

SENATE TAX BILL SOAKS THE POOR!

OPA Order Lifts Price Ceiling on Hundreds of Items!

Vital Foods Among Items Covered by Price Order

By GERTRUDE SHAW

On October 10 the New York Times carried on its front page the headline "New OPA Food Price Order Permits Rise in 11 Groups."

WHAT KIND OF FARCE IS THIS?

The President threatens to go over the head of Congress if it doesn't give him the power to "stop inflation," as he put it. Congress—after much wrangling—gives him certain powers. The President creates the job of stabilization director and gives it to Associate Supreme Court Justice Byrnes. Leon Henderson of the OPA trumpets throughout the length and breadth of the land that now prices will be fixed on everything.

But—
WITHIN A WEEK the New York Times carries on its front page the headline "New OPA Price Order Permits Rise in 11 Groups."

Yes—what kind of farce is this? Such practical jokes the working class cannot afford. IT CANNOT AFFORD THEM FOR THE SIMPLE REASON THAT THE "FIXERS" IN WASHINGTON ARE NOT JOKING ABOUT PUTTING CEILINGS ON WAGES.

Along with the announcement of the new price boost, Mr. Henderson handed out a little soothing syrup to the little man and his wife to the effect that "the ultimate effect on consumers would be a slight increase in prices, a cent or two at most, on items affected."

BUT THERE ARE SEVERAL HUNDRED ITEMS INCLUDED IN (Continued on page 3)

Six-Hour Day In Rubber War Casualty

By M. BELL

One week after the URWA convention hall rang with denunciation of the War Manpower Commission's attempt to foist an eight-hour day on Akron rubber workers in the name of a fake "labor shortage," the six-hour day has been wiped out by the unanimous vote of that commission, including its labor representatives, and an eight-hour day substituted.

The convention originally opposed the authority of the Manpower Commission to decide when and if a labor shortage exists. Then, when it passed the all-out war policy resolution of Dalrymple and the other officials, it nullified its previous stand because that policy called for the Manpower Commission to determine the shortage of labor which would usher in the eight-hour day.

The concurrence of labor representatives in this decision puzzles LABOR ACTION. What, then, was the significance of the fight they put up at the URWA convention to maintain the six-hour day? The representative of the Negro Manpower Commission who appeared at their convention emphasized that there were many members of his race still walking the streets, or employed at menial jobs. This is still true in Akron.

Another question that has not yet been answered is: Will the eight-hour day bring with it a commensurate eight-hour pay, or will the old rates remain? And will the speed-up conditions which characterized the six-hour day still prevail under longer hours?

The union brothers of the URWA on the war fronts wrote that the six-hour day was long enough. They, as well as the men in the war rubber plants, have been let down.

Put an End to Poll Tax Rule!

AN EDITORIAL

A nail has been driven into the poll-tax coffin, but the lid is far from being sealed.

After generations of injustice, the House of Representatives this week finally passed a bill outlawing the poll-tax as a prerequisite for voting. It came to the floor only after a discharge petition, which took over a year in getting the necessary 218 signatures, forced it out of the House Judiciary Committee.

Southern poll-tax representatives fought a last-ditch fight to stop the bill. But the House, embarrassed by the weakness of the "war for democracy" propaganda in the face of this patent and disgraceful injustice, finally voted the anti-poll tax bill it for years had refused to enact.

The bill has yet to come before the Senate. There the poll-tax bloc is proportionately stronger than it is in the House. It will therefore take a lot of fighting and arguing to get it passed in the Senate. And it is not merely a question of voting down the poll-tax senators. It is also a question of putting some pressure on senators from non-poll-tax states.

Poll-tax is merely one aspect—and not necessarily the most scandalous—of Jim Crow discrimination. It is perhaps the most obvious disregard of the democratic rights of the Negro people from a politician's viewpoint. But it is only ONE part of a whole system which extends from the recesses of a Southern lynch county to the "enlightened" cities of the North—here worse, there slightly better.

Poll-tax is part of the system of lynch law, discrimination and segregation—part of the system which allows lynchers to go free, part of the system which denies jobs to Negroes, part of the system which forces Negroes into rent-high ghettos.

The poll-tax isn't much—a dollar or two, that's all. But to a Negro who earns \$195 a year, as in Mississippi, or \$455 a year, as in Virginia, it's a formidable sum.

Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia—these are the poll-tax states. They have a total population of 24,000,000. Of these, only 2,746,000 voted in the 1940 congressional election, and elected 78 representatives. But in eight non-poll-tax states of equal population, 11,800,000 voted and elected only 84 representatives.

It is this obvious disproportion in political weight, secured by a denial of the most elementary of democratic rights, that stirred the congressmen out of their indifference—though it also took a mountain of pressure from the Anti-Poll-Tax Committee, Workers Defense League, the trade unions and other liberal and labor organizations.

Poll-tax must be beaten! The Senate must be compelled to approve the House bill. But—

There is more to the poll-tax system than the poll-tax. Suppose the poll-tax is outlawed, what steps will be taken to guarantee the right of the Negro to go to the polls without intimidation? There are all sorts of laws now on the books which guarantee equal rights to the Negro people. The penalty for exercising these rights, however, has been violence up to the point of lynching. The Negro has a right to a job. The President has said so. But he said so, did nothing, and discrimination in industry goes on.

That's where the real problem lies, and there too is the duty of the labor movement. The anti-poll-tax legislation must be implemented with a few teeth to GUARANTEE the rights of the Negro.

The interests of the Negro people must be protected, but they can only be protected fundamentally if the SYSTEM of poll-tax and lynch law is destroyed. And the way to destroy it is to unite those who have common cause in common action—Negro and white labor.

WIPE OUT THE SYSTEM OF LYNCH LAW AND POLL-TAX TERROR!

A First-Hand Report from Cincinnati

UMW Convention Votes to Withdraw From the CIO

By DAVID COOLIDGE

CINCINNATI—As this is being written, the thirty-seventh constitutional convention of the United Mine Workers of America is drawing to a close. The 2,800 delegates from the nineteen states and Canada where coal is mined have been sitting in the large Music Hall here for ten days now, giving attention to the most important questions that have ever come before their international.

The great majority of the delegates to this convention have had years of experience with the business at hand. They have been going to UMW conventions for ten, twenty and forty years. They are not young men, but scarred and sea-

soned veterans of the trade union movement. They have been and are today the hardened and disciplined vanguard of the organized labor movement in the United States.

When the convention opened with the address of welcome by John Owens, president of District 6, it was clear what the course of the UMW would be on the all-important matter of the relationship of this international to the CIO. In his opening address Owens set the tone of the convention. The speech of Owens was, of course, the expression of the opinion of the international officers, Lewis, O'Leary and Kennedy.

Owens reviewed the history of the founding of the CIO, the aid

and assistance given by the miners' organization, reserving however the bulk of the praise for the personal leadership of John L. Lewis. It was a Lewis convention right from the start. From the opening day on there was left only the smallest crack for any Murray adherents to squeeze through. This held of course in far greater degree for the Stalinists. If there were any of their hatchet men present they succeeded in maintaining the most impenetrable disguise.

In the course of his speech, Owens said that "I want to say to this delegation that if it had not been for John L. Lewis there would not have been any organization in the steel

industry... what is true of steel is true of rubber... if it had not been for John L. Lewis there would not be any United Rubber Workers' organization in America... so it was with auto."

When Lewis took over to reply to the various addresses of welcome to the convention, he followed and elaborated the line by Owens. He however emphasized that it was the mine workers who had accomplished all the organizational feats that had been attributed to him personally by Owens.

Lewis of course understands these questions and situations for better than Owens. He knows that there existed, long before the formal organization of the CIO, an objective

situation in American industry that called for the organization of the mass production workers into industrial unions and a break from the craft-union and impotent AFL. Lewis knows that even though he had never been born there would have been a successful industrial union movement, answering the call of the mass production workers and fulfilling their requirements. If not this one, then there would have been another John L. Lewis called by another name.

