LABOR ACTION

ANTI-NAZI BEVOLTS SPREAD IN EUROPE!

Some More Profit Figures . . .

In recent issues of LABOR ACTION we have been citing profit figures by way of showing how the imperialist war pays off in good hard dollars to the boss class. Most of those we have listed up to now have been in the big war industries, auto, steel, etc. But how about profits in the industries less directly connected with war production, but nevertheless reaping the benefits of dollar-sign "pay-triotism"? We list a few examples which appeared in the Sunday New York Times, financial section, for September 28. Remember that the figures given are AFTER tax deductions and DESPITE higher tax rates.

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2nd Qtr. 1941	1st Qtr. 1941	2nd Qtr. 1940	1st Qtr. 1940	- 1
	Eight Electrical	Manufacturing	14.0	WH.
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	Twelve A	ppliances	a Sign	- 1
6,761,190	6,032,175	3,897,505	3,711,330	7
	Twelve Offic	e Equipment	- A-1	
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	Four C	ement		1
1,602,872	1,172,331	1,262,328	648,770	
/	Twelve Build	ing Materials		
7,438,818	4,857,135	6,030,618	2,614,173	
	Thre	e Furniture		
371,950	330,504	126,926	151,383	
	Two Up	holstery	1.0	
289,908	324,155		50,336	1
	Five Ha	rdware		
1,554,272	1,774,055	962,995	893,605	
	Nine Heating	and Plumbing		100
4,289,763	3,257,860	2,905,516	1,051,818	1.
	Six Home	Equipment		
2,384,245	The state of the s	1,522,610	1,757,685	
		Companies	10119	
56,270,538	50,479,454	46,370,478	37,044,171	
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	Twelve A	ppliances	\$42,860,347	0.0
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	Six Home	Equipment		
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	Seventy-six	Companies	10.14	
56,270,538	50,479,454	46,370,478	37,044,171	
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		k and Clay		
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.,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,		ing Materials	75.	
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1,964,918	2,62	22,763	1,333,850	500
	Five Floor	Coverings	3 100	
5,880,070		2,629	4,205,089	
	Five Ha	rdware		
3,328,327	2,71	6,349	1,856,600	
	· Two U	pholstery		
614,063	98	7,445	164,318	
0.5300000	Eight Paint	and Varnish		
8,260,354	6,4	67,367	6,113,235	
- Committee and the committee of the com	Twelve Heating	and Plumbing		
8,250,354		59,661	4,145,236	
	Six Home	Equipment		
4,115,130		68,915	3,280,304	
	Ninety-nine	Companies		
123,722,614	126,54	7,536	95,380,640	1
	10.2			

The Masses Are Fighting for Liberation--Not to Preserve The Dying Capitalist System

By HENRY JUDD

Ruling

mine their own union.

choosing, Local 544, CIO.

On Elections

In a cynical and unprecedented

dictatorial ruling, Minnesota's State

Labor Conciliator denied Local 544,

CIO, the right of free elections

among the truck drivers to deter-

The brazen decision of Blair, a

Governor Stassen appointee, certified

Dan Tobin's AFL hirelings as rep-

resenting the Minneapolis truck

drivers, although overwhelming evi-

dence indicated that Minneapolis

teamsters want a union of their own

"Democracy is all right to talk

about and to send abroad on the

tips of bayonets. But democracy is

beyond the reach of the Minneapolis

drivers," Local 544 pointed out in

commenting on the reactionary deci-

The bosses, the politicians and the

AFL feared a free election among

Minneapolis truck drivers, for that

Incident after incident, event after event continue to pile up in the people's revolt against the Nazis in the conquered and occupied countries of Europe. Der Fuehrer is sitting on the hottest and most explosive seat in his life!

The German imperialists have abandoned all pretense. Talk of "collaboration," "new order," "peace without the Anglo-Saxons and English plutocrats," etc., has given way to the muted drums of the courts martial and the thud of the firing squad's rifles.

For it is now clear that the masses of Europe will not submit quietly and peacefully to dicta-

torial rule. Local 544 . In France the popular demonstrations in Paris and the occupied cities of the north con-Will Fight tinue. Thousands of hostages

are rounded up, but this only adds fuel to the anti-Nazi flames. In Norway the entire country exists under a state of rule by military decree and curfews ordered by martial law. Ten thousand workers with their

families have been removed from Oslo and its suburbs and sent to other jobs in more remote parts of the country. The anti-Nazi agitation in the factories continues. In Yugoslavia, the actions of

pasants and saboteurs have resulted in 50 executions in the past week. Peasant and city guerilla bands roam the country and force the Nazis to send in thousands of troops in an effort to curb them. Italy has been forced to occupy a section of this cut-up country in order to quell uprisings of nationalist

Large sections of former Czechoslovakia--the latest area to rebel against the Nazi masters—have likewise been placed under military occupation and the firing squads are actively at work. Fifty-eight Czechs were executed in one day by Nazi firing squads.

In Italy, a semi-occupied country, bread lines have appeared in the industrial cities and bread has been rationed for the first time since the last war. Disturbances in the northern workers' cities of Milan and Turin are reported. Articles of clothing, hats, shoes, etc., are about to be subjected to ration-

In the other occupied territories of Greece, Holland, Belgium, Denmark, Poland and the newly conquered lands of Soviet Russia similar details and actions are reported from nu-

merous sources. WHY THE REVOLTS?

These movements and actions are based upon intense hatred and opposition to the imperialistic activities of the German plunderers. Because the war will continue and there will be a winter campaign in Russia and Africa, the Nazis have increased their thievery and robbery. They are draining the occupied territories of their foods, their winter garments and accessories (furs, heavy coats, skiis, snowshoes, etc.)-any object that will help them continue their campaigns of conquest. Above all, the problem of food and heat for the winter weather have become especially acute. Every worker and peasant in occupied Europe faces a bitter winter struggle for survival against

hunger and cold. (Continued on page 2)

Mass Rally Protests Jim-Crow in Army Demands War Department Publish Reports on Abuse of Negroes

By PAUL PICQUET

CHICAGO, Sept. 22-At a mass meeting held here yesterday over 400 people demonstrated their protest against the intolerable abuses suffered by Negro troops in the South in recent weeks. The meeting was sponsored by the newly formed Committee to Fight for Negro Freedom.

The mass meeting was preceded by a march from Washington Park For-

Ford Instrument Contract a Lesson For Workers in Other UE Shops

Members of the United Electrical. Radio and Machine Workers who are employed in machine shops have something to learn from the contract just won by the Ford Instrument Workers. Local 425, the Ford Instrument Local, asked for a 25 cent general increase and won 15 cents, 12 cents and 10 cents for various classifications. These demands were won after three weeks of negotiations, during which a strike vote was taken.

If the Ford workers could win 15, 12 and 10 without resorting to strike action or to the National Mediation Board, it is reasonable to assume that such shops as Bliss, International Projector and Mergenthaler can win similar increases.

It is surprising, therefore, to learn that these three shops are asking for a 10 cent increase. In doing so they are carrying out the recommendation of Local 475, of which they are members. Local 475 adopted the procedure last year of recommending a standard contract to its affiliated

The leadership of Local 475 is known among UE members as being subject to the influence of the Communist Party line. During the contract negotiations at Ford Instrument the Communist Party distributed a Daily Worker statement advising the UE members to use "discretion" and "restraint" in considering strike ac-

Everybody in the Ford Instrument plant knows, however, that if the workers hadn't demonstrated their fighting spirit by taking a strike vote they wouldn't have won the contract which they did secure one week

The Ford Instrument workers felt that since the prices for food and other necessities had gone up as high as 30 per cent, a 10 cent in-. crease would actually be a loss.

That is no less true for the workers in Bliss, International Projector and Mergenthaler. They, too, can win increases to meet the rising cost of living if they do not follow the policy of "discretion" and "restraint" advised by the Daily Worker.

Conscript the War Industries Under Workers' Control!

um through the streets to Forum meeting, which was the first step in Hall, on 43rd Street, where the meeting was held. Marchers carried placards reading: "I Didn't Raise My Boy to Be a Jim-Crowed Soldier." "If You. Want Us to Fight for Democracy You'll Have to Give Us Some First" and other similar slo-

Resolutions adopted with spontaneous acclamation called for the War Department to open to the public "secret" reports of Jim-Crow abuses in the Southern army camps which it claims to have, and demanded the immediate prosecution of the army officers and military police responsible. The meeting also demanded that the Fair Employment Practice Committee immediately broaden its scope to include investigations and action on Jim-Crow in

the armed forces. plea to organizations and groups of individuals all over the country to hold similar protest meetings and carry out actions designed to bring public pressure to bear on Jim-Crow and those responsible for it.

Ulysses S. Keys, Chicago Negro attorney, Henry Pelham, Frances Gober, of the NAACP Youth Council, and William Avery, secretary of the Waller Defense Committee, were among the speakers who addressed the meeting.

Officials of the Committee to Fight for Negro Freedom expressed themselves as highly satisfied with this

a campaign to eliminate Jim-Crow practices. They pointed out that the meeting was a rank and file enterprise from beginning to end. Business men and big shots in general failed to respond to requests for aid. The finances for the protest rally were raised through the pennies, nickels and dimes contributed by workers in the streets to squads of young workers, Negro and white, who toured the streets for several nights before the meeting, armed with sand-

wich signs and collection cans. Workers in the neighborhood and from the Washington Park Forum responded to the call of the committee and flooded the headquarters for the meeting, distributing leaflets, painting signs for advertising, etc.

The committee announced it plans to meet every Monday night to perfect plans for action at the Good Shepherd Community Center, 5120 S. Park. The public is invited.

