little Steel Signs

The signing of contracts by the Little Steel companies with the United Steel Workers closes one chapter in the decade-old struggle of the steel workers for recognition and collective bargaining. The signing of this agreement is the culmination of a series of strikes, negotiations and government board hearings. There were the Little Steel strike of 1937 and the Bethlehem strikes of 1941. It took all of these actions to bring these steel companies into line and to agree to collective bargaining.

The outstanding events in this struggle were the strikes. It was through these struggles that the greatest pressure was put on the stubbornness of bosses. It was also in these struggles that organization took place as well as the education of the workers, the development of solidarity and the heightening of morale. There is a steel union today because in the course of their own struggles on the picket line against the boss the workers have learned the meaning and advantage of organization.

The job isn't completed yet. The steel workers did not get the dollar-a-day increase; they must remain on the alert to see to it that the contract is enforced and that the companies are not permitted to negate the contract by all manner of evasions and dodges. It becomes the business

of an alert and militant union rank and file to be always on the job watching the company, and also keeping the union officers in line and hard at work protecting the union's interests.

On the MOW

A. Philip Randolph has announced that the March on Washington will not take place. Randolph does not say that he has abandoned the idea completely. He says it will not be "immediate"; the MOW movement will "concentrate on a pressure campaign to force the government to make some drastic changes in its treatment of the Negro."

This of course, is so much twaddle. Randolph and the other leaders of the MOW do not want to admit that under their leadership the March on Washington movement has turned out to be a dud and a flop. Randolph will concentrate on a "pressure campaign." What kind of pressure will he resort to? What kind of pressure can there be if the Negro masses are not involved in action?

Will the MOW now resort to a letter writing campaign? Will they put a handful of pickets around the White House? Does Randolph intend to maintain a lobby of some sort in Washington? Does he plan to resort to legal action? If this is the case, how will the MOW be distinguished from, say, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People? This organization uses and has used these forms of pressure for many years and has gained some measure of success. There is not need to duplicate the work of the NAACP.

The MOW movement had its birth in the necessity for more direct and powerful action than was in the program of the NAACP or any other then existing organization. The movement arose out of the conviction of millions of Negroes that the time had come to resort to militant mass action. They were ready to march. But they were halted by Randolph and the other MOW leaders who succumbed to the threats and blandishments of Roosevelt.

We have never believed that this march would be held under the leadership of Randolph and the other Negro leaders associated with him. Every one of them is a supporter of the present imperialist war. If one supports the war then it is necessary to subordinate all minor interests to the winning of the war; the rights of Negroes and the elimination of Jim Crow take second place.

Washington wants "unity." It looks upon a March on Washington in which Negroes insist on their rights, jobs, equality of treatment and the elimination of Jim Crow in industry and the government as a disruption of "unity." The fact that such unity is gained through Jim Crow, insult, discrimination, the mob and lynching makes no difference. This "unity" requires that Negroes be forced to keep quiet and turn the other cheek.

The March on Washington movement was expected to be a mighty protest of Negroes against this national policy of Jim Crow. But Randolph found it difficult to square his role as a militant leader of Negroes with his views on the war.

There is still need for a mass organization of Negroes to initiate a real struggle against Jim Crow and for complete equality of Negroes all over the country; South and North. Under the Randolph leadership the MOW has not become that organization. It might have succeeded under a different leadership; under the leadership of Negro workers, and composed of Negroes who really have nothing to lose but their poverty and their Jim Crow status. The movement cannot be a success under the leadership of Negro intellectuals, middle class job hunters and job holders—all of whom are fervent supporters of the war.

With the final announcement that there will be no march, the MOW in fact announces its demise as an organization with a definite purpose. What its program will be now remains to be seen. We believe, however, that there are enough militant, courageous and able Negroes in the present MOW to insist that Randolph carry out the original purpose of the movement or get down and out of the way. There is plenty for the MOW to do, but the militant Negro members will have to assume the leadership and take it from those who up to now have made a failure of it and disgraced the rank and file.