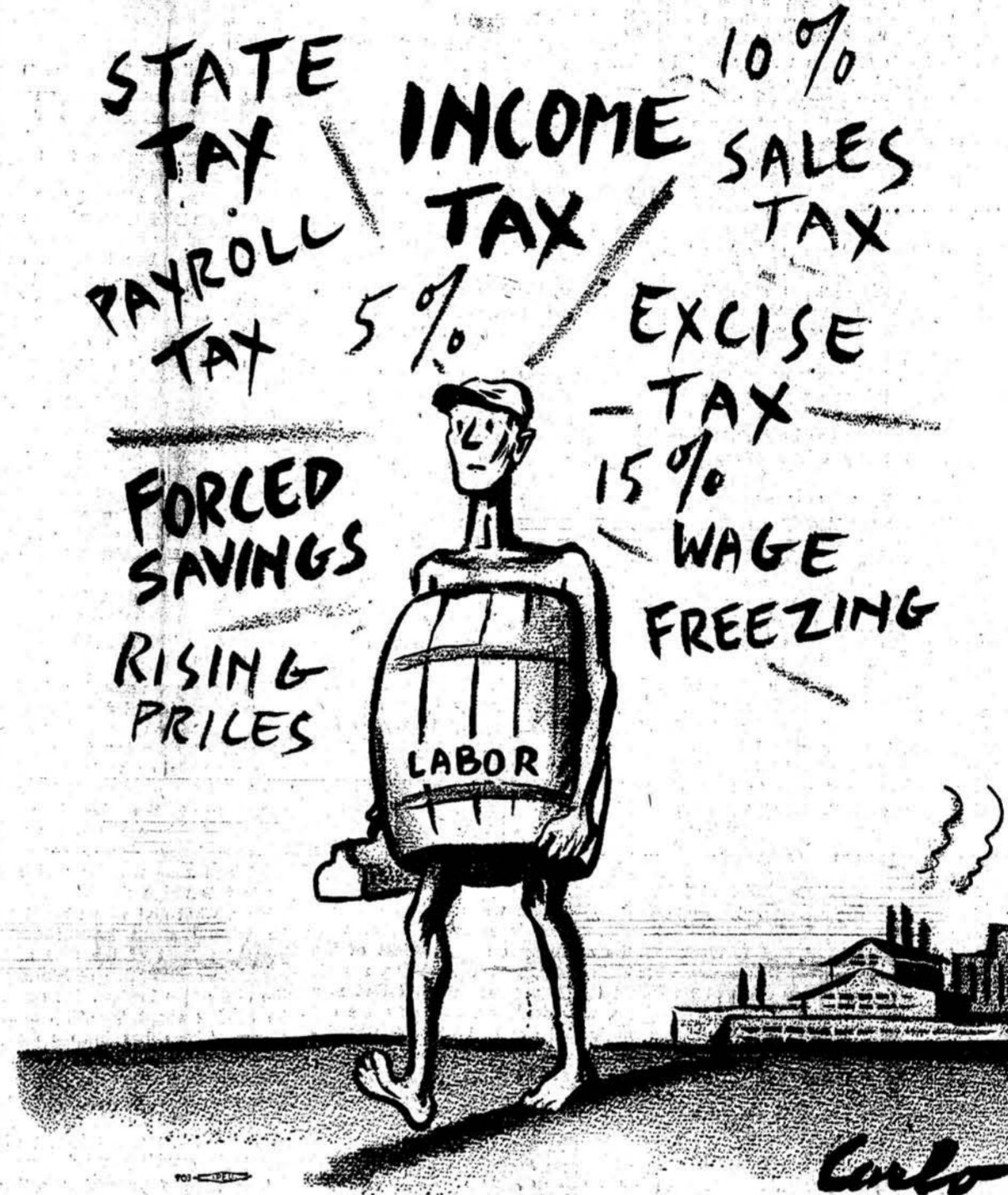
In the course of his speech Owens dug up a bit of history that he might as well have left buried. He brought up his leadership of the Little Steel strike in Ohio. Said Owens: "A lot of so-called labor leaders are going

around over this country sticking out their chests pointing to accomplishments of what they did in steel. I led the Little Steel strike in the state of Ohio..." As we remember that strike, it wasn't anything for any labor leader to be bragging about today. Owen did in that strike—because he was ordered to, we suppose—exactly what Murray and his friends are doing today: depending on the government to win the workers' battles for them.

Perspectives of UMW

Not only did Lewis go over the matters that were to come before the convention in his first speech but he gave a resume of where he and the (Continued on page 2)

"Boom Times!"



"Alien" Seamen Hounded

Persecuted Because They Refuse to Sail Ships Under Slave Conditions

The miserable and contemptible treatment received by "alien" seamen in the United States is enough to expose the entire capitalist class and its system.

During the past two years, thousands of Dutch, Greek, Norwegian and Chinese seamen have been thrown into the prisons of the United States and even shanghaied out of the country because they refused to ship out under the terrible conditions that the ship owners were trying to impose on them.

By jailing these seamen, the authorities expected to force them to accept the terms of the owners and go back to the ships. But the sailors found the jails safer and healthier than the slave ships that they were being asked to sail.

The authorities decided to end all this. Not by giving the men their freedom to do as they wished—to present their demands as organized free men to the ship owners, or sail on the unionized American ships, or go into industry, or do whatever else may please free men. No; none of that. Instead, various schemes and

tortures were devised in an attempt to force the men, disorganized and broken, to return to the ships. A recent example which received some publicity is quite typical.

Over 500 of these seamen were transferred, with the sanction of Mayor LaGuardia, from the prisons of Ellis Island to Rikers Island in New York, where conditions are so horrible that they were expected to drive the men back to the ships.

Although a strict censorship on the seamen's mail makes it impossible for them to make any appeals or send out any information, a letter "not sent through the mails" appeared in the New York Post, Monday, October 5. In the following letter the seamen eloquently reveal their heroic attitude and the inhuman conditions that they are suffering.

"...Our detention quarters (in Rikers Island) consist of one-story factory shops. These structures were never intended or designed for human habitation. We sleep on steel spring cots without mattresses and the entire bedding consists of

two miserably small bed sheets and four thin, dirty, worn-out cotton blankets issued by the prison authorities. The cots are spaced from one foot to 18 inches apart, and in this way 150 friendly nationals are thus sandwiched into a building 40 by 90 feet.

"One of the worst conditions arises from the fact that some of these seamen are infected with venereal diseases and no provision has been made to give them any treatment, although a few have begged for medical attention without any results.

"Many seamen complain of a run-down condition, while all complain of loss of weight, since meals are not fit to eat at all many meal times.

"The constant stench that permeates the air is further menace, coming from the toilets which are located in each building and are not separated from the sleeping quarters.

"Now we Greek, Norwegian, Dutch, Danish, Scotch, Irish, English, Chinese, Indian, Malayan, (Continued on page 2)

\$30-a-Week Worker Will Lose 8 Weeks Pay in Taxes

A single man earning \$30 a week will pay \$238.84 in victory and income taxes—the equivalent of eight weeks' wages!

In addition, higher excise taxes on cigarettes, bus and railroad tickets, liquor, telephone service and other items will take another few weeks of wages.

All this is contained in the Senate tax bill—a tax bill so manifestly unjust that even some of the boss papers (New York Post) have referred to it as the "worst tax bill in history" because "it hits low-income workers."

Hiking taxes on low incomes, the Senate at the same time lowered the corporation profits tax from a proposed 55 per cent to 40 per cent, refused to raise income taxes in the higher brackets, and "failed to tax war profits of anything near an adequate level" (CIO News).

Philip Murray, president of the CIO, called the tax bill "disgraceful" and charged that it leaves loopholes wide open for income tax evasion by the wealthy.

Exemptions have been reduced in this bill from \$750 to \$500 for single persons, and from \$1,500 to \$1,200 for married persons. Thus a married man earning \$30 a week will pay INCOME TAX ALONE \$52.04.

In addition, a "victory tax" of 5 per cent is fixed on all wages beginning January 1. Married or single, that 5 per cent will be deducted—ON ALL WAGES OF \$12 AND OVER!

And that isn't the end of it. Because the tax bill falls five billion dollars short of what the Treasury says it wanted, it is likely that further cuts will be made IN LOW INCOMES by a sales tax (after Election Day!), a compulsory savings tax or both.

If ever there was an illustration of the workings of the capitalist system, it is this tax bill. This bill was deliberately conceived as a "soak the poor" measure—a measure designed to force the poor to pay the cost of the boss war.

(Continued on page 4 in edit. col.)

Europe in Revolt

News from the Socialist Camp

LUXEMBURG GENERAL STRIKE LED BY GERMAN

We recently mentioned the general strike among Luxembourg miners and steel workers. Now we get a letter from Switzerland quoting a Luxembourg paper as follows: "Yesterday the Special Court sentenced to death Heinrich Adam, 48, of Esch, for inciting to strike. Adam was a Reichsdeutscher and employed for 30 years in Schifflingen Works. August 31, after various strike watchwords had caused considerable unrest among the workers he gave a signal for stopping work by a long siren signal. The signal was obeyed by a considerable number of workers. The accused thus incited to sabotaging German interests. The deed was especially serious because he was a born Reichsdeutscher and fought on the side of the hostile element, thus excluding himself from the people's community and forfeiting his life. The death sentence has already been executed."

This notice is among the most encouraging which have come out of Europe recently. It gives tangi-

ble proof that in spite of everything, international workers' solidarity is still alive. There are many who want to make us believe that German workers, supporting Hitler, partake of the spoils of his conquests and are opposed to the workers of the oppressed nations. This notice is like a slap in the face to these reactionaries. A German worker as head of the strikers in an oppressed country. Here is proof which cannot be argued away of the similarity of class interests of the workers in all Europe.

A German worker as head of a strike of Luxembourg workers—this is a living example of the undying spirit and potential force of a workers' movement transcending boundaries and "national" differences. The act of this German worker will be remembered when workers of a United Socialist Europe think about those who laid the first blocks on which the foundation of European labor's house will be built.

SOCIALIST GROUP IN GERMAN ARMAMENT PLANT

The German radio announced the following on July 4: "In a Frankfurt munition factory the spreading of inciting rumors was recently noticed which were directed in a lying manner especially against the leadership of the German war effort and the Allies of the Reich. In such a way, distrust and doubt were spread among the workers. It was then found that the 31-year-old worker Heinrich Maas, a former Marxist, listened systematically to enemy broadcasts and spread the lies of these broadcasting stations among his co-workers. The co-defendants (four names follow) transmitted the messages they had received from Maas among other workers of the factory. Maas has been sentenced to death for listening to enemy stations and preparation of high treason. His co-defendants were sentenced to prison terms of ten, five and three years. The death sentence has already been executed."

