

FDR'S PROGRAM--OR OURS?

Our Program:--

1. THE RIGHT TO STRIKE!

Without the right to strike labor cannot effectively make its demands known, or seek satisfaction of its needs. THE RIGHT TO STRIKE IS A BASIC DEMOCRATIC RIGHT AND AN INDISPENSABLE WEAPON!

2. A RISING SCALE OF WAGES BASED ON A DECENT STANDARD OF LIVING!

Wages must keep pace with increases in the cost of living. But to that vast section of the American people, worker and farmer alike, whose standard of living is sub-standard and terribly inadequate, a LIVING WAGE must first be assured. On the basis of this living wage, increases must then be made as prices rise. Further, any scheme for keeping wages in line with the cost of living must be so adjusted as to make the rise automatic with every increase in the cost of living--instead of the long-drawn-out procedure of WLB conferences, by the end of which prices may have taken another jump.

3. JOINT COMMITTEES OF TRADE UNIONS AND WORKING CLASS HOUSEWIVES TO CONTROL PRICES AND RATIONING!

Price fixing by government bureaucrats is a farce. Those who know best what prices are from day to day, and what prices should be, are working class housewives. They have a deep interest and concern in keeping prices down. Working with the union machinery they can effectively fix prices with an eye on the working class pocketbook. They can prevent runaway prices because they are not interested in increasing profits. Rationing by boards concerned with profits is an invitation to discrimination, to "black market" operations and to higher prices. We propose that in the hands of the people and their committees be put the responsibility of allocating scarce commodities so that each family will receive its fair share.

4. JOINT COMMITTEES OF FARMERS AND WORKERS TO DETERMINE FARM PRICES!

The poor farmer and the worker have the same interests. The only way to guarantee the farmer a living income and the worker a decent price for the food he buys is to put it in the hands of those who will not be swayed by mortgage holders, railroad presidents or powerful distributors. There have been cases of this in America, notably in several strikes, in which farmers cooperated with the workers, and it worked to the mutual satisfaction of both!

5. JOBS FOR NEGROES! EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK!

An end must be put to the shameful discrimination practiced in virtually all industry against Negroes, and continued despite feeble Presidential pleas and commissions. Industry must be made to hire Negroes. It must be made to pay these Negroes the same wage as is paid a white worker on the same job. We propose an Executive Order backed with some force and pressure and administered by union representatives to compel an end to race discrimination. Similarly an end must be put to the practice of paying women less than men. Women are now going into industry in great numbers. In most cases they do the same work as men, but the bosses chisel on wages, and pay them less.

6. A ONE HUNDRED PER CENT TAX ON WAR PROFITS!

This is virtually undebatable. All war contracts are government contracts, paid for out of money taken in taxes from the people. All profits are illegitimate inasmuch as they are gotten through the exploitation of labor. But that capital should profit out of war, and the destruction of lives, is indefensible.

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New Housing Project



Boss Accounting Skirts Tax Laws

War Department Spokesman Adds That 5% Profit Limit Would Destroy "Initiative"

By JOHN BERNE

The bill introduced in the Senate by Senator George, to limit war profits to five per cent--ALL GRAY--above taxes, seems doomed to defeat.

When it is a matter of clamping ceiling wages, there are no objections from the law makers.

When it is a matter of freeing workers to their jobs, this seems quite in order in the high places of government.

When it is a matter of taking away overtime, Sunday and holiday Saturday, legislators rub their hands with glee.

BUT--

When it is a matter of limiting profits, why, that simply cannot be done! Mr. George's bill is considered "DEAD FOR THE PRESENT SESSION" of Congress.

Not that LABOR ACTION endorses a five per cent ALL GRAY war profit. Why--in the name of justice and humanity--should ANY war profits be allowed to the boss class out of human slaughter?

But even that "limit" on war profits will not be set. Why?

Because a limit on profits would "LOWER THE INCENTIVE FOR

ALL-OUT WAR PRODUCTION."

Thus spoke Under Secretary Robert P. Patterson of the War Department before a Senate sub-committee.

Ah, but what about idealism? What about the war of "democracy" against fascism? What about the spirit of sacrifice? Apparently there is a double standard--one for the bosses and another for the workers.

Government big shots attend workers' conventions and take up hours on end exhorting the workers to make sacrifices, to give their all idealistically in the war of "democracy" against fascism. This is the "incentive" the workers must be content with.

But in the halls of state the same big shots appear to plead a point of special privilege for the boss class--namely, UNLIMITED PROFITS as an "incentive for all-out war production."

Not only did Mr. Patterson thus testify to the double standard of "incentives." He also unwittingly gave testimony to the effect that the boss class doesn't necessarily have to be bound by the laws of the country. He indicated that even though the law limiting profits were passed, that would be no guarantee that profits would ACTUALLY be limited. A swarm of bookkeepers and accountants, said Mr. Patterson, would be on hand to devise ways and means to sidestep the law.

The bosses could very well hold down "PAPER" profits on their books--but profits IN POCKET would be unlimited as before.

Yes, the bosses can circumvent laws. They can corner the market on vital materials. They can combine and get monopoly prices on indispensable products. They can and DO keep new inventions from being used. These criminal practices--and many more--they can and DO commit BECAUSE THEY HAVE THE WHIP-HAND--THEY STILL OWN AND CONTROL INDUSTRY.

Here again is evidence of that same double standard--one for the bosses and another for the masses. Human beings are conscripted--human life is not too precious to take. But industry is not conscripted--boss property is too sacred to touch. The industrial masters remain in a position to fish in the troubled waters of war--AND THE FISHING IS MIGHTY GOOD.

The remedy is to conscript war industries and place them under workers' control. Committees of workers--who know industry from the point of view of production rather than from the point of view of squeezing out profits--can run the factories without cornering any markets, without fixing any monopoly prices, without any PROFITS!

In a word, it is up to the workers

Roosevelt Program Continues To Shift Burden of Boss War On Backs of Working Class

Let us be blunt about it: Roosevelt's program for over-all price fixing now enacted into law further loads the burden of war onto the shoulders of the American working class.

Announced on Labor Day as an ultimatum to Congress, the program has now become an Executive Order on the basis of congressional authorization.

For a month Congress haggled, lobbies pressured and the press fumed. And when it was all over--labor got it in the neck!

From the start Roosevelt made it appear as though his program was directed against Congress and the pressure lobbies. Skillfully he played the part of "people's champion" against a reactionary (and incompetent) Congress. That Congress is reactionary, the most reactionary Congress in a long succession of reactionary Congresses, is undeniable. But Roosevelt's battle with Congress was the sheerest demagoguery. When the chips were counted, Roosevelt's program and the program of Congress proved to be identical in all FUNDAMENTAL respects.

Skillfully Roosevelt played farmer against worker. A sham battle was fought over the artificially conceived issue of parity payments. Shall the farmer get 100 per cent, or 110 per cent, or 112 per cent of parity, calculated on the basis of 1909-14 averages, when the farmer presumed was in clover?

So the battle raged. But so far as the POOR farmer and worker are concerned, none of the percentage formulas had any meaning. The fight over parity had only one meaning--divide farmer and worker: make it appear as though the avarice of the farmer was hi-jacking the worker, while the high wages of the worker swindled the farmer.

We repeat, so far as the POOR farmer and worker are concerned the whole issue was a fraud. The reactionary farm bloc fought tooth and nail for a higher parity formula--and it too did its calculated bit to divide farmer and worker.

For the reactionary and rich farm interests, which include railroads, banks, processors and distributors--yes, all these--a 2 per cent difference in the formula may have had some importance.

But the needs of the poor farmer, the BULK of whose income goes to the railroads, mortgage holders, processors and distributors (like the A&P), are not answered by an artificial statistic. Who dares say that the majority of the farmers lived well in 1909-14? The rich farmers did! The poor farmers lived in misery--as they do to this day. And whatever the formula, so long as it is not worked out in conference with workers' representatives, and so long as the farmer must pay tribute to the railroad, packer or seller, the POOR farmer will get cheated whether prices for his products are "stabilized," as they are in the Executive Order at the September 15 level "so far as practically," or at some other artificially contrived level.

In the President's program for totalitarianizing American economy,

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Facts You Should Know About Sperry Gyro Corporation

Fortune, dollar-a-copy big-business magazine, says: "Sperry is no ordinary war baby." Barron's, a national financial weekly, says: "The Sperry Corp. has expanded by leaps and bounds since the outbreak of the European war."

Born shortly before the First World War, Sperry cut its eye teeth on the forced feeding of the 1914-18 war orders. It showed its first profit in 1914.