Out of the Night, into the Fog

Giving Him Benefit of Doubt, Valtin Is Still a Badly Muddled Man

By GERTRUDE SHAW

The name Jan Valtin may not be too familiar to the average worker. Yet he has merited a certain amount of attention because of a book he wrote entitled "Out of the Night."

Among other things, this autobiographical work described both the Nazis and the Stalinists in action in Germany. The open brutality against the workers by the Nazis was fully matched by the unscrupulous betrayal by the Stalinists not only of the workers at large but of their own party members.

What Valtin did not intend to emphasize in his book but which nevertheless sticks out like a sore thumb, is that he himself cleaved to the crooked Stalin line through all its treacherous zig-zags. Only when he personally became the victim of Stalin's disloyalty to his own party did Valtin start squawking. Whether this delay was due to stupidity or complicity, the result is the same.

However, judging by an article written by Valtin in the last issue of the American Mercury, it may well have been colossal stupidity. At least this article warrants giving him the benefit of the doubt. For this sample of muddle-headedness cannot be surpassed.

Lack Understanding

An analysis of it deserves precious space in LABOR ACTION only because the confusion of mind there displayed is typical of those Stalinists who are not conscious traitors of the working class in the interest of Stalin. The lack of understanding of important issues disqualifies the former for working class leadership—as does treachery disqualify the latter.

The subject of Valtin's article is revolt in Europe—indeed a very important one. Valtin undertakes no less a job than to teach "America and Britain" a few lessons in "the science of revolution." Why? So that "America and Britain" may engineer the European revolution against the Nazis.

And Valtin isn't writing about a make-believe revolution. He wants "America and Britain" to impart to the European underground movement "the science of revolution—tested, specific laws formulated by Karl Marx and first successfully applied by Lenin in the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917."

There is no doubt at all that this is the kind of revolution and the technique of revolution that the Eu-

ropean masses will have to employ to gain their freedom. That is a certainty in this world of uncertainties.

Where, then, does the muddle-headedness of Valtin come in? In that he thinks there is even the remotest chance of "America and Britain" engineering such a revolutionary movement. For by "America and Britain" Valtin means none else than Roosevelt, Churchill, Stalin, Queen Wilhelmina and the other ex-rulers of the United Nations.

It would seem, therefore, that Valtin, having presumably spent many years of his life waging the class struggle, knows absolutely nothing about classes. Otherwise, he would understand the essence of the European situation. Churchill, Queen Wilhelmina and the other representatives of the ruling classes of the United Nations pace the floor, crack their knuckles in worried apprehension and render up prayers to the Almighty that the European masses may not do the very thing that Valtin wants "America and Britain" to help them do.

When the European masses use the science of revolution, as taught by Karl Marx and as applied by Lenin, to gain their independence from the Nazis, it will also be to gain their own independence. They will not do so simply to exchange masters. They will sound the death-knell of the capitalist system of the world. This is the very last thing that the American and British rulers wish and they are acting accordingly.

A Muddled View

Nevertheless Valtin naively complains that "not nearly enough is being done" to organize the revolt within Europe. He is fussed because "there are no schools in democratic countries teaching revolutionary technique." Does he think the ruling class is going to teach the working class how to take power? Valtin asks that "the potential strength of millions of anti-Nazi trade unionists in Germany and the conquered countries" be not ignored. Nor is it being ignored! The bosses of Valtin's "America and Britain" are in a blue funk over the potential strength of these revolutionary workers.

That is why they "simply promise the patriots of Europe succor and liberation" instead of giving them "continuous education in revolutionary techniques" and instead of "putting weapons of deliverance into

their hands," as Valtin urges them to do.

Under what bushel does Valtin hide his muddled head that he does not see what is going on in the world? The rulers of the United Nations have all proved themselves very adept in the science of CRUSHING revolutions. For instance, Britain is right now busy trying to crush in blood the Indian movement for independence. Or would Valtin call this ruthless act of imperialist aggression an innocent phase of the war for "democracy"? And how about Stalin—Valtin's erstwhile leader? He has used his evil power to destroy the revolutionary movements of Germany, France and Spain—to say nothing of his extermination of the Russian revolutionists.