Notes about occurrences like this

cannot be found in the big American press. They stress every little occurrence in the national struggle but are very much concerned not to let the American workers know that the class struggle is continuing in Germany. The above notice makes it clear that this was a group of socialists organized on a factory basis. One of these groups has been discovered, but how many others are fighting on?

The impression is clearly conveyed that this was not only a case of individual action of a desperate worker, but was a well organized group with possible connections with some larger organization. It is proof that, in spite of terror, the Gestapo is unable to check every attempt to organize. German labor is beginning to organize again on a class level. Such determined groups of political activists are certainly still an infinite minority, but they would be unable to show even the least bit of activity if they were not sure to have the sympathy of their fellow workers.

MORE CASES OF MUTINY AMONG GERMAN SOLDIERS

After we went to press last week the following additional information about mutinies among German soldiers stationed in Norway was transmitted by the Reuters correspondent in Stockholm: Press reports in the Swedish press indicate today that 3,000 to 4,000 German soldiers have

been imprisoned for a mutiny at Alta in far northern Norway. These reports said seventeen German officers had been cashiered and forty-three of the imprisoned soldiers sentenced to death by a military court at Harstad.

Europacus.

Attention, Los Angeles Workers!

The address of the Labor Action office in Los Angeles is: 234 South Broadway, Room 435

Shipyard Local 9 Militants Resist Stalinist Move

Attempt to Railroad Through Scurrilous Motion on LABOR ACTION Fails as Whole Matter Is Tabled

SAN PEDRO—Following up the filthy and underhanded attack on LABOR ACTION at the national IUM-SWA convention, the Stalinists and other reactionaries tried to railroad through their scurrilous resolution in Local 9's membership meeting this week. Taking advantage of a poorly attended meeting they tried to jam through the resolution without allowing discussion, but were finally defeated when the whole matter was tabled.

All this ratiolading was attempted in the name of the "war for democracy" and of the "four freedoms," among which is listed the freedom of the press.

Why are the officials and Stalinists here so anxious to suppress LABOR ACTION. What they are really afraid of is that this paper will hinder them in selling their surrender program to the membership of Local 9.

What Are the Facts?

President Adkins had the gall to refer to LABOR ACTION and its supporters as "company agents," and to claim that the article on the hiring hall "lies." Let's look into these questions and see who does the dirty work for the company, and also who does the lying.

For the last four months or more Local 9 has been carrying on a fight against attacks made on it by the government and the corporations, just now, the Los Angeles Shipyard—a fight to preserve its wage standards, conditions and the strength of the union.

What stand has LABOR ACTION taken throughout this fight? Did LABOR ACTION advocate that the union accept the eight-point program, yield guaranteed wage increases and overtime for Saturday and Sunday? Or was it President Adkins, with the able help of all Stalinists and reactionaries, who advocated and put over this rotten surrender? Then, on the staggered shift issue, was it the officials, the Stalinists and the reactionaries who carried on a tooth-and-nail fight against the company to maintain the regular week? Was it LABOR ACTION who invited Eugene Greene to the membership meeting to try to sell the membership on the "necessity" of the staggered shift?

Somehow it seems as though Adkins got himself mixed up. It was he, the rest of the officials and the Stalinists who put through these little deals for the company.

Perhaps the claim is that LABOR ACTION lied when it told the men that negotiations were going on with the company on the subject of the hiring hall, which were not reported to the membership? If that is a lie, why don't the officials come out flatly and say that no such negotiations are going on or have been conducted at any time?

They can't say that because LABOR ACTION told the truth, and a man wiser than the official-Stalinist brain trust once said: "truth will out." Or do they claim that LABOR ACTION lies when it

says that the hiring hall is very valuable to the union, and to all union men, and is therefore worth fighting for to defend, as it was worth fighting for to win?

Sure, the company and any company men in the union don't think that the union should fight to preserve the hiring hall, but genuine union men remember that men gave their lives to win the hall, and they would be willing to give their lives to defend it.

Ranks Welcome LABOR ACTION

Since these union "leaders" and would-be "leaders" decided on surrendering union wages, conditions and union strength to the company, anyone who objects has become "subversive." Especially "subversive"

is a paper, like LABOR ACTION, which tells workers in plain language what the score is, and shows what a rotten deal is being put over.

Worst of all for the "super-patriotic" surrender artists, LABOR ACTION is welcomed and read and understood by the big majority of the men in the yards.

To forestall the day of reckoning and to ease the way for the next big union surrender—the surrender of the hiring hall that they are now dickered about—for these noble purposes the officials and Stalinists push their vile and lying attack against LABOR ACTION. But power to decide is in the hands of the membership. The men who work in the shipbuilding industry must decide

whether they are to be prevented from reading the truth in the columns of LABOR ACTION.

But to have a hand in deciding these things the membership must turn out to meetings. A meeting with small attendance can be almost completely dominated by the Lopez-Alexander-Rothman clique of Moscow patriots, plus the officials and Mulholland. If full control of the meetings and the union is allowed to fall into the hands of this noble crew of "union builders," not only will every man who wants to fight for the union be quashed into silence, but the men in the yards may soon find themselves paying the company on Fridays, instead of being paid.

LABOR ACTION, according to its obligation as a labor paper, presented the facts and indicated how union standards and union strength can be maintained—against the eight-point program, for the guaranteed wage raise, against giving up Saturday and Sunday overtime, against the staggered shift, and for defense of the hiring hall. Progressive and militant union men in meeting after meeting have fought hard to maintain these union gains, but the membership has failed to turn out to back them up, so the minority Moscow clique and the officials have had their way.

If the membership will turn out, the hiring hall can be saved and plans can be made to win back what the officials and Stalinists have thrown away.

Mine Union Withdraws from CIO

(Continued from page 1)

Other international officers stood in his discussion of the officers' report. In the course of the convention he made many allusions to the perspective of the organization and to his intention to attempt to keep the UMWA on the same track that it has pursued for the many decades of its existence. For instance, on the organization of the chemical industries and the attitude of the miners he said: "I know no reason why the coal miners in this country, after this emergency is over, should use non-union explosives, and neither do the members of District No. 50."

On the matter of the demand for a \$2.00 a day increase in wages, Lewis said that the basic coal wage can be raised under the recent stabilization legislation and the executive order of October 3. This position intimated that Lewis will contend that the base pay of the miners, \$35 a week, is sub-standard and can be raised without violating either the wage stabilization act or the executive order.

Furthermore, according to Lewis, the miners will not depart from their old ways: "Our membership have no thought of changing their ways or their methods or their thoughts to meet the temporary policies of any segment of the American labor movement which might for reasons of expediency depart from those tried and true policies which have made this union great."

Now, what and whom could Lewis be talking about here except the present retreat of the CIO and the complete capitulation of Murray and the other CIO leaders. He could not be talking about the AFL and Bill Green. There has been no retreat on their part; they stand today where they have stood for half a century. The miners, says Lewis, "are the vanguard of the American labor movement, the shock troops of our economic establishment."

The most far-reaching action of the present convention, of course, was

the vote to withdraw from the CIO. The split was prepared, it is now clear, long before the convention convened. It must be said too, that the split did not take place because the CIO owes the UMWA \$1,650,000 and refuses to pay. The split did not take place because—in the words of John Owens, speaking of certain CIO leaders—"out of their hypocritical lips come sentimental mouthings about the members of our union, then they puke up from their foul stomachs asinine statements about the president of our union." Nor did it occur because the CIO distributed the following document among the UMWA locals:

"The officers and members of the United Mine Workers of America, representing more than _____ thousand employees of the _____ company, wish to express our sincere thanks for the recognition and voice in the national affairs which you have given labor in our country by setting up the combined War Labor Board stop We want you to know that we stand with you and our Vice-President Philip Murray to the fullest extent of our ability in the prosecution of the war to defeat Hitlerism and all it stands for stop Again we find ourselves in disagreement with John L. Lewis in his refusal to cooperate with you and our government during these critical times stop Carry on we are with you without limitations.

Signed: Local _____ UMWA. President; Secretary;

"Note: District Directors. "Have your local unions send this telegram via night letter to the President of the United States just as soon as possible. Mail copies of the telegram, after it has been sent, to (Murray and Lewis).

"Fraternally yours, "JOHN V RIFFE, "Assistant Director."

The split is not due to a personal quarrel between Lewis and Murray or for the reason that "Lewis

is a power-crazed czar." A Negro delegate to whom I talked penetrated right to the heart of the situation when he said: "If you ask me, it's Roosevelt." That is, at the bottom of this split is the hand of Franklin D. Roosevelt Beneath all the window dressing and the anti-CIO fireworks that exploded in the convention is the Second World Imperialist War.

The split between the AFL and the CIO was a clear and unmistakable (to everyone except Bill Green) revolt against craft unionism and for industrial unionism. The causes of the present split in the CIO are somewhat obscure but they can be discovered. They go back to the fall of 1940, when Lewis made the speech for Willkie. The rift widened when Lewis joined Hoover and America First.

The point is that the split was really consummated when Lewis did not go along with Murray in blind support of the imperialist war and kneebending submission to Roosevelt. And, of course, Roosevelt was always behind the scenes with Murray pouring oil on the flames.