Nursed by the Army through the long dry period that followed, Sperry is now reaching its full profit-making might.

"Profits have increased in every year since 1934. In 1940 earnings were almost 600 per cent greater than ten years earlier." (What per cent did the Sperry workers get?) But, by various tricks and stratagems, Sperry wages have been kept

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Socialist Message to New York Workers Calls for Genuinely Independent Labor Party

Workers Party Issues Statement on New York Elections

Local New York of the Workers Party has released the following statement on the New York election campaign. Readers in other cities will find that the statement, though written for workers in New York, has national meaning.

TO THE WORKERS OF NEW YORK:

The most important issue before the workers of New York, as well as in the rest of the country, is the protection of the economic standards and the political rights of labor from the reactionary blows which are being raised upon it in increasing number under the cover of the war situation.

In the campaign now going on against labor and the labor movement, the Workers Party once more reiterates its uncompromising and unconditional support of the workers and their interests.

The war is not yet a year old for this country, yet see what has happened: The New Deal government tried from 1933 onward to get industry working full-blast and to wipe out unemployment. But it never succeeded be-

cause it was not profitable to the big monopolists who control the country to produce the things people need for life. The New Deal succeeded only when it became the War Deal, and the factories of the country are now going full-blast, not to produce the means of life, but to produce the very profitable means of death.

THE FRAUD OF "EQUALITY OF SACRIFICE"

In spite of all the grandiose talk about "equality of sacrifice," the profits of the big capitalists, of the monopolies and trusts, reach ever higher figures, far exceeding even those profits that they made in the First World War. All of the new taxes put together do not result in reducing capitalist profiteering in the war because each year the trusts end up stronger than ever and richer than ever.

Labor, on the other hand, after ten years of intense suffering during the crisis and the depression, is now almost entirely employed again. That is true. But the standards of the workers have not kept pace with the tremendous increase in the national income.

While war profiteering is carried out in the most shameless manner, sons of labor are conscripted for the war which they did not want and about which they were not consulted. While they are called upon to fight for democracy, labor is being systematically deprived of its democratic rights. Under government threat, it has already been compelled, officially, to give up its right to strike--the most powerful weapon labor has at its disposal to defend itself from the attacks of capital. It has already given up overtime pay in part, and every day the voices of capitalist reaction grow louder in the demand that labor give up ALL overtime pay.

In spite of all the governmental schemes for price control, the cost of living has gone up and continues to go up, wiping out all the wage gains made in the past period by the workers. And most recently, in the face of the well known fact that the great majority of America's working class families do not yet make a decent living wage, according to the standards set by the government's own figures, legislation has been jammed through Con-

gress making it possible for the President, on his own personal say-so, to freeze labor's wages at their present low level!

Most shameful of all, that section of the American workers which is colored, the Negro 10 per cent of our population, continues to be subjected, right in the midst of the so-called war for democracy, to the most humiliating and revolting discrimination, segregation, Jim Crow, not only in industry, but even in the Army and Navy.

Only the blind can fail to see that the capitalist class and its local, state and federal governments are united in one aim, to use the war and the clamor for "national unity" as the pretext for subjugating the whole people, the working people in particular, to the big war machinery, into which the capitalist profit system is now converted, to lower the living standards of the masses in order to raise the profit standards of the trusts and monopolists, and to chain and gag the workers so that they may

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Europe in Revolt

News from the Socialist Camp

1,000 GERMAN SOLDIERS JAILED IN NORWAY

The last few weeks have brought several news reports about unrest and signs of war-weariness and revolt among German soldiers in occupied countries. These reports have passed nearly unnoticed. It is obviously the policy of the big papers and Washington officials to leave the people in the dark about these important occurrences in order that they may continue to play the tune of "The whole German people must be smashed to pieces; that's the only way to defeat Hitler."

Since they are fighting an imperialist war with the ultimate aim of dominating Germany as well as the rest of the world, they prefer not to let the American masses know that Hitler is not Germany; that, in fact, the gulf between the German people and their oppressors is gradually getting wider and wider.

Reports from occupied Belgium confirm that the army of occupation is not in very high spirits. At Liege, three German flying officers are reported to have committed suicide within 48 hours. It has also been reported from reliable sources that a number of officers listen regularly to the BBC, having lost confidence in the German press.

A report from Stockholm to the New York Times says: "Nearly 1,000 German soldiers are now being kept in a Kirkeens (Norway) concentration camp. Most of the Germans have been taken from Finland and the distinguishing marks on their

uniforms have been torn off. Local Norwegians were forbidden to approach the prisoners on pain of death, but they could learn from their guards that these prisoners had either refused to fight or were deserters. Lowering of the morale of the German soldiers in Norway also is shown by the fact that of late many German guards have escaped, to Russia together with their Russian prisoners.

There is an enormous difference between the attitude of the soldiers who were in Norway during or shortly after the occupation and those who are there now. Witnesses who testify that the majority of the troops they saw were composed either of elderly men or poorly trained youth. Soldiers coming back from home do not conceal their joy at being back in Norway and are depressed over the conditions in Germany.

In Stavanger officers and men were heard to say that the only ones who still believe in a German victory were the members of the Norwegian Quisling party. In Trondheim particularly defeatism was to be noted among the workers of the German roadbuilding organization. From Kirkeens it was reported that Austrian soldiers generally listened to British and Russian broadcasts in German. These Austrians seem to be greatly distrustful of the officers and are thoroughly searched and disarmed when passing through Finland on their way home.

JOHN REED DESCRIBED ONLY WAY OUT

While reading these reports and others like them, one is very strongly reminded of the description which John Reed gives of the mood of the German soldiers in 1917 (see last two issues of LABOR ACTION). For the moment this demoralization may not yet be very widespread; it is obviously not as deep as it was in 1917. But the reason for this is that there is no working class propaganda from the outside, as in 1917, coming to their aid. Above all, the German soldiers understand from listening to the Allied broadcasts that their fate will be even worse if the Allies win and impose a "second Versailles."

It cannot be stated often enough that the strongest reason which makes for the fact that there has as yet not been more widespread and open revolt among the soldiers, even under the almost superhuman stress they are forced to endure in the Russian campaign is the fact that they feel that they must, in spite of all, continue fighting because otherwise there will be conditions in Germany which would be unendurable.

The Russia of 1917, with its appeal to fraternization and revolt to the German soldiers, was the most active revolutionary stimulus for the German soldiers. The appeals of the Stalinist Russia of 1942, with its order to "kill the German dogs where-

ever you meet them," is the most active force which prevents movements of a large scale in the German army so far.

The recent speeches of Hitler and Goering also show clearly how these masters of propaganda are using the weapon of the Allies have handed to them. Both speeches in the main put on a defensive tone. They do not speak any more about new territories to be conquered, because they know very well that the masses cannot be fooled about this any longer, but they stress again and again that this is "Germany's battle for survival," because they know that this is a powerful means of urging the German masses to hold on. Many Germans, only half convinced by Hitler's arguments, might just turn on the Allied broadcasts and find many reasons to think that, after all, his arguments are justified.

The way described by John Reed, whether organized by an already established socialist government or by revolutionary socialist organizations on the way toward that, is the only possible way of helping the German working class. Fraternization of German workers with the workers of all nations provides the only alternative to an indefinite continuation of the slaughter.

Europaeus.

A Report on the Rubber Workers Convention

URW Convention Proves Once Again That Union Progressives Need a Clear-cut and Thorough-Going Militant Program

The seventh annual convention of the United Rubber Workers proved once again that progressives need something more than "practical politics," as their program to avoid compromise and defeat. The progressives at this convention were in the same boat as the progressives at the UAW convention: they lacked a thought-out and thorough-going program of union militancy.

Despite their chafing under his intervention to halt company-provoked strikes, his voluntary surrender of the right to strike over the heads of the local unions, and his all-out giving-in on union gains and principles, a large bloc of progressives swung to the unanimous reelection of Sherman Dalrymple as president of the URW.

This reflects their lack of a program of uncompromising struggle to maintain labor's gains. Rather than oppose Dalrymple outright, the progressives had expected to curb his powers and actions by creating a new post of organizer who would be responsible for the organizational work and appointments in the union. They did not even push this half-hearted opposition, however.

Besides re-electing the same officers, with the exception of Charles E. Lanning, the new secretary-treasurer, and perhaps augmenting the progressiveness of the executive board by a hairs' breadth, they again placed on the union executive board Tommy Burns, trouble-shooter for the officials, and a government representative in the ranks of labor. This man, a full-timer in the WLB, does not belong in the URW.

The officers announced to the convention that the 684 votes from 105 locals represented over 100,000 members, an increase from last year, despite the rubber shortage, curtailed production and conversion.