Very generously, however, Valtin gives his unasked-for advice to the enemies of revolution on how to "engineer the European revolution. He tells them not to "overlook the fundamental fact that when oppressed people are subjected to protracted famine and terrorism they gradually lose their fitness to revolt. Fatigue and bleak resignation then replace their fighting spirit."

What Rulers Want

As if modern rulers do not know this—and not only the Nazi rulers. The rulers of the United Nations also do not trust the fighting spirit of the European masses. They want a military victory over the Nazis by force of arms, and a Europe fatigued and resigned will fit into their post-war plans for dividing the spoils of war much more easily than a Europe freed through mass revolt.

A Valtin may impress the "cultured" ladies who attend his lectures and worship anyone who has written a book. But a worker who feels the currents of class society in which he lives must laugh out loud at the idea of American and British bosses and politicians engineering a European mass revolt for freedom.

The European masses will rise up and fight for freedom from all masters. But it will be IN SPITE OF their imperialist "friends." And though Valtin, who supposedly worked for the German workers' revolution, writes now as if there is no such thing as a German working class, the odds are overwhelming that the German workers will be fighting shoulder to shoulder with their fellow workers to free Europe from all oppression.

F. D. R.

Are These His Post-War Plans?

By Henry Judd

Time magazine of this week (August 24) carries the following piece under the heading: "Did Mr. Roosevelt Say It?" So far, Mr. Roosevelt has not said whether he did or not.

According to this piece, "Strange news came out of Washington over the United Press wires. The President, UP declared, has become a great admirer of the policies of the late Andrew W. Mellon, Secretary of the Treasury under Harding, Coolidge and Hoover, and is making plans to pay off this war's debt just as Mellon started paying off the debt for World War I.... (The President is reported to have said heavy taxes should be continued long enough to pay off the national debt. He wants to go on collecting twenty billion dollars a year in taxes, spending ten billion dollars to run the government and use the balance for the debt.)"

"The budget-balancing Wall Street Journal said it hoped UP's informant had heard the President right.... It may have cheered the National Association of Manufacturers, who have not heard the President promise to balance the budget for a long time...."

GOOD NEWS FOR THE CAPITALISTS

This item would certainly be cheery news to the American rulers who, undoubtedly, are already taking steps to find out whether or not FDR really plans what is reported above. Everybody, worker, capitalist and professional, is deeply concerned about the post-war situation. But the concerns of each class vary widely and reveal the basic antagonisms and cross-purposes that exist within America.

What are the capitalists concerned about? Within the certain totalitarianized structure, and assuming for the moment that there are no cataclysmic changes—primarily, reduction in the heavy corporation taxes they will have paid during the war period. The moment the war ends they will launch a campaign ("back to normalcy") to cut, shave down and reduce government expenditures to the very bone. Social services—already greatly curtailed by the virtual abolition of NYA, CCC and WPA (how unfamiliar those once familiar terms have now become!)—will be attacked even more viciously by the bosses.

WILL OPPOSE PUBLIC WORKS

If the report of Time magazine is correct, it means primarily that FDR will oppose an effort, once the gigantic war program grinds to a halt and the war factories close up by the hundreds—even though U.S. capitalism continues on a modified war basis—FDR will oppose any effort to convert war production into a tremendous public works project. That is, to the demand that will be raised by progressives, labor unions and socialists that production must continue and a great unemployment crisis fought by adopting a housing program, a constructive public works program of parks, recreation centers, swimming pools, etc., to this demand FDR will say: "Sorry, my friends, but the budget must be balanced and the war debts paid off. No can do."

This, it goes without saying, is precisely the answer that the American capitalist class will want him to give. They are not interested in the fact that war workers will be automatically out of jobs; that there will be a severe period of strain and collapse as those industries converted to war production make efforts to get back to consumer production; that the entire purchasing power set-up will be rocked by the sudden jolts it will receive.

They are interested in one thing: profits and their even flow and continuation. War profiteering has aided the big capitalist combines to keep going and to knock out many a small competitor. With the ending of super war profiteering these gentlemen can only keep up their rate of profit by tax REDUCTIONS. That is their basic concern; this is what Roosevelt has apparently promised to them long in advance of the war's conclusion. What could be more revealing as to which class Roosevelt serves in American society?