Lewis' Report

It was necessary in the convention for Lewis to cleanse himself of some of the charges that had been made against him in connection with his isolationism, anti-patriotism, etc. He attended to this on the first day of the convention. After giving a report of the amount of war bonds that have been purchased by the international, the districts and the members of the UMWA, Lewis said: "Let any other union show a record as good."

On the question of his attitude toward the war, Lewis said: "The United Mine Workers of America abhor the necessity of war, and throughout the years, in times of peace, have expressly, by resolution from time to time... declared against war as long as war could be avoided, and as long as our nation was not attacked... it is known that for some

years past I have urged non-participation in foreign wars if that could be avoided. That was my position, and I understood it to be the position of the United Mine Workers of America, until the time came when it was evident that our nation was to be attacked by foreign enemies. When that time came, like millions of other citizens and like hundreds of thousands of our members, I abandoned every other consideration and stated purposely and acted accordingly, in support of our government, of our institutions, of our policies, of the integrity of our nation and the well-being, not alone of the members of the United Mine Workers of America, but the well-being of every American."

Lewis continued with: "It is true that there have been individuals abroad in this land who for reasons of their own have seen fit to question the loyalty of the president of the United Mine Workers of America to the principles of his government and sometimes have questioned the loyalty of the United Mine Workers of America. There can be no greater misrepresentation and there can be no greater distortion of the truth. But because men may misrepresent and distort and sometimes seek to defame an individual or an organization is no reason for that individual or that organization to be influenced in its policies by such considerations, or to abate one whit of its efforts to ever new to the life, in proper participation, proper support, in unyielding determination to carry on to a point where the armed forces of our nation will triumph, when our free institutions will be preserved and where the minimum inconvenience and suffering to the population may be brought about."

Lewis read this to the convention as part of the statement he made at a meeting of the UMWA international policy committee in Washington on June 3.

I won't go into what's wrong with this statement at this time, but surely no stronger statement in support of the Second World Imperialist War has been made by Murray, Thomas, the Reuters, any other CIO leaders or by the Stalinists. There is a difference, of course; Lewis has little to say about supporting Roosevelt; he talks about "our country," "our government" and the "armed forces." Murray, Thomas and the others are simple supporters of Roosevelt, while Lewis speaks more or less generally of the country and the government.

Discuss Union Problems

At the last steel workers' convention the platform was adorned with a large-sized portrait of Roosevelt and MacArthur. There is nothing of this kind at the miners' convention. There is a portrait of Lewis on the stage and one of "our officers," Lewis, O'Leary and Kennedy, at one end of the hall.

Furthermore, the time of this convention is consumed almost entirely with the working class problems that the miners face. There has been no telegram from Roosevelt, no addresses by big-shot federal officials and no excessive flag-waving, such as we see from time to time in CIO conventions. This convention is more like the CIO convention of 1940 at Atlantic City.

The motion to disaffiliate from the CIO reads as follows: "Your committee, therefore, recommends to this convention that the United Mine Workers of America now officially withdraw from the CIO, and direct its subordinate units and members to withdraw from any official participation in the affairs of affiliation with any unit of the CIO, until such time as the CIO sees fit to correct its errors, desist from its policy of denunciation and antagonistic attitude toward the United Mine Workers of America and recognize its valid financial obligations."

There were a few delegates and numerous resolutions advocating remaining in the CIO, but it was clear from the beginning that this could not be. The speech of Lewis in support of the recommendation was the climax of the debate and assured that the resolution would carry with only a handful of dissenting votes.

Lewis introduced a powerful argument when he brought in the attitude of some of the CIO leaders to (Continued on page 3)

"War Threatens All Civil Rights"—Biddle

What Is Happening to Civil Liberties in the United States?

By HARRY ALLEN

"War threatens all civil rights." Such is the view of United States Attorney General A. D. Biddle. There have been periods of gross abuse, when hysteria and hate and fear ran high and when minorities were unlawfully and cruelly abused. The present war is no exception. Inroads are being made on civil liberties—on the democratic and labor rights of the workers and people generally in this country.

While not in every instance uniform or national in their application, they are nevertheless sufficiently numerous to cause concern to labor TODAY, not to mention their implications for tomorrow. The illustrations given below are by no means all-inclusive, but indicate some of the more flagrant deviations from "normal" democratic procedure.

The Roosevelt Administration already finds it necessary to explain and defend its actions as inquiries and protests are made from liberal and labor sectors. But despite murmurings and protests from these quarters, the Administration continues its practices. It cannot do otherwise, since the government's policy is rooted in historical circumstances, which increasingly compel a course toward authoritarian and dictatorial conceptions.

RUTHLESS EVACUATION OF JAPANESE-AMERICANS

Immediately after America's direct entry into the imperialist war, the government evacuated thousands of Japanese on the Pacific Coast. These people had been living there all their lives or for many years. Yet they were ruthlessly uprooted and ejected from their homes, lands and work places.

Not even the elementary constitutional provisions or devices were invoked on their behalf; for example, no examination as to their "loyalty" or any distinctions between American-born (citizens) or aliens. Never before, either in war or peace time, has any such wholesale inva-

sion of the rights of Americans taken place on the basis of national origin. The analogy to German's wholesale persecution of non-Aryans is too stark to require comment. The American bourgeoisie is too desperately pursuing its war to be concerned with democratic and ordinary human rights. It is intent on creating wholesale hatred of the "slant-eyed, bespectacled" yellow Japanese "dwarfs."

DENIES RIGHT OF ASYLUM TO ANTI-FASCISTS

2. Recently, the Laval-Petain Vichy government of France promulgated plans to deport thousands of Jews from France to areas in Eastern Europe occupied by Hitler. Indignation and protest swept over this country. The United States Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, felt impelled to issue a statement expressing lamentation and shock at the Laval-Petain decree against the Jews.

But Hull did not accompany his denunciation with a declaration invoking the right of asylum; that is, to admit these otherwise death-assigned Jews to the United States through the immediate mass issuance of visas to these victims of Laval-Petain-Hitler. And why not? Because the United States does not want anti-fascists of working class origin, especially if there are revolutionaries among them, admitted to this country. The "welcome" sign is hung out only for those of bourgeois and royalist origin and station.

The failure of the Roosevelt Administration to act in such a way as to relieve the plight of millions of refugees—not only the Jews of Germany, France, Austria and Rumania, etc., but also the Spanish working class victims of fascist France—is only a wholesale and more recent manifestation of a gradual reversal of policy of the United States government on the right of asylum.

Actually, in recent years, the right of immigration or asylum for "reds"—for revolutionaries, even if they

are political refugees—has been a dead letter. The United States for them is impenetrable, except through accident. As the American Civil Liberties Union has correctly protested:

"No person should be refused admission to the United States on the ground of holding objectionable opinions. The present restrictions are wholly opposed to our traditional policy of political asylum."

But democratic traditions notwithstanding, the American bourgeoisie waves its hands toward—Santo Domingo, Mexico, Patagonia. These places are for the refugees. For a declining capitalist order finds it necessary to set up barriers against "ideas" and determined militants and revolutionaries who give voice and organization to their views. To grant to these refugee masses the right of asylum might result in admitting opponents of capitalism and real fighters against fascism. Their suppression and exclusion are therefore not an accident, but part and parcel of the class interests of the American capitalist class.

This is the meaning, also, of the efforts of the Administration, through Attorney General Biddle, to extend the legal bases for revoking the citizenship of naturalized citizens.

3. The recent prosecution in the Minneapolis case (Teamsters Local 544-CIO and Socialist Workers Party members), ordered by Roosevelt on the demand of the reactionary union official, Tobin, and carried out under the supervision of the great "liberal" Biddle, cannot be lightly passed over, occurring, as it did, even before America's entry into the war.

One can also add such evidence as the revival of criminal syndicalism procedures in the states; the increasing number of arrests and trials on sedition charges; the arrests of thousands of aliens and the increasing and significant violations of free press. None of these can be passed

over as only "wartime exigency measures." Rather, they indicate and form a pattern of the future.

DIES COMMITTEE—AN INVITATION TO ANTI-LABOR SMEARS

4. It seems to be the practice among some of the liberal and labor forces to laugh or sneer at the efforts of the Dies Committee. But one cannot ignore the Dies Committee, which, with continued congressional appropriations, pursues its anti-labor, anti-radical and red-baiting smearings. Thereby is laid the "ideological" and political groundwork for further legal and extra-legal attacks (vigilantism, etc.).

The propaganda of Dies and his co-workers is obviously receiving encouragement from higher bourgeois sources who look to the future. These elements recognize that sharp attacks on labor and its organizations in the future—accompanied by "legal" and illegal raids, searches and seizures; false jailings, singly and en masse; deportations if possible—require a long period of propaganda preparations, which are only apparently ineffective at present.

Moreover, it must not be overlooked that the efforts of the (supposedly ridiculous) Dies Committee have unquestionably already caused countless unknown numbers of liberals, radicals and ordinary workers to pull in their horns; to hesitate to speak out their opinions; to decline to join movements or organizations organized to carry out a specific or general objective of labor.