The six-hour day is to be maintained, to be sure, but only until the Manpower Commission sits down and discovers a "labor shortage" and it already discovered one six months ago!

War Policy and Six-Hour Day
The basic, all-important question of the convention was the war policy resolution presented by the officers and passed by the convention, which includes the following:

"This convention serves notice on all local unions that this organization expects them to fulfill the no-strike pledge without qualification and without reservation. There must be no stoppages, slow-downs or other hindrances to war production.

"Members who undertake to initiate such stoppages are rendering themselves liable to disciplinary action. Such action must be taken and will be taken to end stoppages and slow-downs which are in violation both of our own constitution and our word of honor given to our Commander-in-Chief."

Only the progressives of Firestone Local held out against this resolution. Richman, president of Firestone, stated: "We have adopted resolutions which are the policy of the

URW for the coming year," and tried to make a motion that such be the case, but was refused by President Dalrymple. "When we say we're going to adopt this as the policy of the URW," continued Richman, "we are saying that we're going to adopt this in lieu of our resolutions."

And the passage of the war policy resolution near the end of the convention did contradict and nullify an important resolution previously passed dealing with the six-hour day in relation to the "labor shortage." A resolution that would maintain the six-hour day until all those who are kept out of employment through discrimination are hired, and that placed the blame for chipping away the six-hour day on "profit-minded employers" was shelved. A substitute that proclaimed itself for a six-hour day only until a shortage is proved was then passed. The convention refused to name the Manpower Commission as the agency to determine when a "shortage" exists, after the eloquent expression of the experiences of Goodrich Local 5 by George Bass, president. He said:

"Men have actually died for the six-hour day.... The whole damn kit and kaboodle talked of an 8-hour day but not of labor shortage. They wanted to go on a 48-hour week when there were 6,000 unemployed ready to work, and only a demand for 4,000.... Some of you would raise the argument: what would the soldiers on the battlefield say if they knew we were working a six-hour day? We keep in communication with our soldiers. We asked them. We have their letters. These fellows still remain true union members."

And he read the following quotations from union soldiers in England, Ireland and Australia: "I'm not in favor of an eight-hour day. A six-hour day keeps more men at work." Another: "I realize you lose a certain amount of efficiency when you work eight hours." Another: "I am for the six-hour shift. That's long enough for a man or woman to work."

Delegate Camillo declared himself opposed to what the Daily Worker calls "trade unionism as usual," and said: "We shouldn't waste time on determining if there is a shortage."

Kendall of General Local 9 gave the lie to the labor shortage myth by reporting of his plant: "Many men in our shop are working only four or five hours a day. We have some departments working eight hours. They won't shift the departments around. Isn't it foolish for this convention to consider giving eight hours a day?"

Thus, though it had been amply demonstrated by the delegates that the Manpower Commission was only interested in foisting the eight-hour day on the unions for the benefit of boss profits, and not in honestly determining the labor supply; and although the convention demonstrated its opposition to the Manpower Commission, the later passage of the war policy resolution leaves the author-

ity in the hands of this commission. For this compromise, the Akron Beacon Journal, which has long trumpeted for the eight-hour day, was duly gleeful.

Dictatorial Powers Turned Down

Not so gleeful, however, was this reactionary spokesman for the rubber barons for the refusal of the convention to give Dalrymple a whip to lash future "wildcat" strikers.

The defeated constitutional amendment would have given the international president the power to suspend, prefer charges against, or drop from membership any local union officer, international officer or representative who does not fulfill his duties or violates a contract, or interferes in production. He could also prefer charges against local union members who would be tried by the local union.

This measure failed by an uncomfortably small margin, but the strength of sentiments against it is indicated by some of the following speeches of delegates:

Carney, Local 102, Youngstown: "I don't think we want to give our international officers dictatorial powers. If we have an unscrupulous man as president and if he wanted to dismiss duly elected local officers, he could dismiss him whether or not the local wanted. John L. Lewis has taken away the autonomy of his unions in such a fashion. I urge you to vote against this committee's recommendation."

Bass, Goodrich Local 5: "Under our present constitution there is sufficient power for our president to suspend anyone who is delinquent in his duties. But the committee has gone farther in the matter of contracts. I know some local unions in this city that would not be in existence if they had not violated their contracts. The contract says no intimidation; but if they didn't intimidate some rats we wouldn't have a union."

President Dalrymple: "I'm not looking for power and authority.... I say to you very frankly that in the past I've been expected by unions to do things that I have no power to do. I prefer local unions to exercise their constitution to protect their organizations.... I say to you right here and now, if we can't live up to an agreement let's not sign an agreement. If we have to carry on certain activities and if we have to violate the constitution, let's not have an agreement.... I expect the company to live up to the agreement... that's what I expect.... I am requested to go into plants where there are stoppages of work... and on a number of occasions I have been booed because I have no authority to take action against those members. I have to be humiliated in the presence of government officials.... I believe in the observance of contracts... We want a provision in there to deal with members who want to run this organization to suit themselves."

Rupert, Local 7, Firestone: "Do you think booing is a great enough crime that a man should be dropped from membership?"

Adams, Local 5: "I belonged to a union since 1906.... I don't see where anybody needs such a thing that's in there.... If there's members there that's out of line it is up to the local to put them out.... In my mind it's just a political machine to keep people in office."

Little, Local 7: "With all due respect to the chairman of our organization, I feel that the constitution grants all the authority to our president that he may need at any time. If this amendment is passed, two parties in Akron will feel good: one is the Beacon Journal, the other is the industries in the city of Akron. We in Akron have been dealing with some of the most vicious managements in the U.S.; they have forced our people to break contracts.... I know how the industries around here would like to get something on our officers."

Some Oppose Labor-Management

While the resolution to set up labor-management committees in all local unions passed, a strong minority voiced its vigorous disapproval. This was led by George Bass of Goodrich Local, which has broken off its labor-management relations because of the failure of management to give equitable representation to labor. Bass said in the minority report:

"When we tried to set up a sub-committee on deferments to avoid discrimination, the company said that was none of our business...."

"We pointed out that some were deferred while married men were in the Army. Young people, paid \$105 a month, were hired to fill for \$140-a-month men who would be sent to the Army...."

"I am bothered by anyone trying to get excited about labor-management committees. It does away with the work of committees in your local union.... The best labor-management committee that was ever set up is our grievance committee of our local union.... We don't appeal to Donald Nelson, because it's futile.... We're getting out production as well as any other shop in town. I don't believe we should urge any other local to set up a labor-management committee."

Debate Stand on Lewis

The Resolutions Committee chose to submit a pledge of loyalty to the CIO and Philip Murray without repudiating, as have other CIO conventions, the "defeatist, disruptive, appeasing tactics" of John L. Lewis. The few Stalinists present tried and failed to get support for a condemnation of Lewis. According to the Daily Worker of September 23: "The net result of the discussion was that the union engaged in stronger condemnation of John L. Lewis than if a specific resolution had been passed against him."

This is highly doubtful. Many rank and file delegates were aware of the onus for the division in the CIO does not rest solely with Lewis.

One delegate remarked: "Lewis is more to be pitied than censured. If

it weren't for Lewis, we wouldn't have the CIO today." Another stated: "It is not wise to condemn Lewis prior to the national CIO convention, when there is still the possibility of unity in the CIO." Delegate Abel of Indiana pointed out that "the Mine Workers walked out of a state convention in the face of such an amendment" in Indiana.

Government's representative in the URW, Tommy Burns, had his own distorted logic: "We don't want Lewis' name on the same ballot as Murray's.... We'll fight Lewis in the American way."

Nevertheless it was symptomatic of the awareness of bigger issues that the URW did not single out Lewis for condemnation.

Officers' Salaries
While raising the daily traveling expenses of field representatives and officers from \$6.00 to \$9.00, the convention held the salaries to \$65 for district representatives and \$60 for general representatives. Joe Childs of General Local 9 plumped for the raise, saying: "When the slave becomes a master he becomes a tyrant."

But such rhetoric was less convincing than arguments like Fielder's of Goodrich: "If the rubber workers can live on 85 cents an hour, surely the field representatives can live on \$60 a week.... Show me a committee man who doesn't go out and sacrifice his time all of the time without pay."

After much quibbling over amounts, the convention raised the salary of President Dalrymple from \$4,000 to \$4,200; vice-president, from \$3,800 to \$4,000; secretary-treasurer, from \$3,500 to \$4,000.