BIG BUSINESS MAN MELLON

It is worth noting that Andrew Mellon is the man mentioned as the one who has laid down the general methods that FDR will pursue. Mellon, as every American worker knows only too well, was one of the most reactionary, "Sixty-Family" big business representatives ever to hold a cabinet post in the American government. His name became synonymous with the interests of big business and profiteering. This man—the head of one of America's largest and tightest trusts, the aluminum trust—was not simply a representative or agent of big business, he was big business personified! And FDR is set—according to this undated report—to follow in his footsteps by raising twenty billion dollars in taxes each year, cutting federal expenditures to the bone and using the rest to pay off debts (that is, interest and principal) on bonds and loans held by the big banks and financial groups of America.

American workers will not go through the "blood, sweat and tears" of this imperialist war, then get thrown out on their ears and finally, by the war leader himself, be told that there can be no public works program because the budget must be balanced and corporation taxes must be reduced. Here we have the economic basis for the great post-war crisis and struggles that will grip the entire nation. The proletariat of our country will not allow FDR-Mellon to put this one across!

Mine Strike Hits Terrorism

White Miners Join Protest Strike Against Shooting of Negro

By RIA STONE

Five hundred miners went on strike the other day in Decena, Ala. Two hundred and fifty of them stopped work and as many more refused to enter the mines for the next shift when word came that one of their number had been killed by the bullet of a company man. No coal was dug, no cars were filled and no torches were lit as the men sought a means to avenge their brother.

Decena, Ala., is a company town. The workers there draw their pay for sweating in the mines and factories of the Tennessee Coal & Iron Co. (TC&I). They buy their merchandise from the company store, rent their shacks from the company and after working for years are usually in debt to the company.

The TC&I maintains a baronial rule over the Decena workers and their families by dividing the white workers from the colored workers, paying Negroes one-half as much as whites and separating the black side of Decena's shanty town from the white. Still, at the entrance to the mines the company has put up a sign which reads: "This plant is a

part of the arsenal of democracy."

Into the Decena mines some time ago came Jack Bloodworth, a Negro shift leader who had been up around the West Virginia and Pennsylvania mines and who knew that workers didn't always have to take any guff from the company. The bosses called Bloodworth "sassy" because, said they, he was setting a "bad example" to other Negro workers who might also get it into their heads to stand up for their rights. And so Company Paymaster Gray, for one, used to put Bloodworth "in his place" by little annoyances—for example, making him wait until the very last before getting his pay.

A couple of weeks ago Bloodworth made his last trip to the pay window before being inducted into the Army. This time Gray decided to annoy Bloodworth by deducting 50 cents from his pay for a work badge which Gray claimed Bloodworth had lost. Bloodworth called Gray a liar and, to avoid a fight, started off for home without his pay. But Gray was not content to let the matter rest there. He summoned another deputy and to-

gether, they overtook Bloodworth and tried to put him under arrest for disturbing the peace.

Today Bloodworth is dead, shot by Gray in the heart. The coroner in Decena, whose bread is buttered by the company in this company town, called the murder "justifiable homicide." But Jack Bloodworth's fellow workers, in Decena, didn't agree. They knew the killing was boss murder and so they went on strike, demanding that the killer be discharged and brought to trial and that the white gun-toting deputies be ousted.

The men didn't win their strike. They didn't get organizational aid from their union leaders, and they had to go back to work to feed their families. But they haven't forgotten how and why their brother was killed.

After Decena will come further developments in the class struggle between bosses who will go as far as murder to get rid of a militant worker, and workers who are ready to use their best weapon, the strike, to fight boss terrorism and protect their economic rights.

The ALP Election Circus --

(Continued from page 1)

not of the ALP, but of the Democratic Party. He has never voted for an ALP candidate who was not also a Democratic Party candidate. He has no intention now—

even with the ALP nomination in his pocket—of enrolling in the ALP. This is the "independent" that the ALP has put up as its candidate.

Alfange is a lawyer in general

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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!
- Conscript 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!

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