With approximately 13,000 signatures collected, Local New York of the Workers Party this week closed its petition drive to put Max Shachtman on the mayoralty ballot. Local New York expects to have the petitions bound for presentation to the election board this Friday. We will publish an account of the campaign in the next issue of LABOR ACTION.

meant that Local 544 would win, DE-CISIVELY. Roosevelt couldn't get away with his "favors" to Dan Tobin. Wage scales and union standards would remain at the high level reached by the truck drivers through the leadership of Local 544. Progres-All the foregoing reports are for calendar quarters and semesters sive unionism would triumph. or the closest corresponding fiscal periods. But the jubilance of the anti-labor (Continued on page 4)

Strike Threat, Brings Victory in Ford Instrument

Company Stops Stalling on Contract Negotiations After Workers Display FightingSpirit-Wage Increases, Concessions Won

the workers of the Ford Instrument (Local 425-, UERMWA) forced substantial concessions from the company bosses, particularly wage increases, in a new contract just signed.

The Ford Instrument Co., a subsidiary of the Sperry Gyroscope Co., stalled negotiations on the new contract until the men, aroused by the situation, took their strike vote.

Sperry took in almost \$8,000,000 in profits in 1940 after tax deductions, etc., and almost \$5,000,000 in the first half of 1941. These facts were known to the men when they threatened strike action to enforce their de-

The men were particularly aroused over the learner situation. Inasmuch as the company produces on a mass production basis, the operations are so divided that much of the work, formerly handled by semi-skilled workers, is now handled by learners. After a brief period they become so adept at their one specialized task they are able to turn out the work at top speed. These learners were previously hired at 45 or 50 cents an hour.

The company and even some old machinists tried to justify the low wages of these learners by saying that these learners had little skill, that they were learning a trade. But that isn't the case at all. The learner, unlike the apprentice of former years, sticks to his one job and eventually become exceptionally skilled at this one operation. By the time

By an overwhelming strike vote, he receives any real training, the war boom may be over and the learner is out on his ear.

Sixty-Cent Minimum

In the new contract the wage of these learners (and 1,400 of the 2,600 men in the plant are learners) is brought closer to that of similar workers in aircraft. West coast unions in aircraft, for example, have a 75 cent minimum. The new contract provides a base pay of 60 cents with periodic increases which will bring the learners up to 75 cents in eleven months. How significant is this victory is attested by the wage at Sperry where learners start at 45 cents and work up to 80 cents AFTER THREE YEARS.

Despite the many victories in the new contract, much remains to be done. Starting wages in all categories are still too low, general helpers are underpaid and the union does not yet control hiring nor does the contract cover the porters. The seniority clause is too weak. The union must therefore now concern itself with going further along the lines already established.

How to Fight

There are many different ideas on how to fight for better conditions and on how the Ford Instrument workers gained their victory. For example, at the Sunday mass meeting which ratified the contract, several members of the negotiating committee and a few speakers from the floor spoke as

(Continued on page 4)

Ford Instrument Men Won:

Fifteen cents per hour: Most first and second class machine tool operators, toolmakers, etc. Twelve cents per hour: Other machine tool operators such as drill press and punch press; riggers, winders, carpenters, maintenance.

Ten cents per hour: All others not included in above. Also assembly helpers. Helpers receive 5 cents every 3 months, up to 85 cents. Thereafter grievance committee procedure and arbitration provided for raising to second class status. Ten cents to twenty-five cents for learners: Auto-

matic increases as follows: after 4 months, 5 cents; after the next 4 months, 5 cents; after next 3 months, 5 cents; after next 3 months, 5 cents; then 5 cent increases every 3 months until second class

Every learner shall have his wage rate raised to the minimum starting rate (60 cents) plus adjustment according to time already served in company as though above terms were in effect at the time he was hired (determining the 10 cent to 25 cent increases).

MINIMUM STARTING RATES

General minimum: 60 cents per hour. (For both men and women.)

Toolmakers, etc. (formerly in group 1): First class, \$1.10; second class 95c. Machine tool operators, etc. (formerly in group 2):

First class \$1.00; second class 85c. Millwrights, maintenance, etc.: First class 90 cents; second class 75 cents.

Drill and punch press operators, etc.: First class 85 cents; second class 75 cents. After six months from starting time all second class men in above categories receive a 5 cent raise..

WAGES AND PRICES

If the cost of living rises, the union may reopen the question of wage rates, for upward revision, upon 30 days' notice. SICK LEAVE

Five days' sick leave with pay.

NIGHT WORK BONUS

Partial extension of night shift bonus to porters: 5 per cent for second shift, 10 per cent of the third shift. (All other workers already receive 10 per cent and 15 per cent bonus.)

VACATION Two weeks vacation with pay.

old contract.)

HOLIDAYS Nine paid holidays.

SENIORITY Strengthening of seniority provisions. Top senior-

ity for officers and department stewards. JURY DUTY

Company to pay men called for time lost on jury duty. DRAFTEES

All men called to army to get severance pay as follows: For 6 to 12 months in plant, 2 weeks pay; for 1 to 2 years in plant; 3 weeks pay; for over 2 years in plant, 4 weeks pay.

The union (Local 425, UERMWA) shall have jurisdiction over and this contract shall apply to all plants of the company. Every new man hired must immediately receive a union working card.

Among the one-third of the nation that lives in direct poverty and greatest misery are thousands upon thousands of sharecroppers, Negro and white . . . in Arkansas, Missouri and other states. Ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-fed, they daily feel the severest lash

What Has Been Done, What Must Be Done

The question now is as always: What is to be done? And that question can only be answered on the basis of what is being done. The answer to what is being done is: Nothing, absolutely nothing.

The Negro sharecroppers are in the UCAPAWA. Probably at different times some 2,500 have joined the union. They rarely pay dues and their poverty is such that this is at least understandable. But every man who has once joined considers himself a member of the union, dues or no dues. They think in terms of the union. To organize them around their union for their immediate demands and militant action is a task that is merely waiting for revolutionary energy, devotion and understanding.

THE ROLE OF THE STALINISTS

But the Stalinists are not interested. Periodically they hold a convention. The speeches are made, the program of action outlined. And there it rests. Whitfield, the titular leader, is a parson busy with a church. He is on the union payroll and the Stalinists control the payroll. In case of any dissatisfaction, Whitfield can be depended upon to go around, make a few rousing speeches and restore his authority and the authority of the union. This was the situation even before the Stalinists started to support Roosevelt's war policy. Today they will be like tigers against anyone who attempts to organize the union for action against the landlords. And here, as elsewhere, it is the greatest delusion to believe that the Stalinists can be exposed by talk, agitation, propaganda or newspapers. They have to be exposed in action and this is the only way. There is no doubt that this can be done.

During the demonstration, the sharecroppers turned to the Southern Tenant Farmers Union. Butler drove around, telling them to go back-where they were to go back to was not made clear. The croppers understood Butler's role perfectly. "The police tell us to go back. And you, our leader, tell us to go back. What is the difference between you?"

Patient, unobtrusive, careful preparatory work must be done by the more advanced of the men themselves. It will take time. But the difficulties can be conquered. United action on a wide of landlord and government. But, despite the most vicious exploitation, despite terror-yes, actual, real terror-despite starkest oppression, these are men whose spirits have not been broken, who stand ready to fight with every worker against class tyranny. They hunger for bread and they hunger for freedom. And, a fighting militant as every one of them is, they mean to satisfy these hungers, however great the odds against them, however dangerous the battle. They know their enemies and they will not yield. This is the third of three articles on the Missouri sharecropper by J. R. Johnson.

scale is now nothing new to them. With the necessary training, instruction and patience there is no reason why a movement of such power should not develop as to sweep away and expose forever in that area the real role of the Stalinists as people who are concerned with nothing else but the plots and maneuvers of the Stalinist bureaucracy in Russia. In that respect the history of the Stalinist party among the Chicago Negroes is very instructive.

RULING CLASS AWARE OF THE SITUATION

The ruling class is aware of the dangerous situation. A bill is now before Congress to raise wages and improve working conditions. But such is the social and political power of the landlords that nothing but the organized action of the masses themselves will be able to enforce its most elementary provisions, even if is it passed. It is precisely to deal with such paper propositions that the system of terrorism is maintained by the ruling class in the South. It will take more than bills in Congress to help the Southern sharecroppers as it took more than bills and fireside chats organize the Ford workers. The workers had to get down to business and handle Henry Ford themselves.

THE PROBLEM OF THE WHITE LABORER

Hitherto we have dealt almost exclusively with the Negro sharecroppers and day laborers. But what about the whites? Here is a problem which it is easy to solve in theory but difficult to solve in practice. Years ago the white agricultural worker in the South did not pick or chop cotton. He was above that. But the laws of

capitalist decline are merciless and today he is driven to compete with the Negro masses. He is as a rule a little better off. But his general conditions are such that he hates the landlord and the conditions of his existence as fiercely as do the Negroes. Yet the two groups of workers are on the whole separate from each other. Some whites are in the union, but the percentage is very small. The union, such as it is, is overwhelmingly Negro.

The white landlords keep up a steady propaganda: "Do not join any union with those blacks. All they want is to get after our white women." But it is idle to believe that this is what keeps white and black agricultural laborers and sharecroppers apart. There is more to it than that. The working whites are an economically privileged group. Jobs as truck drivers, mechanics, etc., are reserved for the whites. When the WPA has jobs to give out, a Negro gets one only after scores of whites have got theirs. The white school teachers get better pay. The white children get better schools. In southeast Missouri the relief authorities will even pass the word around to the whites in a certain area to meet at a certain place, where meat, lard and clothes are given out while the graham flour and beans are practically all that the Negroes get. It is on this solid, concrete basis that the race prejudice flourishes; not to mention the social advantages which can ease life and nourish pride where life is so hard and degradation so near.

What was the reaction of the whites to the demonstration? Some white families sat down with the demonstrators and a few even went with them to Poplar Bluff. Others came around and told them to stick it out. But a great number said that the Negroes would get

nothing by it and were merely being stupid.

NEGRO CROPPERS LOOK ON WHITES AS ALLIES

What do the Negroes think? Their attitude to these white workers is revolutionary to the highest degree. The white worker. many of them say, is stupid. He is fooled by the bosses, with all this talk about women. If, says one sharecropper to another, these whites were to join with us, we could tear this country to pieces. And a chorus of approval greets his words.