For Negro Equality

The usual resolution of "equal protection for all, regardless of race, color or creed" and the initiation of a related educational campaign was passed. This year it seemed to have more meaning, since the Rubber Workers have recently taken some action, however tardy, to aid Negroes entering industry. Dr. Robert Weaver, chairman of the Negro Manpower Commission, who addressed the convention, mentioned the militant action of Akron Negro women who pounded on the doors of the URW and finally got some support.

Delegate Smith of Local 101 asked as a demonstration of sincerity to Negro representatives that the convention pass an amendment for "integrating, upgrading and advancing into all jobs according to seniority and ability, regardless of sex, race, creed and color." This the convention immediately did.

Synthetic Rubber Hazards

An important amendment to investigate the hazards of synthetic rubber production on the health of workers was appended to the resolution on conservation of rubber. From 300,000 to 400,000 tons of synthetic will be used in the coming year. Delegates from the floor pointed out what is common knowledge and what the industries and newspapers of the bosses refrain from discussing, i.e., that workers have died from the effects of working on synthetic rubber, many have been hospitalized and hundreds have become ill. This amendment was enthusiastically passed.

Waiving of all provisions except those permitted by FDR was substituted for an original resolution to include time and a half for Sundays and holidays and premium pay for night work in those contracts that do not have it. The delegates, in supporting Roosevelt's "wage stabilization" program, tried to make a distinction between it and "wage-freezing," to which they are unalterably opposed.

Against Raising Dues

Other actions of the convention include: Turning thumbs-down on a proposal to raise dues and initiation fees.

Condemnation of the poll tax. International officers to urge that the Geyer bill be taken from committee.

Proposal for taxation of high interest bearing bonds, no lowering of present tax exemptions, \$25,000 limitations on salaries.

Recommendation that the Department of Justice investigate the Dies Committee.

Maintenance of contracts with rubber plants by URWA even if their product changes, as has been the case through conversion.

Resolution to have locals organize office workers into their own local unions, using a representative to assist in this work.

Reaffirmation of bonus for night workers, as last year.

Resolution for a Western front. The proposal for a time-study engineer was turned over to the executive board. The principle of time-study, at least, seems thus to have been unwisely recognized.

Resolution, swung by the Goodrich delegation, that in order to be elected an officer one must be a duly elected delegate or an international officer and be present or signify acceptance in writing. This was on the whole progressive, being aimed against field representatives and curbing the power of the international, and carried against the recommendation of the committee.

The Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

"No-Strike Policy" Never a Policy

Dear Editor:

According to a tabulation made by a Buffalo Evening News reporter, strikes in war and other industries are on the increase. Since September, 1944, the report states, 3,586 new strikes have taken place, involving 2,832,599 men. According to the report, immediately after Pearl Harbor strikes reached a low. But by January the "no-strike fever" had worn off and strikes in war industries doubled over December and nearly double again in February over January and are continuing to increase steadily and rapidly.

This may be a sign that the "no-strike policy" was never a workers' policy at all. The American workers are beginning to grow tired of doing all the sacrificing in the shop, at the front, or wherever the bosses may choose to send them. The U.S. Conciliation Service and the War Labor Board can look forward to more trouble than they bargained for.

E. Brace.

A Critic Is Heard, Answered on USSR

To the Editor of Labor Action:

Somebody handed me your paper, dated September 7. In just a few words I will state my impression.

I want to tell you that I have been more than forty years in socialist ideology, thoughts and movement.

You pretend to represent the interests of labor and socialism. But I notice that you ignore the most important social catastrophe almost of all ages, at least for the working class, that we are facing now—that is the present World War. You must know that this war is not an ordinary imperialist war, especially since the entrance of the Soviet Union in war. The Soviet Union is undoubtedly the only country in the world where socialism is in the process of establishing its economic order. Your paper has not a single word of support but most of all most poisonous antagonisms of its leaders and against the state of the USSR, identifying yourself with the enemy of socialism.

Your criticism is identical with any capitalist and fascist ideologue regarding Soviet people, their form of government and especially for their leaders. In spite of your poisonous sentiments against the leaders of Soviet Union and especially against Stalin, the fact is that Stalin is one of the true and respected leaders of the Soviet Union and also socialism.

You must know that if Soviet Union lost this war to Hitler sooner or later the rest of the world will step by step go back maybe 1,000 years.

Are you conscious what side you are taking? Defending the Soviet Union or its enemies? Let every worker see clearly your true picture. Soviet state and socialism is greater, nobler than any individual who compose it or its social structure. I think that you are a victim of individualism and egotism more than any social theory that you pretend to adhere. Sorry.

N. Evagian.

Los Angeles, Calif.

1. Inasmuch as virtually our en-

tire paper is, in one way or another, devoted to this greatest of all social catastrophes—the war—we can't very well be ignoring it.

2. It is no "ordinary imperialist war" only in the sense that it is vaster, crueler and with less chance of "ordinary" solution than any previous war. Ordinary or not, with or without the Soviet Union, it is still an imperialist war. It was that when the Soviet Union, in alliance with Hitler, jointly attacked Poland; it is still that, though the Stalin-Hitler alliance was broken on June 22, 1941, by Hitler's invasion of Russia and a new alliance with England and the U.S. established. Lest our critic find world developments too shocking, we warn him now that it is not beyond the realm of possibility for Stalin to change his present course under the pressure of German guns.

3. IF socialism WERE being established in Russia, we WOULD support it. But, first, if it were moving toward socialism, the Soviet Union would NOT be participating as an ally in an imperialist war. Secondly, far from "establishing a socialist economic order," Stalin has systemati-

cally destroyed the movement toward socialism (as initiated by Lenin and Trotsky), and established his own dictatorial, bureaucratic, economic order under which the Soviet people are subjected to virtual slavery.

4. Our criticism could not be "identical with any capitalist or fascist ideologue," inasmuch as our criticism is that of working class socialists. The fascists found it perfectly possible to make an alliance with Stalin. And now the democratic capitalists have found the same possible. The capitalists, for the most, are NOT attacking the Soviet Union. They are defending it in their speeches and their writing because THEY KNOW that Stalin has destroyed the socialist movement in Russia. The capitalists were never so friendly to Lenin and Trotsky. On the contrary, the capitalists of the world united in military action AGAINST the Russia of Lenin and Trotsky in 1917.

5. Stalin is not only the "true leader" of the Soviet Union, he is the ONLY leader. We can't vouch for the respect he gets. We add:

Stalinist "Business as Usual"

The Wednesday morning session of the URW convention was marked by a vicious attack on LABOR ACTION, which had been distributed to delegates at the Goodrich Local banquet the night before. Initiated as usual by the bureaucracy, it was characterized by such new lows in arguments as: "If they don't like this country," etc.

A motion that LABOR ACTION be investigated by the Attorney General, the FBI and the Postmaster General was turned down at the suggestion of Burns not to "dignify" the paper by a resolution. Burns also charged that John L. Lewis was using the Trotskyists to disrupt the CIO.

Burns, in referring to LABOR ACTION, said: "Sometimes you are proud of the enemies you make." John S. Knight, editor of the boss-run reactionary Beacon Journal, arch-foe of the rubber workers, spoke at a labor-management convention banquet of "my friend, Tommy Burns." We assume Tommy Burns is likewise proud of his friends in the boss class. That's about all he has left any more.

The best statement in the convention discussion on LABOR ACTION was made by Richman, of Firestone Local. He said: "I want to reserve my right to my opinion regarding any political philosophy or paper." He went on to say the matter was out of order and that if the Resolutions Committee is instructed to pass a resolution opposed to others' philosophy, they would set a dangerous precedent.

New York Workers Attention!

THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN IN NEW YORK

WILL BE THE SUBJECT OF A LECTURE BY

ALBERT GATES

(Editor of The New International)

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 18, at 8:00 P.M.

IRVING PLACE AND 15th STREET

Auspices: LABOR ACTION
Questions and Discussion

Announcement: Hold November 8 Open! Max
Shahman will speak: on Russia—1917-1942

How Soviet Russia Conquered Imperial Germany

by John Reed

(Concluded from last issue)

Of course, most of the attention of the Bureau of International Revolutionary Propaganda was concentrated on the Central Powers. A weekly magazine in French-English was planned, as well as an Italian weekly, but never carried out. For one agent in the Allied countries, the Soviet government had fifty in Germany and Austria.

The Central Powers were Soviet Russia's greatest menace. It was utterly impossible for Imperial Germany and Socialist Russia to exist side by side. Imperial Germany must be destroyed—and quickly. But while in Germany there existed the most sinister enemy of the Russian Revolution, on the other hand in Germany was also Russia's greatest potential ally—a working class well trained in the fundamentals of Marxian doctrine, and better organized than any other in Europe.