Indirect and highly publicized falsification thus achieves its ends in an important and typical bourgeois-democratic fashion. The organized labor movement particularly can and must not only demand the dissolution of the Dies Committee, but must continue to expose its role as a part of the blatantly reactionary trends of the ruling class. For instance, when the labor movement recently took a serious part in the agitation for the removal of the poll-tax as a voting requirement for soldiers of the poll-

tax states, the effect was noticeably felt in Congress.

American capitalism is steadily moving to supplant in fact, if not yet entirely in form, the parliamentary machinery of the American capitalist government with a bureaucratic-military regime. Steadily, the powers of the executive (the President) supersede the legislative (Congress). The President in turn delegates decisive powers to members of the military, not only in relation to military but industrial manpower, and with respect to labor's use of the strike weapon.

Does the judiciary (the Supreme Court), the third arm of American government, intervene to curb the growth of the President and to reinforce the legislative arm? No! The

Superman!

Paul Spaak, a member of the Belgian Government in Exile, lives in London. He is supposed to represent the people of Belgium!

Spaak occupies the following posts in the Belgian government:

- Prime Minister,
- Minister of Justice,
- Minister of Education,
- Minister for Colonies,
- Minister of Finance,
- Minister of Defense,
- Minister of Economic Affairs,
- Minister of Communications,
- Minister of Foreign Affairs,
- Minister of Foreign Trade,
- Minister of Social Welfare,
- Minister of Information.

It seems that his three colleagues have gone and left him with all these jobs! One is sick and two are visiting their colony in Africa. Spaak (a leading figure in the ex-Belgian Labor Party) carries on—in the name of the Belgian people.

—From the British New Leader.

Department of Agriculture Wins a Big "Victory"!

In a sensational news release issued on October 10, the Department of Agriculture announced that it had succeeded in setting minimum wages for sugarcane harvesters which are "expected to increase laborers' earnings from harvesting approximately 12 per cent over 1941."

All "persons employed on a farm in the production, cultivation or harvesting of sugarcane" must be paid no less than the rates "determined by the Secretary of Agriculture to be fair and reasonable."

And what are these rates? Staggering! They prove to the hilt that American labor is living off the fat of the land, that wage incomes are so high there is nothing the worker can do with his surplus money but buy silk shirts.

For example: Adult males will get twenty-one cents an hour for cutting, topping, and stripping; adult females will get seventeen cents for the same work. And for what? For nothing—just a little back-breaking work in the sugarcane fields!

These workers have no unions to "cheat" them and take their money away in dues. They are free—free from organization. So: tractor and truck drivers will get twenty-six cents an hour, teamsters will get twenty-four cents an hour, host operators 22 cents an hour. Now if they lost their freedom in a union, they might be making five, six or seven times as much. But think of the inflation it would start!

Of course, not all these workers will cause runaway inflation with their high wages, already cited. Some of them will be paid wages scaled more satisfactorily to the anti-inflation program: adult males not engaged in mechanical loading or mechanical harvesting will receive the more modest scale of seventeen cents an hour; adult females engaged similarly will get fourteen cents an hour.

However, the Department of Agriculture still hasn't eliminated the possibility of a run on the best cuts of meat and electric refrigerators, because children between the ages of fourteen and sixteen will get three-fourths of the rates "established for adult male workers for nine hours." They won't be allowed to work more than eight hours a day, however. The base day for their parents is nine hours.

Now that's really something! The Department of Agriculture didn't enlighten us on profits. It merely said that "harvesting wages have been increased because of INCREASED SUGAR PRICES AND HIGHER GOVERNMENT PAYMENTS."

All his looks like a clear-cut case for a wage-freezing order. If it doesn't come soon, these workers may bankrupt the nation by actually forcing a wage of thirty cents an hour. Then watch the run on silk shirts!

McCormick-Patterson Newspaper Chain Tries To Sell Soldiers a Reactionary Bill of Goods

The New York Daily News, America's most widely read newspaper, has been conducting an interesting editorial campaign during the last few weeks. It has carried several editorials expressing the opinion that "soldiers will run this country after this war is over." And that, believes the News editorial writer, after displaying a bit of erudition gleaned from the Encyclopedia Britannica about the role of triumphant

sistently opposed American entry into the European war and counseled, rather, an aggressive attitude toward Japan.

It spoke the mind of those American imperialists whose interests were directed toward the Far East and/or South America and who desired the government to concentrate in those areas rather than in Europe. With Pearl Harbor, the News found it necessary to support the war (after all, it was the war of ITS class) while continuing to sideswipe at the Roosevelt Administration.

While supporting the war, it mocks at the Four Freedoms and all such liberalistic eye-wash; it quite cynically and openly recognizes the war for what it is and resents the attempts of idealistic liberals or Rooseveltian spokesmen to attempt to connect the war with any ideological crusades.

Post-War Views It is especially concerned with the post-war problem, fearing mass action by those who take the talk about a "war for democracy" seriously and may intend to do something about it then. The News is for the capitalistic status quo—and that's why we find it suddenly paying so

much attention to the seemingly remote problem of the role of the soldiers in post-war politics.

Recognizing the feeling of frustration and bitterness (the feeling of "We were fooled again and dragged into a mess and where are we now?") which is inevitably bound to come to the soldiers as the war drags through the years, the News intends to capitalize on this situation by appealing to their sympathies. Let the soldiers run this country, it says, they deserve to.

The News knows that the prospect facing those soldiers who DO return is not a very pleasant one: the prospect of a new depression, the prospect of a new period of suffering in civilian life after suffering through the hell of war. Nor is the soldier impressed by President Roosevelt's assurances that after the war, efforts will be made to provide for them. The soldiers expect something more than some kind of post-war WPA or home relief. They expect security, decent jobs and a chance to get a little bit of pleasure out of life.

But capitalism doesn't offer that to them and the News knows it. The News knows, too, that the resentment of the returning soldiers will be one of the great explosive

forces in the post-war period. And it is determined to channelize that force into its own reactionary direction. It speaks of the soldiers running this country after the war. But which soldiers? The millions who have come from the ranks of the working class and who will return to it, or the few militarist brass hats who are so completely woven into the capitalist structure?

Which soldiers? The bonus marchers of 1948 or those brass hats who will order the gassing of the bonus marchers of 1948?

Unions Negligent These are vital questions and their answer depends the fate of this country. The overwhelming mass of soldiers come from a proletarian origin; their interests are interwoven with those of the working class. That is why the brass hats and the newspapers have worked so assiduously to attempt to whip up an antagonism between the soldiers and the workers. And the News' plan for "soldier rule" is merely a sly attempt to stimulate a movement for some kind of military dictatorship speaking in the name of the soldiers. It hopes for a glorified American Legion which will break more strikes and be more reaction-

ary than even the Legion was at its worst. If labor allows such a possibility to become a reality, its prospects are dim indeed. If the millions of returning soldiers are deflected into a demagogic "soldier's movement" instead of returning to their rightful places in the labor unions, there is little possibility that fascism can be stopped in this country.

That is why the labor unions, most of which have been extremely negligent about this matter, must awaken to the need of keeping in close touch with their members in the armed forces. They must vehemently oppose any attempt by the brass hats to keep the labor press out of the camps. They must explain the common interest which workers and soldiers have in building a better world after this war. They must not allow the anti-civilian and sometimes anti-labor attitude which has been drummed into so many soldiers to remain uncorrected.

The News wants the embittered soldier of tomorrow to become the pawn of the demagogue and would-be dictator. Labor must see to it that he once again takes his place as a union brother. The future depends on it.

It Was a Long, Long Time Ago

When the would-be-great Wendell Willkie was chatting socially with the "great" Joseph Stalin, the former was surprised to hear that Stalin had been in London in 1907—attending an international socialist conference. The bet is dollars to doughnuts that now the "great" Stalin is himself surprised that he ever attended an international socialist conference.

soldiers returned home to affairs of state, is a joyous prospect.

The reader of these editorials, even if he is as naive as Little Red Riding Hood, must suspect that there is something more involved than a newly-found affection for the American soldiers. The News is up to some political trick—and one that is very important and will become more common as this weary war staggers along.

Why Its War Line?

The News, which is part of the isolationist McCormick-Patterson chain, is, together with its sister paper, the Chicago Tribune the outstanding spokesman for the American First type of isolationism, which, while temporarily hushed up after Pearl Harbor, remains a powerful political force in this country. For imperialist reasons of its own it per-

Pamphlet on India To Be Published By Workers Party

An up-to-date and fundamental pamphlet entitled "India in Revolt" by Henry Judd is being prepared for publication by the Workers Party. The pamphlet will deal with the history of the British seizure of India, the nature of its imperialist rule, the rise of nationalism and the periodic struggles for Indian independence up to and including the most recent fight against British rule.

The pamphlet will be off the press in about two weeks. Those who are interested can obtain copies by writing to the Workers Party, 114 West 14th Street, New York City.

Mine Union--

(Continued from page 2)

ward the captive mine strike. "I could have criticized the leadership in the CIO," he said, "when they were attempting to sell the United Mine Workers of America down the river in the captive mine fight. I could name names and give dates and quote the text of these things, but life is too short for me to answer the yappings of every cur that follows at my heels. I hear the pack in my rear at time. I can turn my head and see the lap dogs and the kept dogs, and the yellow dogs in pursuit. But I am serene in the knowledge that they won't come too close. They are not very close now. Some of them could have come here but they did not come... If you don't want to adopt this report, then you don't want a man like me to be your president. You will want a man with more rabbit in him than I have got. You want a man who will lay down on his back and put his arms and legs in the air while somebody kicks him in the ribs and stomps upon his face, and I am not that kind of a man."