So anxious are they to settle accounts with the landlords that they see in the white workers not their bitter social enemies of many generations, but only possible allies in the class struggle.

WHITE AND NEGRO MUST BE DRAWN TOGETHER

Propaganda, education, patient work, will have to be done to knit those elements that draw closer together. But it is the opinion of this writer that so deep-rooted a social phenomenon will only receive a serious shock by the usual way in which all serious problems of the workers' movement are solved or partially solved -by mass action.

Every effort must be made to get all the workers together on a basis of equality. But at present it is the Negro workers who are active, and any really big action on their part which will have results, will have a tremendous effect on the whites and open the way to a union like the UAW and an organization like the SWOC.

Some time or other that sharecropper-landlord situation is going to explode. Imperialist war, monopoly capitalism, feudalism and a caste system closer to the Hindu caste system than anything else in the modern world, that is the most dangerous pile of explosives to be found in any regional area of the United States.

That it will blow up is as certain as it was certain that czarism the problem, integrate itself with the revolutionary forces there the problem, integrate itself with the evolutionary forces there and seek to integrate the revolutionary forces there into the broad current of the national and international class struggle.

There are people who apologize for their support of the imperialist war by protesting that they choose the "lesser evil." The "lesser evil" in this case is the British Empire. Accepting a "lesser evil," however is a short cut to a greater evil. If the workers exercise their own might and power to destroy ALL evils, they need

No person can deny that in the British Isles proper the workers enjoy a democracy which bears no comparison at all with the naked brutality of Hitler's rule. But what about the British Empire as a whole? How much "less" is it evil? What kind of rule does it represent? What transformations are now taking place even on that narrow piece of land that is "democratic" England?

In this issue we reprint an article written by Fenner Brockway, a leader of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain, and printed originally in the newspaper of that organization, the British New Leader, August 30, 1941. There is much we could say in criticism of Brockway's own recent activities and policies, but in this article he presents a damning picture of Britain's "lesser evil" in operation. In coming issues of LABOR AC-TION we will reprint other articles from the British New Leader on the subjection of the native peoples in Africa.

Nearly every patriotic speech ends with a peroration about "the Free Commonwealth of Nations which is the British Empire." The Tories used to boast unashamedly of the glories of the British Empire with little concern whether it was free or not. The Labor Party contributed the idea of a Commonwealth of Nations, at first as an objective rather than a reality. The coalition of Toryism and Labor demanded a compromise, and it has been reached on the basis of the Tories adopting the Labor phrase and Labor adopting the Tories' Empire.

How far in fact is the British Empire a "Free Commonwealth"?

THE EXTENT OF DEMOCRACY

political rights are restricted to the minority of whites.

The British Empire consists of Britain, the Dominions, the Indian Empire, the Crown Colonies, and the Mandated Territories. Canada, Australia and New Zealand are political democracies. South Africa is often bracketed with them as a democracy, but

The Indian Empire has very limited democratic rights. For example, the most undemocratic act committed since the beginning the war was the declaration that India is a belligerent power. This declaration was made without consulting with a single representative of India. Eight of the eleven provincial governments resigned; in seven provinces the governor now rules with all the powers of a dictator. The Central Legislative Assembly threw out the bill to finance the war. Nevertheless, the British viceroy attached his signature to it and declared it law!

Ceylon is the only crown colony which has adult suffrage, and its British governor can and does veto legislation. In the other crown colonies political control is openly in the hands of the British officials. In most there are so-called legislative councils, but their powers are limited and effective authority is in the hands of the British administrators and nominated members.

The mandated territories are ruled directly from Whitehall. They are supposed to be administered on behalf of the League of Nations, but in practice they are indistinguishable from the crown

To sum up, one can say that political democracy in the Empire, with the slight exceptions mentioned above, is limited to the white races.

remaining 86.2 per cent. Roughly speaking, each white human being in the Empire governs six black, brown and yellow human beings.

In other words, 13.8 per cent of the population rules the

THE THEORY OF TRUSTEESHIP

The absence of democracy is excused on the ground that the colored population of the Empire is not sufficiently educated to govern itself. This negative excuse destroys the positive case that the British rule as trustees for the benefit of the colored peoples. Obviously, if that were the object, education would have been the first benefit extended to them. But in India, where the British have been for 300 years, only 86 per cent of the population can read or

In Kenya, the British-manned government spends on education 23 pounds sterling a year per European child-and 4 shillings 6 pence per native child.

In many parts of the colonial empire education has developed further, but democratic rights are still withheld.

Any reasonable person who has met representatives of the black. brown and yellow races much reject this theory of "trusteeship." They are as capable of leading their peoples toward all that is best in civilization as any white administrators.

With certainty one can say that the first result of self-government in any colony where education is lacking would be a drive for both child and adult education. Russia has shown how illiteracy among vast populations can be removed within a generation. That Britain has done so little destroys completely its boast of trus-

ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE The theory of trusteeship is shown to be sheer hypocirsy when

we apply the test of the well-being of the peoples who are supposed to be Britain's "wards." In July, 1939, a government committee on colonial nutrition estimated that the great majority of the 55,000,000 people in Britain's colonial empire (that is, excluding India) are suffering from semi-starvation.

If India had been included in the inquiry, the report would certainly not have been more favorable to British rule. The average income of the mass of the people is not more than about three pence a day and under-nutrition is so constant and widespread that the average life of an Indian is under 25 years, compared with over 50 in Britain. The official health report for Bengal for 1927-28 said: "The present peasantry of Bengal are . . . taking a dietary

on which even rats could not live for more than five weeks." It is not an exaggeration to say that most of the peoples living under British trusteeship in the Empire are on a level nearer animal than human existence. These are typical wages of industrial

India-8 pence to 1 shilling 3 pence a day. Kenya-6 pence a day (miners). Ceylon-8 pence a day. Rhodesia-9 pence to 1 shilling 2 pence a day (miners). West Indies—2 shillings 6 pence to 2 shillings 9 pence

Housing and sanitation are everywhere abominable.

A few years ago the British government appointed a commission to examine social conditions in the West Indies. The report was presented to the government shortly before the declaration of war in 1939. Its revelations were so shocking that the government has not dared to publish it.

EXPLOITATION OF THE EMPIRE

The veil of "trusteeship" is used to hide the economic exploitation which is the real motive of imperialism. It is estimated that the tribute extracted from the Indian people to British capitalists and financiers amounts to 150,000,000 pounds sterling a year. It is common for the British companies which exploit the minerals, rubber, tea, cotton, sugar supplies of the colonies to make dividends of 20 and 30 and even 50 per cent.

In addition to the economic exploitation through dividends and interest on loans, the colonies are useful to British capitalism by supplying the raw materials necessary for industry in Britain and vast markets for British goods. The cheap foodstuffs which come from the colonies enable British employers to maintain their workers on a higher standard than in most European countries.

In colonies suitable for European settlement, the best land is reserved for the British. In Kenya, for example, no Africans or Asiatics are allowed to buy or rent land in the fruitful Highland

The colonial service also provides remunerative posts for the sons of the British governing class. Salaries rise from 500 pounds a year to 6,000 pounds to each member of the viceroy's council in India-or to the 19,000 pounds a year paid to the viceroy himself!

PERSONAL LIBERTY

Slavery has been officially abolished in the British Empire, but what other term can describe the conditions of the natives in South

In South Africa, they are segregated in "reserved" territories, but they are forced by heavy taxation into the cities to provide cheap labor for the capitalists. If they attempt to leave their jobs they are arrested by the po-

lice and handed back to their employers. No native worker can walk the streets of any industrial city unless he has a passport showing that he is employed by some white capitalist. He is compelled to carry several of twelve passes which the African describe, not unreasonably, as the "twelve badges of slavery." These are: 1. Identification pass. 2. Traveling pass. 3. Six day special

pass (to seek work). 4. Monthly pass. 5. Daily laborer's pass. 6. Day special pass. 7. Night special pass. 8. Trek pass. 9. Location visitor's permit pass. 10. Lodger's permit. 11. Poll tax

How Far Is the British Empire A Dictatorship?

In Kenya, the Africans must carry a pass called "kipandi," containing his finger-prints like a criminal. If he fails to produce this to any policeman or employer, he is liable to be sent to a de-

The Kenya Africans are driven to work on the white settlers' farms and in their mines, not only in order to pay their taxes (they are paid 6 pence a day in the mines and 4 pence a day on the farms); they are compelled by law to work 270 days in the year either for European farmers or capitalists or on public schemes under the government.

CONCENTRATION CAMPS

Reference was made in the preceding section to "detention camps." These are similar to the concentration camps in fascist countries, but they were introduced in most of the colonies many years before Hitler came to power. They exist in Africa, the West Indies. Palestine and India.

It is ironical that in India they should have been established by Sir John Anderson, now the third minister in Britain's war cabinet. When he was governor of Bengal he arrested 2,500 young Indians and confined them in a concentration camp without charge or trial. They were released after three, four and five years, but even then they were confined to their villages and were not allowed out of their huts after dark.

IMPRISONMENT WITHOUT TRIAL

Imprisonment without charge or trial is common in India and the colonies. The British governor has the power to issue an ordnance authorizing the indefinite detention of persons without telling them why they are arrested or giving them an opportunity to marched to the prison to demand his release. Government forces opened fire, 150 natives were killed and a much larger number wounded. Wholesale arrests followed and hundreds of natives were sentenced to two and three years' imprisonment.

Similar powers are used in the West Indies and in Palestine. At the present time Uriah Butler and Bustamente, trade union leaders, are in concentration camps in the West Indies, and both Arabs and Jews are in the concentration camps in Palestine.

PROHIBITION OF MEETINGS

Similarly the viceroy of India and the governors of the crown colonies have the power by ordnance to prohibit meetings of more than five persons for any purpose unless permission has been secured. This power has been used frequently in India, the West Indies and Kenya.