This condition determined somewhat the form of Russian propaganda. It was all aimed at the German workers and soldiers. It would not do simply to cry out against the Kaiser and the Junkers; that is the truck of the bourgeoisie, practiced for four long years in the name of "democracy" by all the imperialists of the Western nations. The German workers were too well educated to be fooled by that. Propaganda had to be international, AGAINST ALL BOURGEOIS IMPERIALISTS, with special emphasis on the "secret treaties" and the imperialistic designs and actions of the Entente.

But the Bolshevik attack on the Kaiser and the German Junkers did not cease, for all of that... In the first number of *Rabochii Soldat*, organ of the Petrograd Soviet, published October 31, 1917, occurred the following paragraph:

"The German Kaiser, covered with the blood of millions of innocent dead, wants to hurl his army against Petrograd. Let us call to the German workers, soldiers and peasants, who want peace not less than we do, to stand up against this damned war!

"This can be done only by a revolutionary government, which would speak really for the workers, soldiers and peasants of Russia and would appeal over the heads of the diplomats directly to the German troops, fill the German trenches with proclamations in the German language... Our airman would spread these proclamations all over Germany..."

This was one week before the Bolshevik insurrection. Eight days later, in an appeal to the German soldiers, the Council of People's Commissars said:

"Brothers, German soldiers! The great example of your

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

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

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

comrade, Karl Liebknecht, the most eminent leader of international socialism, the persevering and long-continued struggle which you have conducted by publishing newspapers and pamphlets, by numerous demonstrations, and strikes, the struggle for which your government has thrown into prison hundreds and thousands of your comrades, and lastly, the heroic revolt of your sailors of the fleet serve as a guarantee to us that the mass of the working class of your nation is ready to enter the decisive struggle for peace.

"Hasten to our assistance! In the name of the Workers' and Peasants' Government we guarantee that our soldiers shall not move one step forward if you decide to take in your hands the flag of peace, and even if the struggle for peace inside your country takes away part of your forces from the front..."

After Brest-Litovsk, according to the provisions of the treaty, the Bureau of International Revolutionary Propaganda was abolished. But the first act of the new Council of People's Commissars was secretly to reorganize this work, appointing an unofficial committee to take charge of it, and appropriating for this purpose twenty million rubles.

REVOLUTIONISTS AT RUSSIAN EMBASSY

At the same time Adolph Joffe was made Ambassador to Berlin. In his suite were ten expert propagandists who spoke German. They bought bicycles, on which they began a systematic tour of the country, organizing, spreading the word, preparing. The three million Russian prisoners were reached. Two of these couriers were caught and expelled from the country. Joffe was repeatedly warned by the German government, repeatedly apologized, and kept on.

His first act in the German capital was to hoist over the Russian Embassy the Red Flag, lettered with the device of the Soviet Republic: "Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic. Workmen of all countries, unite!" He refused to present his credentials to the Kaiser and invited to his first state banquet Haase, Ledebour, Dittman, Franz Mehring, Rosa Luxemburg, Clara Zetkin and Karl Liebknecht (then in prison).

The first act of the new German coalition Ebert government was to expel Joffe from Berlin—as was natural. However, he was invited to return a week later by the Berlin Council of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, and did so. Upon his release from prison, Karl Liebknecht, his flower-filled carriage escorted by hundreds of thousands of workers, went straight to the Russian Embassy, from the balcony of which he made a speech, saying that it was now time that the German people followed Russia's example.

The New York evening newspapers of November 25 reported an address of Liebknecht's before the Berlin Workers' and Soldiers' Council, upon the night of the overthrow of the coalition government.

"Did the bourgeoisie while in power permit you to have a voice in the government? No! Then the workers must not allow it to have any say now. We need a government of soldiers and workmen, one typifying the proletariat, which will not have to bow down before the Entente.

"There must be no dickering with Entente imperialism. We will dispose of that just as we did with German autocracy. The revolution is bound also to reach the Entente countries, but we, who made the Russians waste a whole year, are insisting that the revolution break out in England and France within twenty-four hours..."

Workers Party Issues Statement on New York Election Campaign - -

(Continued from page 1)

not be able to protest effectively against this. This is the very real and active threat to labor and to the labor movement.

It is this threat that the Workers Party calls upon labor to challenge immediately, while there is yet time. It is this threat, which labor can easily smash, if it uses the tremendous power it has at its disposal. What opportunity does the election offer labor this year?

ONCE AGAIN—TWEEDLEDUM VS. TWEEDLEDEE

The hand-picked nonentities of the Democratic and Republican parties, Thomas E. Dewey and John J. Bennett, and the rest of the candidates that they head, were never associated with the labor movement and were never its true friends. Like the capitalist parties and the capitalist interests which they so loyally represent, they are concerned with support of this war, which is imperialist and reactionary through and through, and to the capitalist system which gives birth to the monster of war.

In nominating these two men as their standard-bearers, the Republican Tweedledee and the Democratic Tweedledum of capitalism have reached a new high in impudence. By nominating the two most reactionary candidates they have presented in years, neither they nor their parties offer labor any way out of the dilemma in which it finds itself; neither they nor their parties do anything but support the reactionary drive against labor and its interests.

Any working man or woman who votes for either of these two representatives of the parties of capital is throwing away his vote because he is giving it to the party of his class enemy.

LABOR FEATHER-TIP ON ROOSEVELT WING

The American Labor Party, even though it is based on many of the trade unions of this city, unfortunately does not give the workers the opportunity, in the November election, to voice their class interests and aspirations. Bureaucratically dominated by conservative labor officials, the voice of its rank and file systematically silenced by these officials, the ALP has been kept degraded to the level of the labor wing—as the labor feather-tip

of the Roosevelt wing—of the Democratic Party.

Up to the last minute the ALP was made the stooge for Roosevelt's gubernatorial candidate, Senator Mead. When the Farley machine triumphed over Mead, the ALP leaders could find nothing to do than to endorse most of the Farley-Tammany Hall Democratic ticket and to nominate as its own "independent" candidate for Governor a member of the New York Democratic Party machine, Dean Alfange.

The program of the ALP, like that of its Democratic Party candidate, differs in no important respect from the program of Roosevelt, to which labor owes its plight in this country. The principal concern of the ALP officialdom has been to keep labor tied politically to the apron-strings of the Roosevelt machine and the Roosevelt Administration.

Its principal concern, in other words, has been to prevent the development of that which is a prime, indispensable necessity for labor in the United States—INDEPENDENT WORKING CLASS POLITICAL ACTION. Thus the ALP leadership has played the capitalist game of deceiving the workers with the lie that the powerful American working class must depend upon the capitalist parties and the capitalist politicians for the protection of its own interests.

It is on this point that the Workers Party, before, during and after this election, takes direct issue with all capitalist politicians and their camp-followers in the labor movement. We say to you: Labor must stand on its own feet! Labor must rely upon its own organizations, upon its own strength, upon its own program, UPON ITS OWN PARTY! It is a disgrace to labor to stand at the table of the capitalist parties, whining and begging for a few crumbs. Labor is strong enough to make all the capitalists whine and beg for mercy.

BWARE OF COMMUNIST PARTY TREACHERY

Of the other parties in the field with candidates, the largest is the Communist Party. This party represents a mortal danger for the American labor movement. These turncoats, taking orders from their masters, at their con-

vention called for a war dictatorship here to prosecute the "people's war for liberty"—which, in the balmy days of the Hitler-Stalin pact, they called imperialist. Their candidate, Israel Amter, stands exclusively for the policies of Stalin. His job is to preserve the power of the ruling bureaucracy in Russia—and that alone.

Union wrecking, slander, persecution and victimization of their opponents—these are the methods of the Communist Party. Today they are the super-sacrificers of union conditions and working class rights. The interests of the American working class have nothing in common with Stalinist somersaults and treachery. A vote for the Communist Party is a vote for the Kremlin bureaucrats who dictate the policies of the CP SOLELY in accord with the need of their foreign strategy and program. It is not a vote for labor!

As for the Socialist Party—on the crucial issue of the day, the war, it has yet to speak out unequivocally. Instead, its leading spokesman, Norman Thomas, has publicly given "critical" support to the war, and its New York candidate has done likewise. (Its candidate has been drafted into the Army—though the draft board would hardly have drafted a candidate of one of the boss parties in the middle of his campaign.) The Socialist Party today is a dismal fragment of what was once a party, staggering blindly from position to position, from unclarity to greater unclarity, vainly trying to span a pro-war and anti-war position. In short, it offers no program for working class INDEPENDENCE and militancy.