This speech of Lewis ended all opposition from the floor and the second great split in the American labor movement in seven years had been consummated.

(David Cooldidge will continue his report on the momentous mine workers' convention in next week's issue.)

"The Democratic And Just Way"

The Jones & Laughlin Steel Corporation of the Little Steel companies with a violent anti-labor past and present—urges the War Labor Board to impose a fine of \$1.00 a day on workers who go out on strike. This proposed soviet treatment of labor is designated by Jones & Laughlin as "the democratic and just way."

Labor Action On Detroit Stand

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

Ceylon Socialists Address Message To British Workers in Uniform

LABOR ACTION publishes below a statement that appeared in June in a paper published by the Lanka Sama Samaja, the Ceylon Socialist Party. This article gives a first-hand account of the British military dictatorship that now exists on this island of 6,000,000 people. It describes the struggle being conducted by the people against imperialism and for their right of national liberation. The struggle in Ceylon is closely connected with the struggle in India since both countries are linked together geographically and by their economic life.—Editor.

The fall of Singapore, Rangoon and Port Blair, the air raids on Colombo and Trincomalee, and the imminent westward drive that Japan is organizing in order to link up directly with her Axis partners have thrust Ceylon into the international headlines. All the world is keen for information about this island. And British propaganda has hastened to assure the world that all is perfect in this imperialist garden.

If we are to believe their propagandists, this is a prosperous and democratically ruled country with a contented population among whom disloyalty is rare and fifth columnists unknown. Here, if we are to believe them, no ripple of resistance disturbs the even tenor of British rule, and everybody loves to be oppressed by profane Britishers and even to kiss the iron heel that grinds them down or rather, according to them, there is neither oppression nor iron heel, but only mutual cooperation arising from the people's faith in British benevolence and the people's belief in British justice. In a word, here imperialism has apparently changed its very nature and transformed itself into democracy and justice.

What a charming picture! And how charmingly untrue!

WHAT IS THE SITUATION? Ceylon is certainly rich in natural resources and grows products that are sold in the markets of the world. It has vast tea and rubber plantations which bring swollen profits and fat dividends to their owners. But who are the owners? Ninety per cent of the tea plantations and sixty per cent of the rubber plantations in Ceylon belong to the foreign imperialists who rule and exploit this island. And they certainly are prosperous.

But what of the masses? What of the army of workers who toil and sweat on these very plantations to produce these profits? They are among the most fiercely exploited workers in the world. Held in semi-slave conditions, they eke out a bare existence. The standard wage of a fully employed adult male on the plantations is about twenty cents a day. Women of course receive far less.

What of the Colombo workers, who are supposed to be in the somewhat better condition? Their average wage before the present crisis was about thirty-two cents a day. And how many got even that? According to official statistics, there were in Colombo over 40,000 registered unemployed in 1939; the actual number was much greater. Since the population of Colombo at the time was about 330,000, this signifies that at least every third adult in Colombo was unemployed!

Turn to the peasantry. What is the condition of these folk, who constitute the major section of the toiling masses in Ceylon? The word "prosperity" in relation to them is sheer blasphemy. The official government rural sur-

veys have shown that fully sixty per cent of the people in our countryside do not earn enough to get a regular two full meals a day. And fully twenty per cent go through life without even knowing what it is to have a decent full meal.

So much for the vaunted prosperity of Ceylon. What of the democracy alleged to prevail in it? The propagandists delight to point to the State Council as proof of its existence.

Of all the institutions in Ceylon, the State Council is easily the biggest fraud. It is a painted screen behind which an autocratic Governor operates. Its Ministers are but puppets while the Governor pulls the strings. For the Governor has the power—and frequently exercises it—to legislate independently and against the will of the State Council. In fact, today, this country is openly ruled by Governor's legislation without even the pretense of consulting the State Council. And none dare protest, as is shown by the failure of even a single councillor to protest against the utterly inhuman conditions that have been imposed on political detainees. More, the Governor has detained with impunity even two state councillors and threatened publicly even a Minister.

WORKERS RESORT TO DIRECT ACTION

Finding the State Council to be useless as an instrument for bettering their condition, the workers have increasingly resorted to independent and direct action. The last few years have witnessed wave after wave of strikes in Ceylon up in the plantations. The long suffering workers rose at last and, with incredible tenacity in the face of rank brutality, fought time after time during a whole year and more for increased wages and for their right to form unions. The Government and the planters met them with police brutality and fascist thuggery. Workers were shot, maimed, beaten, dismissed in droves, imprisoned in crowds, and victimized by the thousand. But they fought on grimly and won grudging recognition of their unions.

Meantime the war had begun. There followed a sharp upward swing of prices and an increase in unemployment. Conditions became so intolerable, especially in the urban centers, that the workers were driven to use the strike weapon once more. In Colombo and its environs a wave of strikes spread from factory to factory and workplace to workplace. The government promptly struck back with prosecutions under the defense regulations. But the wave rose higher and higher until it culminated in a widening series of strikes at that nerve center of imperialism, the Colombo Harbor, just about the time that the Japanese came into the war.

Taking advantage of the war situation, the government struck fiercely at the workers. It banned strikes and illegalized even efforts at organized protest against working conditions. By sheer trickery and administrative bludgeoning, it emasculated the trade union movement in Ceylon.

Today the government has gone further. It has conscripted labor under the guise of creating military units on the railways and in the harbor. It has set up scab squads in the guise of the so-called Essential Services Labor Corps. It has illegalized strikes and even resistance to employer oppression as hampering the war effort. It has made trade union work impossible not only by such legislation, etc., but also by promptly arresting trade union organizers and militants. Trade unions

offices have been raided by the police, their documents seized and their occupants arrested, beaten up and tortured until trade unions had to close down from the sheer impossibility of carrying on with their work. There is no longer any freedom of speech, writing or organization; no hope of successful defense in the courts where terror-stricken magistrates hasten to convict workers on the flimsiest evidence, no possibility of public protest with even the State Council bullied into hushed acquiescence. An utterly fascist regime has come into being with a military dictator at the head, Admiral Layton has become the dictator of Ceylon.

REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT GROWS

The battered and oppressed working class has met the ever-lightening repression with an ever-growing revolutionary movement directed against imperialism itself. As far back as 1933 this movement found organizational expression in the Lanka Sama Samaja Party, the only revolutionary party in Ceylon. This party is now a section of the revolutionary Fourth International, the only international organization which upholds the banner of proletarian revolution since the degenerate Comintern turned traitor to the working class.

The LSSP has led the workers in their political and economic struggles since its formation. In June, 1940, four of its principal leaders were detained under the defense regulations, thus becoming the first political prisoners in Ceylon. At the same time, the party press was confiscated and many of its members jailed. The government hoped thus to smash the party. But the party resolutely continued its work both legally and illegally, and with considerable success. Thereupon the government banned the party and also struck at its ancillary organizations. The party promptly went underground and retaliated with even more militant activity, including the dramatic escape of its four imprisoned leaders in April. It has not been deterred by police raids and police brutality, by prosecution and frame-ups and the imposition of intolerably inhuman conditions on political prisoners drawn from its ranks. There can be no doubt that on the not distant date when the mass upsurge against imperialism comes in Ceylon, the LSSP will be at the head.

In that task the workers of Ceylon look for help to the British workers in uniform who have come to Ceylon. There are no fifth columnists among the Ceylon workers. They are not pro-Japanese but anti-imperialist. The only pro-Japanese fifth column elements in Ceylon are to be found among the native bourgeoisie, among the Kotalawalas and their ilk who tomorrow will lick the boots of the Japanese imperialists as cheerfully as they today lick the boots of their British imperialist masters.

Among the British soldiers here are large numbers of trade unionists and politicals. We ask them: Can you, in the conditions in Ceylon, believe you are fighting for democracy? Can you believe that claim when our working class organizations are banned and our trade unions are smashed, when our leaders are imprisoned and our rank and file are prosecuted and persecuted, when we are denied the right of free speech, publication and organization, and when the very capitalist press is gagged and harnessed to the purposes of imperialist war and imperialist oppression? Can you not see that the British bosses have created in Ceylon only a bastion of fascism? Can you not see that only the workers, through revolutionary action, can convert it into a veritable bastion of freedom?

Lifts Prices - -

(Continued from page 1) THE ELEVEN GROUPS OF FOOD ON WHICH PRICES WILL GO UP. A cent or two on several hundred items adds up to dollars. AND WHERE ARE THE DOLLARS TO COME FROM?

However, there is no assurance that the increased prices will amount to ONLY a cent or two. FOR ON CAREFULLY READING THE NEWS ITEM IT BECOMES CLEAR THAT MARK-UPS ARE PERMITTED FROM 7 PER CENT TO 25 PER CENT. AND THIS ON several hundred items of food—all daily necessities.

For instance, breakfast cereals—those foods that we are told are an excellent source of much needed vitamin B—can be marked up as high as 8 per cent by certain jobbers and wholesalers. You can bet your empty cereal box that the increases will run much higher by the time the retailer posts the prices that the housewife will have to pay.