SUPPRESSION OF ORGANIZATIONS

Organizations can be suppressed. For two years the Indian National Congress, the most representative political party in the counand the annual congress was not permitted to meet. Trade union organizations were also suppressed.

In Kenya the East African Native Association was suppressed because a organized successful strikes. It changed its name to the Kikuvu Central Association and called a general strike, which brought the province to a standstill. When the chairman of the strike committee, Harry Thuku, was arrested, thousands of natives meet charges. This power is used frequently. In India; national leaders like Gandhi and Nehru, the chairman and secretary of the Trades Union Congress, and hundreds of nationalists, socialists and trade unionists have been kept in prison for a year and more under

In West Africa the native trade unions were suppressed. The native workers function now as a youth movement.

FREEDOM OF SPEECH

Freedom of speech is suppressed constantly. At this moment 7,000 of India's best known leaders, national and local, including six former prime ministers of provincial governments, are in prison for voicing India's opposition to participation in the war.

This suppression is not merely a war-time measure. Year by year before the war well known leaders in most of the colonies were being imprisoned under sedition laws.

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

Censorship is continually applied in the non-self-governing parts of the Empire. It operated in peace-time and has been extended greatly since the war.

be published a large deposit must be placed in the hands of the British authorities, so that if anything appears in the paper

In India a clever device is adopted. Before a newspaper can

which is objectionable they can confiscate the deposit as a fine. Then the deposit must be renewed before further publication.

During the war, censorship in all the colonies has been tightened up. Some papers have been suppressed entirely, others, appear with white spaces where the censorship has insisted on deletions. These deletions are made, not because military information has been given, but because of the expression of political opinions not to the liking of the British rulers.

EXCLUSION FROM COLONIAL POSTS

Even qualified natives have been excluded from the higher posts in the colonial service. Lord Moyne, Colonial Secretary, has just ruled that natives cannot be placed in the same category as British officials because it would be undesirable for the former to be transferred from one part of the Empire to another!

COLLECTIVE FINES

The method of penalizing a whole community for the actions of a few individuals by the imposition of "collective fines" has been condemned rightly when used by the Nazis. It is also a method used by British imperialism. As recently as 1937 and 1938 the British authorities punished the whole population of Arab villages for any "outrage" committed in their neighborhood.

The British authorities not only collected a compulsory fine from all the villages, but in a number of cases destroyed every tenth house in the village.

IMPERIALISM AND FASCISM

Imperialist and fascism are not the same. One is capitalist dictatorship applied normally to undeveloped countries, the other is capitalist dictatorship applied to developed countries in crisis and maintained subsequently. But though different in their immediate origins, it will be seen that the methods of suppression adopted by

There is one close relationship between imperialism and fascism. Imperialist exploitation has been intensified by the growth of monopoly capitalism in Britain. Large-scale, efficient industries, of which Unilever is an example, have obtained extensive territorial concessions with the right to exploit the natural resources. Increasingly the economic domination of the Empire is passing under centralized industrial and financial control.

There is a second relationship which should be remembered. Fascism comes from a crisis in capitalism. That crisis has not reached the peak point which it attained in Germany because the British capitalist class could invest its surplus capital at high returns in the Empire, because it could obtain plentiful raw materials from the Empire, because it had abundant markets at hand in the Empire, and because the supply of cheap foodstuffs from the Empire (obtained at the cost of semi-starvation among peasants and workers) enabled the British capitalist class to provide their workers at home with a comparatively high standard of life.

No decent worker can be content to enjoy economic advantages and political liberties in Britain at the cost of the hunger and repression of millions of his fellow workers in the Empire.

Capital demands this. Only socialist co-operative economic organization in the developed and undeveloped countries alike can bring security and freedom to the people of both.

CONCLUSIONS

It is a first duty of socialists in Britain to assist in every possible way the struggle of the colonial peoples for political independence and particularly the struggle of the workers and peasants

We can express our solidarity by direct help and by agitation at the center of imperialism in this country.

Some trade unions have assisted to some degree their parallel unions in the colonies (partly from a recognition that British standards of life may be undercut as the colonies become industrially developed). This help-by money, by advice, by helping to train native organizers, by the personal contact of exchanged deputations, by serving as the British office of the parallel native union and raising issues with the Colonial Office, etc., by publicity in this country regarding specific grievances-by such means our help could be extended greatly.

Parallel co-operation should be developed on the political side. Secondly, we must intensify our agitation against imperialism in this country. We must accept the present opportunity to the war to demand the national liberation of the colonies, and we must remember in all our work to overthrow capitalism here that our victory will mean the liberation not only of the British workers, but of our exploited brothers in the colonies as well.

Revolts--

(Continued from page 1)

The Nazi imperialist gangsters have already given their answer to the needs of the European people. They have ordered cessation of all exports of those who protest against their to Norway, for example. This means rule. a rapid end to any possibility of Varied Character continued economic life in that country. They have stated they will not

in those vast lands they have already conquered from the Soviet Union. And finally the fact that over 300 hostages have been executed in the last month is the most eloquent of all. Clearly, they intend to continue

These revolts against Nazi occupa-

militantly organized strike actions by industrial workers from factories and mines; in the Balkan states there are organized guerilla campaigns conducted by bands of nationalistic peasants and disappointed middle class and increase the rate of executions elements from the cities; in France there are individualistic acts of terfor and assassination; in practically every country there are spontaneous movements of the masses of people tion take on many and varied forms. as a whole who demonstrate their feed the peasants and city dwellers. In Norway and Belgium there are hatred of Hitler and his gangsters by "cells" that still exist. These Stalin-

German soldiers to chalking "V's" on the sidewalk.

As yet, the movement as a whole is shapeless and formless. It is an ELEMENTAL MOVEMENT, a blind upsurge against an endless and omnipresent terror. Mass actions, terroristic acts, guerilla fighting-all these methods of fighting characterize it. In many place, the movement is led by remnants of Stalinist groups and

any possible means from beating up ists-as always-work only for the purposes they are ordered to by the Russian bureaucracy. At the moment, the Stalinist high command has ordered the use of any methods that will discomfort the Nazis. Terrorism, provocation, assassination, sabotage of transport and machinery-this is what the Stalinists urge upon the occupied territories.

The Stalinists do not desire to organize a mass movement, based upon the workers, which will seek to bring

about the socialist revolution during the sendle Norwegian king; Wilhelthe course of which the Nazi imperialists will be driven out. They act solely as MILITARY defeatists, working for the camp of the "democratic" and Stalinist armies.

Side by side with the Stalinists are the discredited capitalist politicians who were driven out by Hitler's occupation-the organizers of the socalled "V" campaign. De Gaulle, the French monarchist; Benes, the discredited Czech politician; Haakon,

mina, the fat and frowsy queen of Holland; Peter, the boy imbecile from Yugoslavia; George, king of the Greeks, etc.-their interest in the revolt of "their" people is a simple one: it seems a splendid way of being restored to power, with the backing of British bayonets.

Those who risk their lives, the workers who go on strike against the Nazis, do not do so in order to restore

(Continued on page 4)

- THE WORLD AT WAR ----

Why and to What Extent Are Roosevelt and Churchill Sending Supplies to Russia?

By MAX STERLING

Colonel Moore - Brabazon, British Minister of Aircraft Production, was charged with having said that the Germans and the Russians should be allowed to exterminate themselves, thus giving the British continental dominance. Since then many Russian supporters have contended that England and America are sabotaging the Russian fight against the Germans.

We have no reason to doubt that Colonel Moore-Brabizon made such a statement which may be indiscreet but not unnatural for an English Tory and imperialist. But to draw the conclusion that the "democracies" are sabotaging and withholding aid to Russia is to be totally blind to the political and military realities of the deadly struggle being waged between the major imperialist rivals. Saying so would make no more sense than to attribute revolutionary motives to Britain because the London imperialists recently hailed Leningrad as the city of the revolution.

This British Tory's wish is on the same level as that of any good American imperialist who prefers the British and the Germans to fight themselves to exhaustion so that American imperialism could advance toward domination of the world.

This in general is what all imperialists think about one another. Nevertheless one cannot deny that America aids Britain to the maximum of her ability.

The aid that one ally gives to another in the war is, as everybody knows, or should know, determined by motives far from altruistic. Each 4country "aids" another for its own selfish imperialistic reasons. American aid to Britain is guided by the cold fact that without such aid Germany would today be the absolute master of the European continent and the most dangerous challenger of America for world supremacy. To prevent this the United States has not only given Great Britain material aid. She has ranged the American Navy beside that of the British in the Battle of the Atlantic. Tomorrow she will go even farther, for Hitler cannot be beaten WITHOUT AN AMERICAN EX-PEDITIONARY FORCE.

There are some people who say: "If Great Britain is not sabotaging the Russian struggle, why doesn't she invade the European continent and create a western front that will divert and weaken the German armies now engaged on the Russian front?" These people do more than ask this question. They go further and "prove" that by doing so the chances are favorable for a British victory.

Such a point of view implies that the decision not to invade the continent at this time means Britain does not want a victory over Germany, even though a tremendous German force will shortly stand face to face with the British in Transcaucasia and possibly in Turkey. That would be equal to cutting one's nose to spite one's face.

It may be said that Great Britain is willing to cut off her nose because she is more afraid of Stalin spreading revolution than of Hitler beating her. Are there still any people who seriously believe that Stalin is a revolutionist? Certainly Churchill and Roosevelt entertain no such illusions. We are sure that they are well satisfied with Stalin's anti-revolutionary conduct of the war. The fact is that Stalin has satisfied them so well on this point that they are not even thinking of negotiating a peace with Hitler. Certainly such a move at Russia's expense would be natural enough if they really did fear Stalin's revolution more than a victorious Germany.

Therefore the British decision not to invade the continent must be judged on purely practical and military grounds. Will anybody say that because the United States has not yet sent an expeditionary force abroad to join the British, despite the clamor for one by the British ruling class, that therefore Roosevelt is sabotaging the British fight?

