

PROFITS

Any extended comment on the following partial list of "earnings" of big business would be superfluous. The figures tell the whole story as they contrast the difference between the "earnings" of the industrialists and manufacturers, and the workers.

HERE IS ONE GROUP:

Company	Recent Period	Same Period Year Before	Pct. Incr.
Erie Railroad Co.	\$14,339,524	\$7,853,731	82.6
Austin, Nichols & Co.	248,568	86,679	186.8
Outboard Marine & Mfg.	518,342	23,453	2110.1
Continental Motors Corp.	5,472,884	3,231,724	69.4
Curtis Mfg. Co. St. Louis	484,398	191,792	152.6
First Boston Corp.	491,256	253,000	94.6
United Elastics Corp.	564,511	368,959	52.7
Purity Bakeries Corp.	1,714,538	1,429,379	20.0
Virginia Iron, Coal, Coke	55,865	16,321	242.3
General Finance Corp.	989,786	726,022	36.3
General Baking Co.	2,287,434	1,176,025	94.5
N. Y. & Richmond Gas	145,536	113,989	27.1
Phoenix Hosiery Co.	369,864	246,113	50.3
Westmoreland Coal Co.	1,049,788	565,389	85.6
Consolidated Aircraft	10,323,779	8,024,882	28.6
Vultee Aircraft, Inc.	4,291,140	3,100,735	38.4
Canadian Breweries, Ltd.	777,564	570,570	36.3
Atl. Gulf & West Indies	3,575,471	2,816,177	26.9
Trunz, Inc.	110,425	77,604	42.3
Arundel Corp.	1,217,796	950,435	38.1
Mississippi Power & Light	656,531	479,005	37.1
Texas Electric Serv. Co.	1,685,968	1,222,659	37.9
E. W. Bliss Co.	2,712,328	2,051,206	34.2

AND HERE'S ANOTHER:

Briggs & Stratton Corp.	1,738,898	1,154,759	54.4
Pennsylvania Railroad	101,468,793	58,073,579	74.9
American Central Mfg.	469,177	115,338	306.8
Athey Truss Wheel Co.	242,451	131,723	84.1
Crane Co.	4,824,602	3,727,819	29.4
DiGiorgio Fruit Corp.	1,280,198	857,369	49.3
St. Louis Pub. Serv. Co.	1,649,768	182,148	805.7
Lima Locomotive Works	1,643,451	1,270,145	29.4
National Candy Co.	1,380,481	1,049,924	31.5
Western Air Lines, Inc.	693,703	5,980	
(This company had 11,500.4 per cent increase in profits)			
Wisconsin Elec. Power	3,894,027	2,851,335	36.3
Paramount Pictures, Inc.	14,525,000	10,251,242	41.7
Bush Term. Bldgs. Co.	569,120	341,656	66.6
Loose-Wiles Biscuit Co.	2,090,652	1,110,675	82.8
Parkersburg Rig & Reel	764,744	544,008	40.6
Pressed Steel Car Co.	1,728,726	812,258	112.7
Climax Molybdenum Co.	13,390,433	8,954,204	49.5
Dresser Industries	518,007	299,692	73.2
Consol. Cement Corp.	333,697	86,392	286.2
Consol. Coal Co., Inc.	1,531,498	702,344	117.1
Pullman Co.	9,150,769	1,855,069	393.3
U. S. Freight Co.	1,418,593	808,616	75.4
Kansas City So. Ry.	2,121,784	1,426,122	48.7
Market St. Ry. Co.	841,357	94,785	785.9

AND STILL ANOTHER:

Delaware & Hudson Co.	6,592,364	4,336,480	52.0
Parmelee Transp. Co.	1,252,077	145,606	759.9
Ogden Corp.	552,095	276,978	99.3
Cramp Shipbuilding Co.	693,824	110,719	525.6
Distillers Corp.-Seagram's	8,093,363	5,672,048	42.7
Golden State Co.	1,082,662	721,470	50.1
Goulds Pumps, Inc.	340,864	218,267	56.1
Lock Joint Pipe Co.	1,380,493	709,060	94.7
Sivyer Steel Casting Co.	935,694	473,857	97.4
Wesson Oil-Snowdrift	1,434,667	1,070,262	32.5
Gisholt Machine Co.	2,063,560	1,586,990	30.0
Packard Motor Car Co.	4,726,237	2,061,323	129.2
Northwestern Elec. Co.	676,902	504,051	34.3
United Cigar-Whelan	1,075,146	400,636	168.3
Bath Iron Works Corp.	3,742,982	1,396,593	168.0
Graham-Paige Motors	1,635,249	690,536	136.8
Giddings & Lewis Mch.	1,608,926	659,629	62.1
Los Angeles Shpbgd.	523,595	256,551	104.1
Wellman Engineering Co.	426,996	319,407	33.7

LABOR ACTION

JULY 26, 1943

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

THE FACTS ON PROFITS, SALARIES AND YOUR WAGES

Salaries and Profits In Auto and Aircraft

The wage and manpower freezes are not universal. There are no exceptions for workers but the owners of American industry have been spared.