The only other candidate for Governor is Aaron Orange, choice of the Industrial Government Party—better known as the Socialist Labor Party. This sectarian group has distinguished itself by hitting new lows in estimating the labor movement. At one time it designated the CIO as a fascist development. And of it, no more need be said.

FOR INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTION!

The Workers Party doesn't present a candidate of its own in this election, as it has in previous elections. Technical difficulties, especially such difficulties as are connected with the war situation, proved to be insurmountable.

ALLIED PROPAGANDA FAILS

During this same period the Allied governments were conducting an enormous propaganda, not only in the Central Empires, through Switzerland, Scandinavia and Holland, but also in Russia itself. The Russian branch of the American Committee on Public Information spent more than \$300,000 in Russia, printing Wilson's speeches in thousands of copies, producing great moving picture films and hiring Russian propagandists. The French and British governments maintained expensive information bureaus in all countries. In the neutral countries and in Russia newspapers were subsidized and even bought by the Allies, and local journalists were on the payroll of the Allied embassies...

Why did Allied propaganda fail and Bolshevik propaganda succeed? The reason is simple, especially simple as regards American propaganda. The masses of the war-weary people of Russia and of the Central Powers were socialists. They had been educated to look forward to the social revolution, the destruction of the bourgeoisie, the public seizure of land, industrial plants and financial institutions. They were fundamentally trained to see in the war a simple clash of capitalist interests...

Allied propaganda harped on patriotism, on the advantages of the bourgeois political democracy; its language was the language of eighteenth century political economy. It showed hatred of socialism only less than its hatred of Kaiserism. American propaganda advocated the American form of government as the social and economic millennium. In America there was free speech, free press and universal wealth. By editing and perverting the words and deeds of real American socialists, it was proved that we had gone back on our internationalism, that we were heart and soul with the government. This was done in the case of Eugene Debs, Max Eastman, myself... The activities of Gompers, Walling, Russell and Spargo were played up. Boasting about America's part in the war, statistics, moving pictures showing the amount of gold bullion in the vaults of the United States Treasury... all these phases of political and economic life which the Russian and German people had been working to get rid of for decades were displayed to them... Root was sent to Russia. Frank Bohn was sent to Switzerland to get in touch with the Germans...

In all these efforts at creating pro-Ally sympathy in the "hostile" countries, socialism was let severely alone. Only the most reactionary pro-government majority socialist groups in all countries were thought worthy of influencing. The liberal republican movements were fostered. Purely nationalist sentiments were encouraged in all the little oppressed countries.

To Allied propagandists the most effective weapons were President Wilson's speeches, which the revolutionary working class of all countries refused to trust, and which did not interest them much anyway...

The Workers Party will therefore concentrate, in this election campaign, on bringing its message of independent working class political action, of militant and organized resistance to the anti-labor drive in the country, before the workers of New York.

At public meetings, in the press and in campaign literature, the Workers Party calls upon labor in New York, as everywhere else, to bend all efforts so that the labor organizations, the trade unions in particular, shall launch a fight for a militant working class program in the war. Down with the war profiteers and with war profiteering!

Conscript all the war industries under workers' control! Make the monopolists and millionaire parasites pay for their war; take the tax burden off the workers and put it where it belongs, on the shoulders of the wealthy, who can bear it!

Joint trade union, housewife and farmer control of all consumer goods prices and of all consumer goods rationing. Against price control and rationing by capitalist politicians and capitalist bureaucrats!

No government contract without a union contract—especially in New York, which is being discriminated against in contracts because it is a strong union city.

Wipe out, without mercy, the shame of Jim Crow and anti-Semitism. Make it a punishable offense to discriminate in social, economic or political life, against Negroes or Jews, or for any consideration of race, creed, color or nationality.

Stop the offensive against labor's economic standards, stop the drive against labor's economic life!

Unite all labor in a counter-offensive for independent working class political action, for a genuinely independent labor party, for a workers' government!

Speed the day of that victory which alone can end wars and emancipate labor—the victory of proletarian independence and action over capitalist oppression and management.

For the triumph of socialist action!
FOR PEACE THROUGH SOCIALISM!
FOR A SOCIALIST UNITED STATES!

WORKERS PARTY, LOCAL NEW YORK.

Which Program for American Labor: President Roosevelt's or Ours?

(Continued from page 1)

the greatest sufferers are the masses of American labor. Wages are frozen at the September 15 level. They can only be raised if the WLB finds a "gross inequity" or "substandard of living."

The WLB has been in business for some time. It has in effect frozen wages at the January 1, 1941, level, which makes the new September 15 mark a worse deception. Since it has been operating, the WLB has denied virtually all workers who came before it the wage increases these workers thought they were entitled to, needed! And we subscribe to the view that only labor knows what it deserves and needs as a living wage. Remember this: even the labor members of the board, all of them Roosevelt backers, dissented in the Little Steel decision, which constituted the basis of further decisions.

The WLB has done NOTHING about challenging the "gross inequity" of those seven and a half million workers who earn LESS than 40 cents an hour! It has denied justified and urgent wage increases. It has fixed a statistical abstract of 15 per cent as the rise in the national cost of living.

Any housewife who goes to market can prove that the 15 per cent formula is a pure fake. Prices have risen 25 per cent or more. And, further, they have risen in some areas

more than in others. The WLB's own fact-finding panel considered the steel workers' demands as reasonable and so indicated. But the steel workers got rooked. And the President's order continues that state of affairs.

No Limit on Profits
Wages by this Executive Order are chained to an inadequate statistic. They were inadequate for the majority of workers on January 1, 1941; they were inadequate on September 15, 1941.

Roosevelt's Executive Order presumes that labor must continue to live at whatever was its standard on September 15. That one-third of the nation, about which Roosevelt used to speak, must remain ill-fed, ill-housed, ill-clothed. It will be granted just so much of an increase (provided it fights for it!) as to keep it in the same house, eating the same food, wearing the same quality of clothes.

Taken by itself the wage order is a calculated slap at labor's standard of living. But viewed in conjunction with the monumental increase in profits and the national income it is an insufferable imposition. Viewed in this light, and it should be, the whole scheme becomes more patently revealed as what we labeled it: a scheme to continue loading the burden of war on labor.

Read Roosevelt's order. Nowhere in it is there a limitation of profits. Congress gingerly skirted around it. Roosevelt tried to look as though he were gunning for the big money-makers. But read the Executive Order. NO LIMITATION ON PROFITS!
Profits have risen 400 per cent since 1938! LABOR ACTION exposed these figures in a recent issue and demonstrated how the National Association of Manufacturers was trying to cover up the facts by using different bases for wages and profits. Profits have risen 400 per cent! With all the higher taxes and such like the bosses are making more this year than three years ago—and making it on orders given by the government, paid for out of taxes that you pay—yes, taxes YOU pay—and in some instances financed to the extent of subsidies for plant construction.

But nowhere in the Executive Order is there a clause limiting profits! And certainly nowhere in the Order, or in contemplated legislation, a clause abolishing war profits in their entirety.

Pollyannish figure doesn't give much more than \$30 as the national average for a FAMILY). Out of that \$30, some \$11 or \$12 will be taken off for taxes, etc. That will leave the worker with \$18 or \$19. On that he must live. He must not ask for a wage increase because his wages have been frozen.

But salaries: they are "limited" to \$25,000 "after taxes" and "due allowance" for life insurance premiums and "fixed obligations heretofore incurred." That's \$25,000 of gravy, pure gravy.

On Price Fixing
Thus, with the national income increasing, labor is held to a relatively DECREASING share; capital's share goes up!
The order further stipulates that all prices, including rents, are to be fixed. But at what level, and under whose control?

Prices, for example rents, are fixed at peak levels. Everyone knows that they began their precipitate rise long before September 15 or March 15. Everyone knows that they have continued to rise despite the limited price fixing of the last few months—even on those very items which were presumably fixed. Ask a worker in Detroit, and he'll tell you how much rents have jumped in the last few years. His rent, by Executive Order, is now fixed at the high level.

Perhaps the exact date at which prices ought to be fixed is open to dispute. We don't believe they ought to be fixed at peak levels. But let that go. What is indisputable is that a pack of government

bureaucrats, many of them tied intimately and intricately with the very production or marketing of the very products they are supposed to control, cannot fix prices. Their ties are with the capitalist system of profits. That is why price fixing goes out the window when the matter of profits comes in the door. If they are not lifted outright, they are lifted through degeneration in quality.

Henderson's OPA started to lift ceilings on prices almost before they were fixed. There is no reason to assume that it will be better now. Government bureaucrats cannot keep, and have no real interest in keeping, prices down and quality up. Working class housewives have such an interest. And they have the knowledge of prices and pocket-books to determine price fixing.