Everybody knows that Roosevelt is working overtime to get the United States into an all-out shooting war as speedily as possible. If he hasn't yet complied with British demands that is certainly not his fault. He too has his practical difficulties. The American people are still in their overwhelming majority opposed to war. As for the Army, it too is hardly prepared either as regards numbers or equipment for any immediate engagement with Hitler's mechanized divisions.

The fact is that Germany has been on the offensive, and her opponents on the defensive, ever since the start of the war. Germany has demonstrated her military superiority

throughout every campaign, including the Russian, even though she underestimated the fighting power of the latter. The British experience has been defeat and evacuation every time she faced the German armies. Even so, at the very height of Germany's military power, and before the Russian war, Hitler did not dare invade the British Isles. Hitler was ready to lose 2,000,000 men in such a venture. Why, then, should the reverse-British invasion of the continent-be more successful when ALL the men that Churchill has for such an effort is estimated to be at no more than Hitler could afford to lose?

The stark reality that faces the "democracies" is that they are still on the defensive and that they have not as yet built up the trained and well equipped armies with which it is possible to go from the defensive to the offensive. It is to America that they look for an answer to this problem. Even more so than in the last war. Their strategy in the meantime is to delay the enemy, weaken him and lengthen his lines of com-

The Anglo-American commission in Moscow will undoubtedly pledge itself to the maximum aid to Russia. What the maximum means depends on what they have to give and, connected with that, the problem of transport. At this stage they certainly don't have unlimited quantities of war materials. This is revealed by the fact that of the seven billion dollars allocated under the first lendlease appropriation, only about \$119,-000,000 worth of materials were actually shipped to America's allies. Some people might conclude from this that Roosevelt has been sabotaging Churchill. In reality almost all of the first lend-lease appropriafion represented the capital expenditures for war industries that had to be built from the ground up.

Churchill and Roosevelt have found it necessary to come to Russia's aid not because they are fond of Stalin, but rather because their own imperialistic interests are at stake. The German armies have been advancing in Russia ever since the invasion. At present this advance draws periously close to the British in the Middle East. More than ever everything that the "democracies" can spare will be needed to check the Germans and it is extremely doubtful that even this can prevent the latter from reaching the Caucasus. Hence, going beyond material aid, the British are planning to send an army to the Caucasus to fight side by side with the Russians to defend the oil that would otherwise certainly fall into Hitler's hands. This plan can hardly be considered as sabotaging the Russian struggle.

Russia has already received hundreds of planes and tanks. Ships have arrived at Russian ports carrying materials and oil. Roosevelt and Churchill have each extended initial credits of \$50,000,000 to the USSR. Even a part of the RAF is fighting over the Russian front. This aid will grow, for Russia looms large in allied strategy. Her vastness is the key to the fight against Hitler and Japan. If anything, what the allies fear most is for Stalin to capitulate to Hitler.

That is one of the reasons why the Allied commission in Moscow will insist on having representatives at the front, which up to now Stalin has barred. Moscow has made public that German peace feelers were put out offering Stalin the role of Petain in Russia. Such an announcement is tantamount to a rejection of the Petain role and is probably made to win the greater confidence of the

In addition to the possible repercussions within Russia which acceptance of such a peace might bring, Stalin has nothing to gain from this offer. Backed by Churchill and Roosevelt he can still, even if pushed to the Urals, wage the war against Hitler with a good chance of ultimate victory. In the end he hopes to get everything back from Hitler.

That such an offer could be made to Stalin by Hitler demonstrates that for the latter the conquest of the Ukraine and the Caucasus is only a stepping stone to the conquest of Britain. In this war either Germany or Britain must be brought to her knees. Russia is a subordinate element in this titanic struggle, even if at present that is where the war is focused. The choice before her is to go either with Hitler or with the Allies. Hitler's price is the annexation of the Ukraine and the Caucasus at the very least. The Allies will be satisfied if they emerge from the war supreme over Germany and Japan, and with Russia as a willing tool in carving out a new Anglo-American world. This would satisfy Stalin.

For Independent Political Labor Action Against the Boss Class

Hillman Forces Dominate Shipworkers' Convention

Last week in LABOR ACTION I propaganda. reported on the first day of the shipbuilders' convention and indicated that the convention was strongly under the influence of Hillman and that it would go strongly for 'all-out aid" to Britain. Green started the ball rolling the first day in his presidential address. This sentiment increased as the days passed and by the last day one got the impression that the shipbuilding workers were convinced that the main role of their union today is to beat the war drums, build ships for England and not worry too much about the outcome of their struggles with the government and Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corp.

President Green and Secretary-Treasurer Van Gelder, both ex-socialists, steered the convention resolutely around even the smallest obstructions that arose from delegates who expressed any doubts whatsoever on the correctness of blind support to all the pro-war resolutions and statements presented to the convention. Like the British laborites and certain people in the ranks of labor in this country, Green's position is that many of the economic demands of labor must wait until the war has been won.

When a delegate spoke against the "incentive system" in the shipbuilding industry, Green replied that "you can't tell me that you can pass a motion at this convention and the members back home will take a cut in wages. You know they won't. Your union has gone on record to support the defense program. Take your time and we'll lay the foundations for improvements later. I agree with the sentiments expressed. I am against piece work wages." Seemingly it hasn't occurred to Green that the shipbuilding industry's profits are large enough to grant substantial increases in wages and yet leave unusually large sums for dividends.

Pro-War Barrage

The delegates to this convention were under a daily barrage of prowar aid-to-Britain agitation. I reported last week on the speeches of Charles Irvin, of Hillman's union, and Findlay from the British Trade Union Council. This came on Tuesday, the first day. On Wednesday, Hillman and Jack Jones of the South Wales Miners Federation, spoke. On Thursday, Carey, CIO secretary, and Thomas, of the UAW, added their bit to

Warren K. Billings Joins Committee Fighting Anti-Labor Prosecution

The Civil Rights Defense Committee, organized to fight the prosecution of 29 defendants in the Minnesota anti-labor case, this week announced that Warren K. Billings had joined the San Francisco branch of the committee. Billings, who with Tom Mooney spent 22 years in jail was the victim of the most famous anti-labor frame-up in American history.

Others who have joined the committee are Kenneth Crawford, former president of the American Newspaper Guild; Dr. John Dewey, worldfamous philosopher; Emmett E. Dorsey, professor at Howard University; Waldo Frank, novelist: George W. Hartman, Socialist Party candidate for Mayor in New York; Dorothy Kenyon, labor lawyer: Max Shachtman, national secretary of the Workers Party; William Rose Benet, poet, and Ludwig Lore, New York Post columnist.

James T. Farrell, author of "Studs Lonigan" and many other famous novels, is national chairman of the Civil Rights Committee. Carlo Tresca, editor of Il Martello, anarchist paper, and known for decades as an outstanding militant in the labor movement, is vice-chairman. John Dos Passos, one of the best known novelists in the country, is also vicechairman.

In a letter to the New York Times last week, the committee challenged Attorney General Biddle to defend his unprecedented prosecution of the Minneapolis unionists and members of the Socialist Workers Party in view of a featured interview in that paper in which he cautioned against witch-hunts and minority prosecutions. Said the committee: "Prosecutions speak louder than words."

The letter quotes the American Civil Liberties Union protest to Biddie. This protest charged that the prosecution infringes on civil liberties, that the action is unconstitutional and that there was "a gross impropriety on the part of the government officials in securing the indictments" in that "the government injected itself into an inter-union controversy in order to promote the interests of the one side which supported the administration's foreign and domestic policy."

With trial of the 29 set for October 20, the committee announced that it urgently needs \$7,500 to meet the expenses of the trial. Make all checks payable to the Civil Rights Defense Committee, 160 Fifth Avenue, New York.

The low point in all this orgy of flag waving, drum beating and crawling over to the camp of the government and the bosses was the speech of Hillman. Coming from an alleged labor leader, Hillman's utterances were shameful, brazen and traiterous. Hillman's speech was no different from one that might have been made by Knudsen. In fact, Knudsen, not being a labor leader, would probably have been more cautious and not so Hillman's whole speech was di-

rected at labor, what it must do and what its responsibilities are, with not a word about or against the bosses. The only body outside the working class that had anything wrong with it was Congress. "I get tired," said Hillman, "when I hear people talk about aid to Britain. It's not Britain we are aiding. They are already fighting. It's aid to ourselves you are providing. We must have production. Democracies have always done a little less than the emergency required. Our own labor groups have a great deal to account for. They have talked peace when dictators have prepared for war. Labor leaders of Europe said: 'This is not our war.' Where are they now? Where is the labor movement of France. The labor movement has its Quislings. You are the conveyor belts between us and Britain, Russia and China. We havn't got our own timetable. The timetable is made by Hitler. You may not be able to hold a convention a year from now.

"I was called by the President to represent labor. I am responsible for the labor policy of the nation. I have not been turned down by the President even once. If there is anything wrong, blame me, not the President. Congress may not give you houses but Hitler will give you only concentration camps. I am sure that eventually the isolationists in the labor movement will stand by themselves. Everything that can be done to avoid stoppage of work must be done if we are to have national defense. If we have to take aluminum for planes, naturally we are not going to get it for kitchen ware." Despite this, Hillman later remarked: "We are expanding our economy."

Then Hillman told the delegates that "we called in your people for conferences. National collective bargaining was established. You got something by this that it took labor 50 years to get before these agreements. The battle for collective bargaining has been practically won. Labor is so well organized that I believe the only people that can injure the labor movement are those inside the labor movement."

In the whole course of Hillman's speech not a word was said against the employers or the OPM. Not a word about wages, hours or working conditions. The battle of labor, for Hillman, has been won and all necessary now is more and more production. His was a most scandalous effort not only to drug these workers to blind support of Roosevelt and the war, but an effort to frighten and terrorize them into a slavish submission to the demands of the bosses and their government for more production.

There was only one dissenting voice after Hillman's speech. A delegate from the West Coast took the floor to say that his local had written to Hillman several times but had received no reply. Green answered for Hillman, saying that he knew about these letters and that they would be answered.