WITH WAGE CEILINGS WHAT THEY ARE, WHERE IS THE MONEY GOING TO COME FROM?

Mr. Henderson carefully explains that his new price-raising order will "permit certain essential foods to flow through wholesale and retail channels to the consuming public." But why were they not flowing to the consuming public before Mr. Henderson's farcical order? Because—mind you—channels of food distribution were not finding it PROFITABLE to handle these essentials. This is not the explanation of LA-

LABOR ACTION alone. It is the reason given by the OPA itself.

To the "fixers" in Washington such reasoning is apparently beyond dispute. But what about the worker? Is it good enough for him? Is it good enough for the working class housewife?

A hundred times—NO! Mr. Henderson's explanation simply underlines in deep black the fact that the distribution of food for the masses is controlled by the rules of the profit game. It simply makes as clear as the nose on a face that the Washington "fixers" are guided by the interests of the profit-making class—not by the needs of the people.

That is why the Washington "fixers" are serious about wage ceilings but make a farce of price ceilings. IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, THE ECONOMIC LORDS OF PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION BENEFIT BY LOW WAGES AS THEY DO BY HIGH PRICES.

The victims of this farcical policy are the "little people"—the workers, the working farmers, the struggling little retailers.

An end to this farce!

LABOR ACTION calls for joint committees of trade union workers, working class housewives and working farmers to fix and control prices and rationing. These elements of the population can truly protect the interests of the little people. THEY CAN PREVENT RUNAWAY PRICES BECAUSE THEY ARE NOT INTERESTED IN INCREASING PROFITS.

"Alien" Seamen - -

(Continued from page 1)

Australian, Canadian, Polish and Yugoslavian seamen have reached the limit of our patience and endurance, and as a last resort are bringing these conditions to your attention before we are forced to take more drastic steps in defense of our lives and our health...

"We have taken all we can physically withstand, even threats of tear gas when we demanded better and more human conditions two months ago. We know that someone will hear our plea. We trust you won't turn us down."

When the above letter and an article appeared in the same newspaper, Mayor LaGuardia, frightened by the publicity, immediately asked the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Department of Justice to take the seamen off his hands. He had accepted them in the first place, he said, "with the understanding

that the arrangement would be cancelled if any controversy arose over it." The Mayor is very much upset by the stench, but the only thing that he sees in this frightful picture is that the New York Post article and letter "border on subversive."

The AFL Seafarers Union at its recent convention passed a resolution on the "alien" seamen. The SU press occasionally carries articles on the situation but the rest of the labor movement is not as yet aware of this problem and its seriousness.

It is not an unusual sight to see a foreign ship remain in a United States port for as long a period as two months, fully loaded but lacking manpower to sail. Ships that would yield rich profits for their owners, if the cargoes were delivered, and would be free to make more trips and more profits. Why, then, don't the ship owners grant the men wage increases, recognize their unions and improve conditions? Off-hand, it would seem that the capitalist class is spitting itself.

The ship owners from the unoccupied countries are not granting wage increases to these seamen, for they realize that it will serve as an impetus for wage demands from all workers in their respective countries. They also wish to keep the wage differential very wide between the various countries so that after the war they can play the seamen of one country against those of another and thus bring wages down as they did after the last war.

In the governments in exile many of the ship owners play a prominent part and they also have their eyes turned to the future. The trade union movements in their countries have been destroyed and the ship owners are not going to recognize a free, militant seamen's union that may serve as a basis for trade unionism now or after the war.

Press Action

We have received the following subscriptions to LABOR ACTION during the past two-week period. We are rapidly approaching our goal of an average of twenty-five new readers to America's leading labor paper each week. Buffalo and New York City are running a close race for leadership in getting new subs.

| | |
|---------------|----|
| New York City | 19 |
| Buffalo | 18 |
| Los Angeles | 7 |
| St. Louis | 4 |
| Detroit | 1 |
| Chicago | 1 |
| Connecticut | 1 |
| New Jersey | 1 |
| Total | 46 |

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

Editorials

Murder, Inc.

The murder of the people of India by Churchill and his fellow imperialists continues at a rapid rate. British imperialism is indeed opening up a second front—only it is in India, against an unarmed people.

Lieutenant Colonel L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, informed the House of Commons last week that 846 people had been killed and 2,024 wounded in the mass struggle that has taken place in India since the people began open revolt against British tyranny.

Amery also declared that "Britain would not quit India at the order of Mr. Gandhi or anyone else." A motion to ask the British government to reopen negotiations with the Indian nationalists and an amendment to reject the motion on the grounds that it offered no solution to the problem made by James Maxton of the Independent Labor Party was defeated by 360 votes to 17. All the Labor Party representatives voted with Tory Churchill on this matter.

Amery and other imperialist spokesmen, during the course of the discussion, clearly indicated that their program for India's rebellious masses is: **more machine gun bullets and more whippings.** Imperialism has no intention of retreating, unless the masses of India are powerful enough to bring it to its knees. Britain's action in India is Murder, Inc., on a grand scale.

Senate Tax Bill--

(Continued from page 1)

From a miserably \$12 and up, workers will be paying DIRECT taxes plus the multitude of INDIRECT taxes hidden in excise and sales taxes.

Millions will go without bread and butter to finance the imperialist war. Just that—without bread and butter. And what these millions don't lose in the way of taxes they will lose in the way of higher prices!

But capital, living off the toil of labor, will enrich itself, will contribute in taxes sums that look big only when NOT contrasted with their TOTAL fortunes. High priced accountants will—as Under Secretary of War Patterson admitted—find ways and means of lowering even those sums that are required by the tax law.

Yes, the \$100,000 or more that some executive "brain" will have to pay LOOKS big. But in the \$100,000 he may have left over, plus the money he has stowed away, is the injustice of the whole scheme revealed.

And so that big business won't misunderstand it, the Senate made sure to allow a "post-war rebate and current debt reduction credit" of 10 per cent of the excess profits provided for in the bill.

There is no limit on profits! But there is, by Congressional authorization and executive decree, a limit on wages through the wage freezing order.

Profits, therefore, can go up and up. As they go up, a little more will be contributed in taxes by the coupon clippers and industrialists. But taxes on wages will go higher and higher while wages remain, by executive compulsion, stationary!

Recently a bill was introduced in the Senate limiting war profits to 5 per cent. The Senate Finance Committee worked hard and fast to kill it, though even a 5 per cent limit on war profits is exactly 5 per cent too much. It is buried for the "present session."

Tax bills aren't devised so that they can be understood by the worker. Experts fill volumes with figures, and it takes other experts, employed as a rule by industry, to unravel the figures, understand them, and discover the loopholes.

The figures on low incomes are easy to understand. Every worker will pay a 5 per cent "victory tax." Every worker who earns more than \$500 if single and \$1,200 if married will pay an income tax. He will pay various kinds of indirect taxes already enacted, and possibly a sales tax. With what he has left he'll try to eat, clothe and house himself.

But when it comes to the higher brackets, that's something else. There's a normal tax, a surtax, an excess profits tax, etc., etc. And the object is NOT to pile up the taxes, but to EVADE adequate taxes on the rich.

The Senate could have passed a simple tax bill: a 100 per cent tax on all war profits; sizable taxes on securities now tax exempt; a capital levy on accumulated income. Or, let us say, a bill taxing 100 per cent of income about \$25,000, with taxes steeply graduated between \$2,500 and \$25,000—and with no taxes on incomes below \$2,500.

Instead it fixed, for example, a 90 per cent excess profits tax. That sounds terrific. But the give-away is the very fact that it is an EXCESS PROFITS tax. If profits are an EXCESS (and are so recognized!), they should obviously be taxed in their entirety!

By this variety of taxes, the tax bill is made to look "better." Ninety per cent looks good, until you realize that it is 90 per cent on what is left after NORMAL profits have been considered, or 60 per cent or less, depending upon what the taxable income actually is.

The Senate bill has now been referred to conferees, who will try to iron out such differences as there may be between the House and Senate. While it may be changed in this or that small respect, it is as certain as death and taxes that the final bill will be substantially the same.

Philip Murray has protested the "disgraceful" bill. But simple protest and behind the scenes lobbying are not enough. Congress and the President know what they want: to put the burden of war on labor.

Organized labor needs an organized campaign! It needs to confront the House and Senate with an aroused labor movement which says plainly and outspokenly: WE DEMAND A SOAK THE RICH BILL!

- AGAINST A TAX ON WAGES!**
- AGAINST A SALES TAX ON CONSUMER GOODS!**
- FOR A 100 PER CENT TAX ON WAR PROFITS!**
- FOR A \$25,000 ABSOLUTE CEILING ON ALL INCOMES!**
- FOR A CAPITAL LEVY ON ACCUMULATED WEALTH!**

The Second Front?



INDIA:

Is America Set To Intervene?

By Henry Judd

During the past few weeks individual after individual and group after group of American liberals and New Dealers—ranging from pious Norman Thomas to Pearl Buck—have issued appeals urging American "intervention and mediation" in the deadlock of India.

The press has been flooded with appeals from a host of liberals and shining intellectuals. No expense, including a full page ad in the New York Times, has been spared. Public meetings, radio talks, ads, statements—every method of modern propaganda has been employed.