Byrnes in Charge
In charge of this whole program, Roosevelt has appointed an economic "czar," Supreme Court Justice Byrnes. Even the most servile of the labor bureaucrats, Bill Green is one, have objected to an economic czar, just as they have objected to wage ceilings. In the hands of one man, and a board yet to be chosen, will be placed the fate of every worker. Regardless of who this man is, he is a representative of the capitalist class—and this representative

of the capitalist class is to administer the totalitarianized controls on labor's standards of living!

Significantly enough, the man chosen is a Supreme Court justice. The Supreme Court has never been known for its wild-eyed radicalism or pro-labor bias!
Roosevelt's program is a callous move against labor, intended to shift the burden of the war on labor and to paralyze and out to shreds the labor movement. It is a blow at unionism. In Roosevelt's scheme of things, unions now have only one function: to speed production and keep labor unrest in tow. If wages are fixed, unions, by Roosevelt's intention, cannot strike, cannot put up any kind of effective battle for wage demands. It is, in effect, a piece of legislation and administrative decree outlawing strikes!

All this we insist is the meaning of Roosevelt's program. It is now up to labor, acting through its unions, to seek the means of re-establishing collective bargaining, to seek the means whereby labor will shift the burden it is now being increasingly forced to carry back where it belongs—on capital!

Editorials

Protest Hollywood Slander of Trotsky

One of the "Hollywood columnists," Elsa Maxwell, has recently reported that a West Coast studio is planning to film ex-Ambassador Davies' book, "Mission to Moscow." That's not really news, because we've heard it before. When it was to the interests of American capitalism to paint the Stalin regime as monstrous or stupid or ridiculous—during the period of the Hitler-Stalin pact—Hollywood reported for service bright and early in the morning. Like the ladies of easy virtue the studios so often put into their pictures, the producers ground out anti-Soviet and anti-Stalin tripe by the thousands of feet.

Now it is to the interests of American capitalism to paint their Russian allies as attractively as possible. The Davies book is an ideal subject for this job. It is a third-rate job of whitewashing the gang of Murder, Inc., in the Kremlin which destroyed the Russian Revolution—a third-rate job, but what is important to Hollywood and those who run it is that the Davies piece is a whitewash.

What has not been known until now is presented in Miss Maxwell's column. She writes that on the basis of "new" documents, the film will "prove" that Leon Trotsky was an agent of Hitler, as charged during the Moscow trials.

This report has not been denied by the Hollywood studio. If it is true, as it seems to be, it is as outrageous and revolting a piece of political prostitution as has come out of Hollywood in a long time.

During the "trials," that is, the frame-ups, in Moscow, there wasn't a single serious newspaper in this country that placed any credence in the so-called "confessions" or that believed that Trotsky was guilty of the fantastic charges made against him by Stalin's lackeys.

During the trials themselves, not a single piece of evidence, not one, was introduced to connect that incorruptible revolutionist, Trotsky, with Hitler or with any other reactionary force in the world. It could not be introduced because it never existed. It never existed because Trotsky was the sworn enemy, from his youth to his dying day, to everything reactionary and oppressive in the world.

In Mr. Davies' book there is not the slightest shred of evidence to sustain the charges against Trotsky. All that this much-touted apology for Stalinism contains is Davies' OPINION that Trotsky was guilty. And what is that worth? Absolutely nothing, especially in view of the fact that the only purpose in writing the book was to convince doubters that Roosevelt's alliance with Stalin is both desirable and necessary, that Stalin is not to be feared by capitalists because his regime has done more to destroy the revolution and the working class than Czar Nicholas Romanov ever did.

So what is this "new" evidence? No intelligent person will believe that the Soviet State Prosecutor has been holding it from the world up to this moment and is revealing it for the first time through the medium of all things!—of a Hollywood picture. The "evidence" is thus either a

figment of the obscene imagination of Hollywood or the police imagination of the GPU, whose fingers are in this dirty business up to the arm-pits.

In either case, it is an infamy. If Hollywood tries to go through with this cinematographical frame-up, it may encounter such a reaction throughout the country as will make it sorry it ever became a tool in the GPU's struggle against "Trotskyism," that is, against the interests of the international working class and international socialism.

Meanwhile, it might be well if all readers started RIGHT NOW to send letters of protest to the producers who are working with the Stalinists on this foul job and to let them know just how they feel. It might have a salutary and timely effect. All communications should be addressed to: Warner Brothers, Hollywood, California.

Our Program --

(Continued from page 1)

7. NO SALES TAX ON CONSUMER GOODS! NO TAX ON WAGES! NO FORCED SAVINGS.

To make labor, already compelled to give its life in the bosses' war, pay for this war is adding insult to injury. Various direct and indirect taxes cut heavily into the wages of the workers. A federal sales tax, a tax on wages, forced savings, will deprive labor of its elementary needs — CLOTHING, FOOD, ADEQUATE SHELTER!

8. A GOVERNMENT LEVY ON CAPITAL TO COVER THE COST OF WAR!

The capitalist class owns vast fortunes in accumulated wealth. In some cases this is said to aggregate a billion dollars (Ford and Rockefeller). This is untouched even by the strongest tax proposal on yearly income. We propose that the government confiscate such amounts of this tremendous wealth as are necessary to defray the costs of this imperialist war. SOAK THE RICH!

9. AN ABSOLUTE MAXIMUM INCOME OF \$25,000 A YEAR BEFORE TAXES AND WITH NO DEDUCTIONS FOR "OBLIGATIONS."

This is hardly a stringent measure. It still leaves the capitalists with undeserved and unjustly high incomes, altogether out of keeping with the low wages paid workers. We propose this half-way measure as a start. But it must cover ALL income—profits, income on securities, etc.

10. CONSCRIPT ALL WAR INDUSTRIES UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL!

War industries are operating exclusively on government contract. These industries should be confiscated. Those who operate the machines can and should operate the factory. Under workers' control, conditions and wages satisfactory to labor would be established. Under capitalist control, operating on money and labor supplied by the people, no consideration is given the needs of the masses. Under workers' control, production could be adjusted to the consumption needs of the masses as well as the requirements of industry.

Facts You Ought to Know About Sperry Corporation

(Continued from page 1)

at one of the lowest levels in the industry.

By calling some workers, learners; others, second class; and a very few, first class, and by a crazy-quilt pattern of wage-rates for all classifications, plus general intimidation, the workers have been kept quite a way from a "600 per cent increase." Of course, "much of this expansion has taken place in leased facilities and plants built at government expense."

In the annual report for last year the corporation's net income was \$8,281,511 after all charges, INCLUDING higher taxes and provisions for post-war adjustment were deducted. This is equivalent to \$4.11 a share on 2,015,565 shares, compared with the 1940 figure of \$7,854,176 at \$3.90 a share. The company's assets have almost tripled to \$81,692,500, though it kept its liabilities to \$72,140,090. Liabilities are undoubtedly mere book-keeping fictions. Sperry has no funded debt or preferred stock.

So huge are the profits that the government, after going through the books and records of the company (at a House Naval Affairs Committee investigation) "negotiated a saving of \$100,000,000 on war contracts."

Barron's estimates that the excess profits tax will take fifty cents a share of Sperry Corp. stock—"about half what the company earned in 1934, a year of marked business depression." However, in its semi-annual statement for this year, the company declares that the PROVISION for taxes is responsible for smaller profits, only \$2,394,238, compared to \$3,477,424 in the corresponding period of last year. These figures do not agree with those in other reports, but contradictory figures don't bother the Sperry Co. The directors know the real figures. Their public complaints over taxes do not mention deduction of huge sums for post-war adjustment, reserves and con-

tingency funds, and the big salary increases the directors have granted themselves.

The directors of this anti-union (and, it is charged, anti-Semitic) corporation have just been forcibly persuaded, because of the war, to sever their ties with German capitalism. Sperry and Askania, a German company, had arranged a world-wide monopoly on their products, together with other capitalists in Japan, Italy and France.

But the connections of the company with its English subsidiary, Sperry Gyroscope, Ltd., on which it does not report profits, still exist; the connections of the company through its director and president, Thomas A. Morgan, with the billionaire firm of Lehman Bros., and through its director, J. Cheever Cowdin, with the J. P. Morgan interests, still exist.

The Sperry Corp. is a holding company for four companies. The four are Vickers, Inc. (not the English merchants of death), Waterbury Tool, Ford Instrument and the biggest plum in the pudding, Sperry Gyroscope Co.

Sperry Gyroscope is run by a former ensign in the U.S. Navy, Reginald E. Millmor, otherwise known as "Foxy," who with his chief electrician, joined Elmer Sperry when the company was founded in 1910. The chief electrician, Tom Morgan, is now the head of the whole Sperry outfit.