Being a "foreigner," Jack Jones of the Welsh miners, was far more subtle than Hillman. He made an eloquent appeal for aid to Britain and received tremendous applause from the convention.. He assured the delegates that "no matter what past wars have meant, Britain, in the opinion of the vast majority of Englishmen, is now waging a war for human rights."

"We are not fighting for territory or any particular class," said Jones, "and we'll fight with hammers and pickhandles" if necessary. He told the delegates that the South Wales miners had voted to work an extra shift on Sunday nights. The miners get about as much meat, he said, in one week as a worker in the United States has for a single meal.

"You are backing a good horse," Jones told the convention. "You are backing a winning horse. If you will sweat for Britain, Britain will be prepared to bleed for democracy."

Statinist Issue Another matter which aroused the interest of the convention was the Stalinist issue. This came up in three phases: the anti-communist resolution, the appeal of the expelled officers of a Baltimore local and the action of the convention that an attempt be made to have the CIO enact anti-communist legislation at its forthcoming convention in Detroit.

The anti - communist resolution passed was presented by the Brooklyn Robbins Drydock Local No. 39. It read as follows: "Be it resolved that this organization shall not condone the workings of fascism, nazism or communism within our ranks. Be it also resolved that any member

ocratic constitutional government of the United States shall be, on proven guilty, asked or be forced to resign from national or local membership from our union."

This resolution passed without objection, except from one delegate. This delegate proposed that nazism be separated from communism, saying that nazism is not a philosophy of government but that communism is, whether you like it or not. A delegate from Local 39 remarked that "if we have commies, and we have them, we should oust them." A GEB member from the South got up on a "point of order" to say: "I have been a dues paying member since 1937. I came here to represent my local and I'll be damned if I'm going to sit here and listen to a speech on the advantages of communism." The point of order was not sustained and the delegate was allowed to go on but to no avail. The convention, from President Green down, was solidly for the resolution. The appeal of the former officers

of the Baltimore local from the action of the GEB in expelling them from the union as communists was referred to a committee. This committee reported back unanimously to reject the appeal and to sustain the action of the GEB. The convention had already expressed itself on "communists" and no one expected anything else from the committee hearing the appeal, nor was there any doubt that the recommendation of the committee and the action of the GEB would be overwhelmingly approved by the convention delegates.

In his closing remarks to the convention, Green said that at the coming CIO convention strenuous efforts would be made by the union's representatives to have a resolution passed condemning communism. "We firmly advocate aid to Russia," said Green, "in its struggle against the Nazis, which is our struggle too. We are not embracing the American communists who would suborn our movement." Of course it did not occur to the delegates that there was any attempt on the part of Hillman to "suborn" their movement and betray it to the bosses and the government. Also that Hillman and the Stalinists are making identical speeches today and singing the same song.

Other Business

I don't want to give the impression that all this convention did was to cheer the pro-war speeches they were drowned in and to pound the Stalinists. I emphasize these because they were the highlights of the convention. By a vote of 98 to 53 the delegates voted against increasing the GEB from 8 to 10 members. Since this had to be done by constitutional amendment a two-thirds vote was required. The amendment had the support of Green and Van Gelder but was defeated by Camden Local No. 1 voting a solid block of 48 against the proposal. By voting solid Local 1 also defeated a proposal to make organizers eligible for election to the GEB. This proposal was also supported by Green and Van Gelder along with the smaller locals and locals from areas that do not now have representation on the GEB.

The convention passed a resolution calling for support solely to candidates who are pro-labor. The resolution also called for independent political action and the formation of a Labor Party. As was the ease with many other resolutions. this was passed without discussion either from the officers or from the

A telegram was read from John L. Lewis commending the union for its stand in favor of the "union shop" and pointing out that this was the cause of the conflict between the UMWA and the steel companies owning the captive mines. Van Gelder reported that this question is the biggest issue today in the field of labor relations. The CIO is headed for a showdown on this issue. Our union has 15 agreements open on this issue. We have not been able to close any except with the New York Shipbuilding Co. at Camden."

Hillman Convention

Despite the fact that the convention concerned itself with many important questions in connection with conditions in the shipyards, as for instance a resolution against the freezing of wages and to conduct an intensive campaign of organization at the Fore River shipvard of Bethlehem, these were not the questions that aroused the delegates. This was true because it can be said that it was a Hillman convention. And Hillman, of course, as was clear from his speech, is only mildly interested in such questions. This struggle to tie the CIO unions to the Roosevelt war plans will go on right into the CIO convention in November. Hillman is out to capture the organization and get enough votes to place the whole CIO solidly in the camp of the makers of the Second World Imperialist War.

It was clear that the shipbuilding workers did not see and understand what was going on. They will probably learn what is being done to them when the cost of living and taxes continue to rise and they find themselves helpless before hostile now.



After the anti-labor vigilantes got through with a CIO organizer. See editorial on page 4.

Suppose They Limit Profits To 6%, What Does It Mean?

In response to the growing dissatisfaction with the tremendous amount of profiteering that is taking place under the "defense" program, Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau, Jr., precipitated one of the bitterest economic controversies ever touched off by the Roosevelt Administration when he proposed that the government take all profits over 6 per cent of the capital invested. The eminent Secretary was testifying in favor of price control as the only alternative to inflation. The bombshell was let loose in response to a question from a reporter about controlling the present rise in prices. Immediately a storm arose on Capitol Hill and in the boss press about the "radical" Morgenthau trying to "carry out the New Deal program for the establishment of socialism" and

"the destruction of private initiative." Both the proposal and the response are extremely interesting and deserve the careful attention of the workers. Morgenthau was very careful to dress his proposal up as an additional measure to prevent inflation. He did not dare to mention the super-colossal profiteering going on now in all branches of industry and business. But there is no doubt that the chief motivation for the 6 per cent profit limitation is the widespread that there is something slightly unethical, to say the least, when the big corporations are raking in the dough so fast that they can't count it.

It strikes the masses of the population as something less than 100 per cent patriotism when the bosses are making from 100 to 400 per cent profit in many cases—during a period officially proclaimed as a "national emergency." This is bad for the morale of the people. It leaves the workers and the soldiers feeling very disgruntled. The common man begins to feel that he is holding the bag, so to speak, while the bosses empty it-which is as good a description of the present situation as any. Such a situation breeds strikes and unrest. Worst of all, it sharpens class antagonisms. The best way, from the point of view of the bosses, is to PRETEND to impose sacrifices on the bosses.

We're From Missouri

We welcome the idea of a 100 per cent excess profits tax. This is an essential first step in the direction of elementary social justice. Yet I hope that our readers will forgive us if we introduce a slightly skeptical note.

In the first place, "we're from Missouri." We don't believe the bosses will tolerate a 6 per cent limit on their profits-even on paper. Already, it is indicated that the government will have to "compromise" if it wants to get any bill passed which limits profits. The nature of such a "compromise" measure is not hard to guess. It will still permit the bosses to coin fabulous profits. A meaningless gesture to appease the outraged sentiment of the workers is all that can be expected from a boss government, dominated by 'dollar-ayear" men. If the bosses refused to produce during the first period of the "defense" program until the Vinson - Trammell Act, limiting profits on naval order to 8 per cent, was repealed; if they virtually went on a "sit-down" strike until they

employers demanding wage increases to meet the rising cost of living. At the same time they will discover that their leadership has been bound by the Roosevelt administration in support of the war. Then they will have to strike out with or without this leadership to fight the battle that they should be waging right

got a fake excess profits bill passed, coupled with a very liberal amortization clause that allows them to write off the cost of new plants in five years instead of the customary 20 years-there doesn't seem to be any reason for believing that the big capitalists will sit idly by and watch the government reduce their profits to a "starvation" min-

But, since the age of miracles has not yet passed and this war is a very serious business, let us suppose that the government gets a 6 per cent profit limitation bill passed. This brings us to the second reason for our skepticism. Profits can be concealed, with or without the connivance of the Treasury's tax experts, so that what appears to be a 6 percent profit may well turn out to be 60 or 100 per cent or more. The International Federation of Trade Unions, for example, reports that even in Germany, with a 6 per cent limit on profits, supposedly enforced by a powerful and ruthless government. the big capitalists are able to conceal fantastic profits under the legal 6 per cent clause.

One of the favorite tricks is to "water the stock." In this favorite dodge of the big bosses, the Americans don't have anything to learn from the Germans. The aircraft companies, among many others, are excellent examples of this technique. Let us say that a corporation has raised \$10,000,000 through issuing common stock. Six per cent on this capital invested would mean that the most that could be paid out in dividends is \$600,000. Now let us suppose this stock is "watered." That is, more stock is issued than the corporation is worth. What happens? Just this-if, for example, twice the amount of stock is issued (and it only requires a "vote" of the stockholders to authorize such a maneuver), then the corporation presumably has a capital of \$20,000,000. Six per cent on this amount would mean double the profit, or \$1,200,000. There is practically no limit to the extent to which this profit-concealing device can be used.

And if they get tired of using this method of concealing profits, there are many others that the bosses can use and are using every day. One of the favorites is to pay out huge salaries and bonuses to the officers (for their hard work in concealing profits. of course). Such items become part of the costs of manufacturing, according to capitalist bookkeeping methods. They are, in reality, profits.

What Shall We Do?

There are many other methods that the bosses use to conceal their profits. Corporation lawyers are paid fancy salaries for precisely this reason and we are sure that with the incentive for concealing profits increased by a profit-limitation bill, the corporation lawyers will work overtime to find new methods to conceal profits. As long as the bosses control the economic set-up, any profit-limitation can only be a paper one.

If the government is serious in its desire to control and limit profits, then let the workers examine the books of the bosses. Only the workers know the real situation in their own factories. Only the workers can make sure that the profits of the bosses are really limited. The workers, however, will never get this right from the bosses or from the boss government. They must fight for it, make it one of their demands on the picket line. This, and only this, is the way to limit profits.