All the appeals have the same meaning and content. They are usually directed to President Roosevelt, as leader of the United Nations. They urge (1) a resumption of conferences and negotiations between the Indian nationalist leaders and the British government; (2) the bringing of India into the war as an active partner by means of certain concessions (for example, a provisional government based on some sort of federal system). These liberals are quite in their glory when it comes to writing up "constitutions" and plans for India!

Of course, none of these gentlemen proposes India's immediate and unconditional liberation. All of them are concerned only with the problem of bringing India openly and usefully into the war. Any pretense that the eminent Norman Thomas may have made at opposing the war is gone with his signature to the New York Times ad, a statement which had support of the war as its central theme!

SPOKESMEN OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

Far more important than this tribe of liberals, whose attitude toward India might well be described as "Let's give them a couple of bones, then they'll be only too happy to fight and die for us"—far more important are the words and deeds of America's ruling class spokesmen and journalists—men like Wendell L. Willkie, Raymond Clapper, the Luce publications, Time, Life and Fortune, etc. They, too, have commented widely upon India in recent week and their remarks have not been exactly friendly to the British, their companions-in-arms of the United Nations.

These men represent the opinion of the American imperialists and those who are leading America in its war role. They express not merely dissatisfaction with the bungling, stupid, die-hard manner in which Churchill and his gang have handled the India problem, but—and this is most important—they express the longings and desires of American imperialism with respect to India's future.

These men would like American intervention and "pressure" from FDR not because they are concerned with India's rights or her demand for liberation, but because they look forward to the day when American capital can force its way into Indian territory against the wishes of England and begin ITS OWN profitable exploitation of that land's vast wealth and resources. In a word, they are thinking of the future, when American imperialism will oust or seek to oust Britain from its most important and most profitable colony. These spokesmen would like to see the British replaced by their backers, the imperialists, the merchants and financiers of the United States! That is why they keep harping upon the British failure to solve the crisis, hinting how much better they could do if they were only given the opportunity to deal with Gandhi and his associates.

Let no one be mistaken about this question. On the matter of American intervention in India there is bad feeling between London and Washington! Churchill and particularly Amery, his Secretary of State for India, have none too politely told FDR and the "interventionists" to keep their fingers off India; that's private poaching grounds for ENGLISH imperialism. So far, FDR has done this, but the people of India would be wise to watch out for future intervention. When the rulers of America approach India bearing gifts, it would be well to recall American policy toward ITS colonies, the Philippines, Cuba and Puerto Rico, for example.

FOR WORKERS' INTERVENTION

Our attitude toward India has nothing in common with that of the hypocritical liberals of "Common Sense" magazine, Norman Thomas or any of that group. Of course we also completely oppose any intervention by American capitalism. But we would definitely like to see "intervention" by the American workers and trade unionists. An intervention on behalf of the people of India, protesting the criminal actions of the British government, backing up solidly India's demand for complete independence from any and all (including America) imperialist powers.

Let us do away with this attitude of condescension and "looking down" upon the people of India. Let us make no mistake about the matter. A great people have begun what will undoubtedly be a long and difficult struggle for their liberation. They are not "naked heathens," as the imperialist English imply; they are not a backward, ignorant people. We must look upon the events in India as the beginnings of a great social revolution which, if it succeeds, will completely change the face of Asia and the rest of the world.

It is not a matter of a few isolated people fighting, but it is a movement involving almost 400,000,000 people who have opened up a REVOLUTIONARY front of their own against foreign rule. WE MUST SUPPORT THEM AS WORKERS AND POOR PEOPLE IN EVERY LAND MUST SUPPORT ONE ANOTHER.

Job Insecurity and Class Rule

Basis of Jewish Question

By SUSAN GREEN

The would-be democrats who beat their chests, shout for race equality and put forth pet schemes to accomplish it, cut a ridiculous figure. Their schemes are as effective as a snowball in Hades because they tip-toe gingerly around the economic and class basis of race discrimination but do not dare to grapple with it.

One of the latest "contributions" on the question of anti-Semitism was a discussion in the newspaper PM by the novelist Pearl Buck of some warped ideas presented by W. M. Kiplinger in his book, "Washington Is Like That." The subject-matter is Jews in government jobs.

Kiplinger is of the opinion that "non-Jews, the 96 per cent of the population, should recognize that Jewish citizens are entitled to participate in government with the same rights as all other citizens." On the other hand, says Kiplinger, the Jews should remember that they are only 4 per cent of the total population—and should "AVOID AN EXCESSIVE LOADING OF THE GOVERNMENT WITH JEWISH CITIZENS."

"If such good sense is shown by the 96 per cent and by the 4 per cent, PERHAPS EVENTUALLY this issue can be dissolved and become what it ought to be—no issue whatsoever." Thus Kiplinger.

What he does here is obvious. He is "solving" anti-Semitism by catering to it. Running a private news service for business men, he doubtless does not wish to rub any of them the wrong way. No wonder he is skeptical of his "solution" and dresses it up with a "perhaps eventually." Pearl Buck is absolutely right in declaring that Kiplinger is telling the Jews to "stay in your 4 per cent ghetto" in regard to government jobs.

Mrs. Buck states the case against Kiplinger in the following: "He does not face the question his facts themselves ask. What are the Jews going to do if private enterprise does not allow them jobs sufficient to feed them, and if they have to stay inside the 4 per cent ghetto? Obviously there will be many persons without jobs. No, unfortunately, this handful of facts does not add up to all the figures. To make them add up in this case, 4 per cent of all the jobs in the country ought to go to Jews. Anything less than this is not fair. You can't ask people just quietly to

starve in order to respect a prejudice against them."

Then Mrs. Buck goes on to show how idiotic is this idea of allotting jobs on the percentage basis. The same would have to be done for the Protestants and Catholics, for Negroes, for women, for Italo-Americans, etc., etc. Society, of course, could not function on such artificial divisions. So Mrs. Buck does quite a good job in annihilating Kiplinger's 4 per cent ghetto idea.

But what does she offer in its place? NOTHING, ABSOLUTELY NOTHING! In effect, all she does is to tell the anti-Semites that they ought to be ashamed of themselves and to scold them for helping Hitler "conquer the United States from within."

This is neither going to the root of the problem nor offering a solution. As a matter of fact, all the pogrom-mongers and Jim Crow demagogues must feel considerably strengthened if the so-called leaders of race equality can do no better than Mrs. Buck.

The pogrom-monger knows what will draw a following. He shouts that the Jews have too many professional and other jobs, that they own too many stores, and so on. Similarly, the Jim Crow demagogue rants that too many Negroes are getting into better jobs. Always race hatred—be it against the Jew or against the Negro—rotates around the vital matter of jobs, around the question of making a living. Why?

Because capitalist society is a system of job insecurity, of not enough to live on—in the midst of plenty. Food, clothing, shelter and trimmings are things we must struggle for. The flow of the wherewithal of life is uncertain, unreliable, controlled by the idiosyncrasies of a system geared for making profits for the economic masters.

Fear of unemployment, of poverty, of starvation, of destitution has its clammy grip on the heart of all the people. That is why the big and little Hitlers can stir up the Gentile against Jew, making the Gentile falsely believe that if the Jew is kicked out there will be more security for himself. In Germany the Jew has been kicked out—and the Gentile starves. The same would be true here, but fear for the future plays wicked tricks on people.

Until we have a society that guar-

antees employment for all, and the free and constant flow of consumer goods to all, the Hitlers will be able to use the economic insecurity of the people to create anti-Semitism—and Jim Crowism.

You never heard anybody—no matter how anti-Semitic—claim that the Jews breathe too much air. And no representative of the ruling class interested in keeping the people divided could work up a pogrom on the basis of the Jews consuming too much air. Why? Because there is plenty of air for everyone.

Similarly, for example, with water. Our rulers, whose power continues only so long as the ruled are divided, could never get a spark of Jew-hatred out of the Gentile population by shouting that the Jews drink too much water and take too many baths. Why? Because society provides plenty of water for everyone—that minimum capitalist society does provide, even though it isn't always hot.

That is why LABOR ACTION summons all workers to end the capitalist system of economic insecurity and class rule. The fight against race discrimination and for job equality NOW for all workers—Jew and Gentile, black and white—must be fought tooth and nail. THAT GOES WITHOUT SAYING. But socialism alone is the true basis for the brotherhood of man. For socialism will end the brutal struggle for a crust of bread. It will free the economic forces from the deadening grip of capitalist profit-makers and make secure to all men all the good things of life.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACTS OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912 AND MARCH 3, 1933

of LABOR ACTION, published weekly at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1942. State of New York, County of New York, ss.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the state and county aforesaid, personally appeared Emanuel Garrett, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Editor of LABOR ACTION and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in Section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor and business managers are: Publisher, Labor Action Publishing Co., 114 West 14th St., Editor, Emanuel Garrett, 114 West 14th St.; managing editor, none; business manager, Mimi Slater, 114 West 14th St., all of New York City.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member must be given.) Labor Action Publishing Co., 114 West 14th St.; Max Shachtman, 114 West 14th St.; Emanuel Garrett, 114 West 14th St., all of New York City.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees and other security holders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None. Emanuel Garrett, Editor. Sworn to and subscribed before me this 6th day of October 1942. NATHAN KIRSCHSTEIN. (My commission expires March 30, 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 DRAFTED!

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 drafted!

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!



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