"Foxy" Millmor runs Sperry Gyroscope as though he had never resigned his commission in the Navy. He staffs his offices with ex-Navy. Army and Marine officers, who are largely responsible for the reactionary policies of the company.

Reactionary Publisher Attacks British Trotskyist Newspaper

Through a friend, we have been sent a clipping from the Sunday Dispatch, published in England by Lord Rothermere. The Dispatch is the Sunday edition of the well known Daily Mail.

Lord Rothermere's paper attacks the British Trotskyist newspaper, the Socialist Appeal, as an organ of German fascism. Under a heading, "Socialist Appeal Still at It," Lord Rothermere's paper reveals the sensational poppycock discovered and MANUFACTURED by his "diplomatic correspondent," that Goebbels is sending out special radio directives to the British Trotskyists on ways and means of preventing "materialization of a second front." Then follows the disclosure that the Socialist Appeal is "trying to slow down production of war materials."

that police inquiries have been going on and that John McGovern, a leader of the Independent Labor Party, is a Trotskyist.

In this whole collection of spew there is hardly a word which smacks even vaguely of the truth:

The truth is that the British Trotskyists are waging a militant campaign in defense of the workers' interests. The truth also appears to be that the Socialist Appeal is increasing its influence among the workers. Hence the attacks leveled against it in the British capitalist press.

Lord Rothermere's accusations are a piece with the Moscow frame-ups, which were adequately exposed in the investigation conducted by the John Dewey Committee. Lord Rothermere, arch-reactionary, is merely following the line of the Stalinists on Trotskyism. But it is interesting, and significant, to cite in brief the record of this Lord Rothermere, who manufactures frame-ups against working class militants.

Called "one of the worst of the gutter papers" by a well known British writer, the Sunday Dispatch up to the war was quite friendly to the war. Since then, like the semi-fascist isolationists in this country, Rothermere has become an ardent propagandist for the war. Early in 1933, Lord Rothermere's paper described Hitler as a "great gentleman."

But what were the British Trotskyists doing at that time? They were circulating, in the face of intimidation from Stalinists and a miscellany of reactionaries, pamphlet after pamphlet written by Leon Trotsky calling for united labor struggle against the menace of Hitler, Lord Rothermere's "great gentleman."

From the beginning the Trotskyists have described this war as an imperialist war (though the Appeal has erred in supporting this war on one of its points, Russia). That is why the Appeal is under attack!

Everything Ties in Nicely Advertising, Latest Gravy In Juicy Cost-Plus Set-Up

The latest, and last necessary, addition has been made to the cost-plus set-up by which the new war profiteers are making their pile. Last week the War Production Board okayed advertising as a legitimate part of the cost of producing goods for the government. A "reasonable expenditure" will be allowed even to contractors engaged substantially or wholly in war production.

Donald M. Nelson, head of the WPB, used to be a top executive of Sears, Roebuck & Co. In that position he used to be one of the fair-haired boys of the New Deal. Whenever a Senate committee wanted a witness to represent "the consumer's point of view," Nelson was likely to be it. But this is wartime. No more "consumer's point of view" nonsense. Now is the time for institutional advertising, for ads telling us what a wonderful thing electricity is.

There is only one reason for this kind of advertising. It is not to sell goods. It is to BUY newspapers. There has been a certain amount of subdued talk about the inferiority of American tanks, about capitalist extortion, incompetence and inefficiency. This kind of talk might get dangerous. And you might not think so at first, but the way to stop it is to advertise about what a wonderful thing electricity is.

Of course, it is not so simple. There is, for example, the aspect of such men as Fred C. Foy, recently an official of Young & Rubicam, one of New York's large advertising agencies, now a lieutenant colonel attached to the contract division of the U.S. Army. Everything ties in so nicely.

1943 - Year of the Second Front?

By Henry Judd

In a recent column, devoted to the political meaning of FDR's Labor Day speech and attack upon Congress, we explained how this tendency to brush aside Congress is a NATURAL wartime development, something to be expected in the march of American reaction and imperialism toward totalitarian and authoritative forms of rule. Here we want to take up the speech with regard to its MILITARY significance, particularly for the future.

A SECOND FRONT FOR 1943

It is clear to all (except possibly the most dim-witted follower of Joseph Stalin) that the Allies, England and America particularly, have no plans or intentions of launching a second front European invasion this year.

But to conclude from this that the second front (or, more accurately, invasion of Europe—since we do not know whether the Russian front will merit being called the first front next year) will not occur would be radically wrong and false.

We start our analysis of the military aspects of the war from two simple premises: (1) German fascist imperialism is the main rival, enemy and obstacle in the path of American imperialism; (2) to remove this obstacle (that is, win the war), American imperialism must invade Germany, defeat it by military force and dictate ITS terms of peace. Although World War No. 2 differs in many important ways from World War No. 1, this aim can only be accomplished in the same manner as last time—a successful march on Germany and occupation of the key centers of Nazi power.

The sole question before the American imperialists and militarists is the question when, when shall we attempt this? Every one of them knows that it has to be done, sooner or later. This is why it is nonsense to claim—as do the Stalinists and semi-Stalinists—that certain reactionaries (Munichers) in America and England oppose the very IDEA of a second front. To say that is equivalent to saying that they are willing to let the war to their rival imperialist enemy, Germany!

For the imperialists, the question is not shall we or shall we not invade? It is, when have we reached the stage of necessary preparation along military lines (manpower, air strength, supply preparations, etc.); when have we reached the necessary political preparatory stage (to take over Europe and prevent social revolution in Germany, France, etc.); when have we reached the necessary stage of moral and psychological preparation of our own people (to withstand the shock of the enormous losses and casualties)?

When the British and American rulers feel they have reached the highest possible point on the chart of military, political and morale preparations, then they will launch the second front, come hell or high water! Not one moment before, unless they are convinced that further delay might mean a DECISIVE German breakthrough and world victory. Of this danger they are not yet convinced; of necessary preparations for invasion they still fall far short. Therefore, no second front as yet! But 1943 is different!

FDR'S SPEECH FOR 1943

The conclusion of FDR's Labor Day message spoke of harsher struggles ahead and clearly indicated that next year will be a year of MAJOR American participation on the world military fronts. Here is where his economic program ties in with the second front and 1943. The invasion of Europe may constitute America's supreme military effort in the war, just as Hitler's war on Russia marks the high point of the Nazi war machine and its bloody career.

A great military campaign, in the era of total warfare, requires a parallel and simultaneous political and economic campaign, aimed at the workers and the people in general. FDR has embarked on such a campaign in preparation for 1943.

It is characterized by the growing militarization of America's wartime economy. Real price-fixing power; freezing of labor to the job; plans for universal mobilization and conscription of all male and female labor, etc.

2. It is marked by a speeding up of the draft, a speeding up of the shipment of soldiers overseas; plans for the induction of new age and status groups (18-19 year olds, married men) into the Army. These new forces will serve as replacements and reinforcements for the losses and casualties of the 1943 second front.

3. It is marked by new emphasis on the moral front—the spirit of get tough and hard; the emphasis of the steel-like qualities of our opponents (found in the speeches of ex-Ambassador Grew and other government spokesmen); the necessity to "sacrifice all"; the philosophy of prepare to kill, or be killed!

AMERICA'S WAR ROLE ONLY BEGUN

The real weight of American imperialism in the war is yet to be felt, but it is clear that it cannot long be delayed in coming. That is why the year 1943 may well become known to history as the year in which American imperialism began its great lunge forward for world supremacy. The advance preparations indicated by FDR can mean only this. For imperialism to march forward it must do so over the corpses of its masses, at the same time subjecting those who still live to all the vicious experiences that totalitarian and military forms of rule mean. War economy plus conscription of labor plus an army of 10,000,000 soldiers may thus mean a second front invasion of Europe in 1943.

WORKERS PARTY PLATFORM

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

LABOR MUST DEFEND ITSELF!

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

SOAK THE RICH—LET THEM PAY FOR THEIR WAR!

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

DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS TO THE DRAFTEES!

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

SMASH JIM CROW!

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

BE PREPARED!

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

GROOVY! OUT OF THIS WORLD!

Hepcats and Alligators—
Longhair Squares from Delaware—DIG

LABOR ACTION'S FALL FROLIC

HOT RIFF BAND—For Jump and Joy
PRO ENTERTAINMENT—To Tear the Joint Apart
BAZAAR—Bashing Bargains at Pre-War Prices
BAR—For Solid (and Liquid) Encouragement

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