Editorials

OUR PROGRAM AGAINST THE WAR

- 1. Against both imperialist war comps! For the third camp of World Labor and the colonial peoples!
- 2. For the right to strike! For the defense of civil liberties and all workers' rights! Stop the persecution of aliens. Against the M-Day plans and war-time dictator-
- 3. Thirty hours a week; thirty dollars minimum pay! Time and a half wages for overtime above 30 hours. For increased wages to meet the rising cost of living.
- 4. Let the people vote on war! For the right of youth to vote at the age of 18 -old enough to fight, old enough to
- 5. Not a man, not a cent for Wall Street's war! A capital levy to cover the costs of imperialist war. No indirect taxes on the people.
- 6. Conscript the war industries under workers' control!
- 7. Expropriate the "Sixty Families"—the three per cent of the people who own ninety per cent of the wealth!
- 8. No government contract without a union contract!
- 9. Abolish secret diplomacy! Open the files of the State Department.
- 10. Full workers' rights for conscripts—the right to organize and to bargain collectively with the officers, the right of free speech, press and assembly.
- 11. \$60 a month minimum for conscripts. Former employers to pay the wage differential and guarantee return of the
- 12. Withdraw all armed forces from territory outside the United States. Free
- the colonies. Hands off Latin America. 13. Down with Jim-Crow and anti-Semitism! For full social, economic and political equality for Negroes. End discrimination against Negroes in industry and in the trade unions.
- 14. For Workers' Defense Guards against fascist and vigilante attacks!
- 15. For an Independent Labor Party.
- 16. For a workers' government and a people's army! No confidence in the Roosevelt government.
- 17. For Peace through Socialism. For the Socialist United States of the Americas, for the Socialist United States of Europe, for the World Socialist Federa-

Anti-Labor Terror Mounts in South

The brutal beating up of two CIO organizers last week in Tennessee by a gang of vigilantes received little attention in the public press. For this was just an unfortunate "incident" to those people who want another war for "democracy." They'd ra-

Labor prefers, however, and insists, that greater attention be paid to this latest in a growing and unceasing series of terroristic acts against the CIO in the South.

What was behind the vigilante terrorism? "We don't want to pay Northern wages in Tennessee," the vigilantes declared while tarring and feathering the two CIO mili-

But the CIO and all organized labor burn is a British imperialist and he wants

must see to it that Southern employers pay rates equal to those of the Northern industrial plants. Otherwise the South will continue as a grave threat to the standards set by unions throughout the country.

The rubber workers, steel workers, mine workers, auto workers and other CIO unions have all had their organizers driven from Southern cities, beaten up, tarred and feathered. A national CIO vice-president, Sherman H. Dalrymple of the rubber workers, still bears the scars of a terrible beating he took in Gadsden, Ala., in 1936.

The CIO must answer the terror campaign with a real organizing drive. Labor must learn the lesson of "democracy" in the South. Here is a real task for the coming CIO convention. The time has come for fewer speeches at the CIO convention about safeguarding democracy and organizing the South, and more action. For action speaks louder than words-and is vital in the South.

The Home Guard In Operation

When the Governor of Alabama called out the Home Guard to break a strike of steel workers in Birmingham he received a fitting reply from thousands of other steel workers in the "Pittsburgh of the South."

Over 12,000 other steel workers walked out in protest and refused to return to work until the Home Guard was withdrawn. And they were withdrawn!

Can any unionist have any doubt about why a Home Guard was formed after this open revelation? And what method is successful in breaking the strike-breakers? If you don't know, just ask the Birmingham steel workers. They know.

Cat Gets Out

The viciously anti-labor premier of Ontario, Can., Mitchell F. Hepburn, came down to New York last Tuesday to tell the people in the states how to handle the labor situation. Hepburn landed in New York with an anti-labor manifesto all ready to present to any organization which would listen to him. Hepburn's "manifesto" said that there should be no strikes in "defense" industries, that agitators were responsible, there should be a ban on picketing and that "defense" strikers should be jailed.

Reinhold Neibuhr's Union for Democratic Action got hold of Hepburn and advised him to keep his mouth shut and scuttle his "manifesto." Said the Union for Democratic Action: "It ill behooves an official of a Canadian province to tell American labor what it can and cannot do."

Hepburn wasn't telling American labor what it can and cannot do. He was telling the American bosses what they ought to do to stop strikes in the war industries. Hep-

to save British imperialism. He wants more American planes and tanks. The longer hours, the more days and the harder the American workers toil, the more planes and tanks for British imperialism, which Hepburn represents.

The Union for Democratic Action was alarmed because it feared that labor in the United States would hear about Hepburn and learn something of the truth about the war and what England is fighting for. Then it would be more difficult for the warmongers of the UDA to get the few workers it touches to line up for the war. The point we want to emphasize is that Hepburn is a dumb cluck who didn't know enough not to say exactly what is in the minds of the American and British ruling classes on labor

'No Negroes"

Dr. Harold J. Franklin is a Negro and a doctor. Dr. Franklin passed all the examinations-written, physical and oral-necessary for an assistant surgeon in the Navy. The post carries the rank of junior lieu-

What happened? You guessed it: he was rejected. Why? Supposedly, because he "did not meet physical qualifications for the appointment." Actually, because he is

Dr. Franklin presented the facts of the case to the NAACP, including an official endorsement from the U.S. Naval Hospital, Brooklyn, which states: "Examined and found physically qualified for appointment as assistant surgeon in the U.S. Navy."

Dr. Franklin exchanged a lot of letters with the Navy after that but the rejection stood fast. Everybody, especially Governor Talmadge of Georgia, can now chalk up another victory for the "democratic way of life." Although, come to think of it, Talmadge would probably have preferred that Dr. Franklin get a good beating in addition for his presumption.

For Labor Action --Join the Workers Party

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Transit Union Convention Marks Two Years of Growth

Since its last convention two years ago, the Transport Workers Union of America has shown remarkable growth. This was brought out at its third biennial convention held in New York City September 24-27, by the officers' reports and by the enthusiastic speeches of delegates from

The 22 locals which existed two years ago have been greatly strengthened and 36 new locals have been organized through actual struggle since then. The union now claims a membership of 95,000.

Noteworthy accomplishments in this direction were the organization of locals in the bourbon South. In New Orleans, for instance, a local of 800 members has been firmly established with a closed shop contrace. After a successful 11-day strike. Fairfield. Ala., saw the birth of a local of the TWU. Even in the open shop city of Los Angeles the TWU has gained a foothold and its organizing pressure has forced an increase in wages of from 10 to 13 cents an hour for some 4,000 transport

The outstanding successes in New York City were the great bus strike and the victory on the Third Avenue railway. Another high spot was the mobilization of the subway workers, all unionists and union sympathizers of the city, for the struggle against the union-busting LaGuardia administration. Although the TWU leadership did not characterize their action this way, it was definitely due to pressure from Washington and to the sudden turn of the Stalinists that they called off the well prepared strike and went into protracted negotiations with the Board of Transportation. The leadership admits that it did not get very brilliant gains for the subway workers. But the last chapter of this struggle has not yet

All along the line, however, the TWU has signed very beneficial contracts, has gained the closed shop, and after six years of organization has stepped out into full maturity.

One Hit-Two Misses

Judging its important actions at this third biennial convention from the point of view of developing classconsciousness-which is also a necessary measuring rod to be applied to a growing union-it must be reported that one hit was scored and two

A very progressive move was made on the last day of the convention when certain proposed amendments to the union's constitution were accepted which will result in widening the field of TWU organization. The delegates voted that the TWU organize not only subway, street car and bus employees, but gather into its ranks workers in all transport, including taxi and truck drivers, along which lines the TWU has already had some success.

Furthermore, it was agreed that since power is part of transport and since in some areas the same boss interests operate the street car lines and the electric power plants, the workers' interests require a single industrial union embracing all the workers involved both in transport and in power.

Thus the principle of industrial unionism upon which the CIO was founded is being carried out not only in the mass production industries,

in fields where artificial union divisions have existed for many years.

In Contrast

In marked contrast to this understanding of working class interests was the decision taken after the second day of the convention, to endorse the war policy of the representative of the capitalist class in the White House.

The matter of whether or not to endorse the imperialist war took up far more time than any other question. One delegate stated the convention could have been over in 24 hours if not for the war issue.

During the first part of the discussion there was a great deal of opposition to changing the union's previous anti-war stand. Delegates condemned the flip-flop that the leaders had taken. They recalled the Rochester convention of the New York State CIO, when the TWU delegates had walked out in protest against the garment workers' support of Roose-

There are many Irishmen in the TWU and many delegates described their experiences as Irish slaves under the heel of British imperialism.

"In war, all is lost," exclaimed one delegate. Another declared that no honest labor leader can say that labor will be better off after the war. One reminded Michael Quill of his speeches about the wives and children who are victims of war, about the white coffins of the last war, and wanted to know if the horrors of war are less than when Quill was on the other side of the flop.

All these sentiments received considerable bona fide applause as distinguished from the whistling, stamping and shouting for the pro-war speakers coming in good measure from the visitors' gallery.

Quill Fires Big Guns

When Quill, who was presiding, sensed the extent of his opposition, he brought out one of his big guns in the person of John Santo, secretary-treasurer of the union. It would be impossible to give space to exposing all Santo's twisted arguments. But he emphasized two false and misleading points: (1) that the leader-

pro-war stand and (2) that it is TREASON to vote against the war since the country is already in a

shooting war. That the effect of this shameful lambasting might not be dissipated by an opposition speaker, the convention was adjourned for two hours. In the afternoon there was a marked difference in tone, though there were still opposition speakers. Santo's slave-driving speech had made its mark. The refrain of a majority of the speakers was: "Support our leadership, no matter what." One delegate shouted: "Roosevelt is not wrong. Murray is not wrong. Our leadership is not wrong."

It was pitiful to hear working men repeat the treacherous arguments their exploiting rulers are using to put over the war. Instead of looking forward to a world controlled by the workers and not by the capitalist quest for markets, some of the delegates were worried about what would happen to the markets of the American boss class if Hitler won.

Some of the pro-war delegates appealed to the opposition to stop being Irishmen and become Americans, as if the test of an American worker consists in his desire to support the

American ruling class. When the vote was finally taken, only 20 delegates had withstood the pro-war tornado out of a total of 250. Thus the third biennial convention of the TWU yielded to the influence those who put the wishes of the Kremlin and the White House above the interests of the working classwhich are opposed to all imperialist

The convention also raised the salaries of its officers. Michael Quill's salary was increased from \$50 to \$100. The other officers received comparable increases. But that such increases are out of all proportion is illustrated by the following comparison. A delegate from Section 124 praised the achievements of the union because he himself had received a \$12 a week raise in four years. He is one of the better paid workers. But Quill has risen from a ticket agent on the IRT at \$27 for an 84hour week to a \$100 a week union

Ford Instrument

though the fight was won around a conference table. That is, the committee stuck by its guns and the company after hours of conferring had to give in on one point after

But the company representatives were not so feeble-minded as to be impressed by table-pounding alone. However important a good negotiator is-AND HE IS IMPORTANT-the fight was really won outside the conference room by the show of force.

Ben Lifshitz, who fancies himself as the brains of the union and who is always seeking to present his political line on all questions, presented a variation of this misconception. At the first mass strike meeting he, in effect, proposed that the union call a strike, if necessary, so that the Mediation Board would step in and settle matters in favor of the union. Lifshitz presented the National Mediation Board as the great ally of labor. At the second meeting he reversed himself: either the men accept the contract or go from the state to the National Mediation Board, which will decide on worse conditions. In other words, the choice is exclusively between two mediation boards. A strike would have the same unsatisfactory result of throwing the problem before the national

The Stalinist Line

The Communist Party took a similar approach in a leaflet handed out at the plant. "Although the right to strike must be preserved at all times, there must be discretion and restraint in its use at all times."

This is in accordance with the new line of the Communist Party. When Stalin was an ally of Hitler, they spoke differently. Now that Stalin has switched allies, they can hardly do enough to subordinate the interests of the workers to the war. They are exclusively motivated by subservience to Stalin and his interests. The needs of the workers do not play any part at all in deciding their policies. They would have told the company: "We will not strike." With a promise like that, you can be sure that the company would not have yielded.

No, the victory was not won at themediation board, nor because the workers said they wouldn't strike. On the contrary it was the fighting spirit of the workers at the two tremendous mass meetings that brought home the bacon.

Had the union decided to go through with a strike it is probable that more could have been gained. But the men felt that this was not the time to strike and they correctly agreed to accept the contract and go on from there-build the union, prepare for future fights.

There is no doubt that the company will seek out any loophole to get around the terms of the contract. It will resort to unjust classifications, discrimination against those who resort to grievance machinery,

The union must be eternally vigilant in fighting off these attacks. The hundreds of new workers who received their first benefits of unionism must be integrated into the unon the various committees. Union officials must go from department to department checking up on the enforcement of the contract. Shop stewards must be given advice and assistance in handling grievances. There must be reports on grievances at department meetings and at shop steward meetings. .

Above all, the readiness to fight must be maintained to enforce the contract, to build the union.

Revolts --

(Continued from page 2) De Gaulle, or Benes, or King Haakon,

or King George. They do so (1) in order to live-to eat and keep warm; (2) to drive out the foreign oppressors and (3) to gain a better world in which to live. They are not concerned about restoring the rotten regime of "liberal capitalism."

Revolutionists who take part in these movements do so with the idea of organizing the workers of the occupied countries on an INDEPEND-ENT platform, the platform of revolutionary socialism. Middle class politicians and Stalinist agents may head these movements today, but tomorrow it will be the invincible European proletarians, led by the Fourth Internationalists.

Local 544

(Continued from page 1)

forces will bomerang. For Blair's decision was too crude. It is being contested in the courts. It already stands convicted before the bar of labor.

Failure of the state labor conciliator to provide for a democratic election among Minneapolis teamsters is now the main contention of Local 544. "In any free election the truck drivers of Minneapolis will stick by the union that improved their wages, hours and working conditions to one of the highest standards in America."

In essence, the decision of the state labor conciliator was an attempt of the reactionary politicians to choose for labor its representatives.

The bifterness of the Minneapolis truck drivers over this move indicates that the fight has just begun. Local 544 will still have the last

Another Chapter on LaGuardia -- He Soaked The Transit Workers in order to Pay the Bankers

When LaGuardia talks about the "sound finances" of his administration, there are 32,000 transit workers, their families and friend friends who give the boasting Mayor the EX-PRESSIVE BRONX CHEER!

There are plenty of other working people in the city who do the same -for instance, the unemployed who were robbed of the use of \$21,000,000 of relief funds by the "financial efficlency" of the LaGuardia government. But that is another story.

This is the story of how the La-Guardia brand of "good government" and "financial soundness" affects the transit workers.

As private employees represented by the Transport Workers Union, they had forced from the companies owning the subways very beneficial contracts, including wage increases ranging from 10 to 20 per cent, reduced daily and weekly hours of work, vacations with pay and a better pension system. Of course their union was recognized by the companies and they had the right of collective bargaining.

Their troubles began when the city bought the IRT from the House of Morgan and the BMT from the House of Rockefeller-for the round sum of \$340,000,000.

That \$340,000,000 did NOT represent the real worth of the subways. It included also ALL THE WATER THAT THE BANKERS HAD POURED INTO THE SUBWAY

LAGUARDIA WAS GIVING THE BANKERS A BREAKI

price that one of the three boss politicians sitting on the Transit Commission had to admit it.

At the Transit Commission hearings the Transport Workers Union proved that the earnings of the subways would be insufficient to provide the money necessary to meet the interest and principal payments to the bankers. Therefore the TWU fought the scheme on the ground that the transit workers would be the goats. That is exactly what has happened.

THE LaGUARDIA ADMINISTRA-TION HAS SOAKED THE POOR IN ORDER TO PAY THE RICH. The policy of the Board of Tranportation-which took over the operation of the subways for the citywas to save money out of the hides

of the transit workers to pay its obligations to the bankers. Therefore, although the board agreed with the union to abide by the terms of the then-existing contracts between the workers and the BMT and IRT, this agreement rapid-

ly became a scrap of paper. Hundreds of workers were laid off -to save their wages. Wage cuts became the order of the day-but not for members of the Board of Transportation and other city officials whose salaries were increased as

much as 33-1/3 per cent. Seniority rights of the transit workers were violated. Rights to promotion were denied-that would have meant higher wages.

Union - busting tactics were flagrantly indulged in by the Mayor

So scandalously excessive was this and the Board. That august body of seat-warmers refused to confer with representatives of the union. Suit was brought by the city-now naturally put off until after the election -asking the courts to declare that the city has no right to bargain collectively with its employees.

THESE ARE THE BENEFITS THE TRANSIT WORKERS DERIVED FROM LaGUARDIA'S "FINANCIAL EFFICIENCY."

THE MORGANS AND ROCKE-FELLERS GOT THEIR \$340,000,000 PLUS INTEREST. No Choice Here District Attorney O'Dwyer, Demo-

cratic Mayoralty nominee, attacks the municipal expenditures of the La-Guardia administration. He hopes that the people have forgotten the notorious Tammany scandals which made rich men of many members of the Democratic Party. LaGuardia retorts by pointing his

accusing finger at such crooks as Boss Murphy and Jimmy Walker. He hopes the people do not know THERE ARE OTHER CRIMES A CITY ADMINISTRATION CAN COMMIT BESIDES OLD-FASH-IONED GRAFT.

When the workers' contracts with the BMT and IRT expired on June 30 last, the Board of Transportation, forced by the threat of a strike by the well-organized workers, began hearings on the matter of wage increases.

Those hearings lasted for fully three months. What do you think the results were?

Thousands of transit workers got no wage increase at all. Thousands got a mere pittance of 3, 4 or 5 per cent. Those who got slightly higher increases still are not even abreast with the cost of living, which has mounted by 30 per cent since the war began.

The TWU, which had to fight like mad to get the money-grubbing board to unbend even to this extent, had the following to say about the city administration:

"To all reasonable arguments advanced by union representatives for an increase in rates of pay and wages the board had a stereotyped replya reply heard from the private corporations which are concerned only with profits-that it didn't have the

HOWEVER, IT DOES HAVE MONEY TO PAY THE MORGANS AND ROCKEFELLERS FOR THEIR WATERED STOCK!

Government for Business

To add insult to injury, the Board of Transportation refused to make these niggardly increased retroactive to June 30, when the old contracts of the transit workers expired.

Thus the "financial efficiency" of the LaGuardia administration has resulted in stealing \$800,000 from the transit workers in back wages due them. There is today no private employer in this country who does not make new wage schedules retroactive to the date of expiration of the old

No wonder the TWU declared:

"The conduct of the Board of Transportation was less honorable than that which we had experienced in our dealings with private manage-

ment." The latest move of the LaGuardia administration in its policy of pinching pennies from the many poor to pay millions to the few rich has been TO TAKE AWAY FROM THE CAR MAINTENANCE MEN ON THE INDEPENDENT SUBWAY THEIR PAID LUNCH HOUR.

This is called "good government." This is called 'sound financial administration."

LaGuardia sticks out his chest and says to the people of the city: "See face of the city."

point to at election time. IT IS HONEY TO CATCH VOTES. But as between the smelly grafting of Tammany Hall and the "sound finances" of LaGuardia-which consists in squeezing the workers to pay

At election time the pot calls the kettle black-and both try to get smoke into the workers' eyes!

To vote for MAX SHACHTMAN, candidate of the WORKERS PARTY for Mayor, means that a worker RE-FUSES TO BE FOOLED BY THE GRAFTERS AND BY BANKER-POLITICIANS!

what wonderful parks and roads I have built. See how I have lifted the Every wise boss politician makes sure to have something like that to

the bankers-THE WORKERS HAVE LITTLE TO CHOOSE FROM.

It's time the workers got out of the way of the smoke.