How business is meeting the rigors of war is shown by these figures on 1942 salaries and net profits. The figures refer to salaries and bonuses; income from dividends are not included. The table has been compiled by the research department of the UAW-CIO from official reports filed with the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission.

1942 REMUNERATION OF OFFICERS AND COMPANIES UNDER UAW-CIO CONTRACT

Company	Remuneration Reported	Net Income For Fiscal Year 1942
Allis-Chalmers Mfg. Co.		
W. Geist	\$34,725	
H. W. Story	25,803	
W. Watson	24,950	\$5,923,992
American Can Co.		
M. J. Sullivan	154,300	
T. N. Anderson	84,500	
D. W. Figgis	82,800	12,867,422
American Radiator-Standard Sanitary		
H. M. Reed	80,000	
T. E. Mueller	80,000	
R. J. Hamilton	55,000	5,551,657
Aviation Corp.		
V. Emanuel	88,917	
W. F. Wise	76,800	
L. I. Hartmeyer	28,133	4,723,984
Bell Aircraft Corp.		
L. D. Bell	97,167	
R. P. Whitman	48,983	
O. L. Woodson	45,030	4,203,583
Bendix Aviation Corp.		
E. R. Brech	92,600	
Ch. Marcus	77,043	
V. Bendix	54,475	12,464,196
Budd Wheel Co.		
E. G. Budd	140,318	
W. H. Farr	113,438	
I. Alexander	75,992	1,752,269
Chrysler Corp.		
K. T. Keller	101,050	
B. E. Hutchinson	91,100	
F. M. Zeder	85,450	15,529,013
Chicago Pneumatic Tool Co.		
H. A. Jackson	120,020	
W. L. Lewis	120,000	
A. E. Goodhue	20,000	2,033,817
Consolidated Aircraft Corp.		
T. M. Girdler	82,300	
H. Woodhead	81,667	
I. M. Laddon	76,880	10,813,916
(Girdler also got \$137,500 from Republic Steel)		
Glenn L. Martin Co.		
G. L. Martin	60,320	
J. T. Hartson	39,659	
H. F. Vollmer	32,820	6,658,809

Company	Remuneration Reported	Net Income For Fiscal Year 1942
Mack Trucks, Inc.		
E. C. Fink	87,700	
F. F. Stanford	50,210	
J. E. Savacool	43,920	2,988,432
Nash-Kelvinator Corp.		
G. W. Mason	125,482	3,828,755
National Supply Co.		
A. E. Walker	50,000	
C. R. Barton	35,250	
D. S. Faulkner	25,200	4,108,332
North American Aviation, Inc.		
J. H. Kindelberger	141,667	
J. L. Atwood	74,250	
J. S. Smithson	35,625	10,435,413
Packard Motor Car Co.		
M. M. Gilman	73,847	
J. G. Vincent	50,008	
A. Macauley	45,370	4,726,237
Revere Copper & Brass, Inc.		
C. D. Dallas	105,000	
J. J. Russell	45,000	
R. E. Falk	29,200	1,749,374
Stewart-Warner Corp.		
J. S. Knowlson	76,397	
F. A. Ross	63,232	
F. A. Hiter	63,132	1,590,454
Studebaker Corp.		
P. G. Hoffman	89,000	
H. S. Vance	89,000	
R. E. Cole	39,000	2,048,278
Thompson Products, Inc.		
F. C. Crawford	91,700	
L. M. Clegg	61,200	
A. T. Colwell	50,500	2,051,417
Timken-Detroit Axle Co.		
R. J. Goldie	57,675	5,205,190
United Aircraft Corp.		
E. E. Wilson	78,020	
F. B. Rentschler	77,370	
J. F. McCarthy	63,150	17,096,842
Vultee Aircraft, Inc.		
R. W. Millar	85,916	
G. M. Williams	53,333	
T. M. Girdler	50,417	
H. Fenick	44,583	4,553,040
Westinghouse Air Brake Co.		
G. A. Blackmore	115,650	
S. G. Down	56,900	
W. H. Cadwallader	27,286	4,232,911
Willys-Overland Motors, Inc.		
J. W. Frazer	123,184	
W. M. Canaday	50,000	
D. G. Ross	24,250	1,265,399
Yale & Towne Mfg. Co.		
W. G. Carey, Jr.	74,750	
J. A. Horne	41,313	
F. Dunning	35,674	1,248,711
L. A. Young Spring & Wire Corp.		
L. A. Young	74,140	
A. N. Maskill	14,333	
T. D. Stewart	13,620	470,710

Evidence Shows No Real Advance in Workers' Wages; Profits and Salaries Soar!

By SAM ADAMS

Profits, salaries, and still more profits and salaries! Here is part of the evidence, printed on this page of LABOR ACTION. Naturally, it is impossible to print it all. But is more needed?

Isn't this evidence enough to show what is the real situation in this country? It is as plain as day. The capitalists, the whole gang of them, bankers, manufacturers, mine operators, mill owners, and a host of others, are fattening themselves out of the war!

With all the talk about "equality of sacrifice," it is still the biggest farce of the war. The American ruling class is getting rich from the war; there is a new crop of war millionaires!

Where do the workers stand in this heyday of profit-grabbing? Just about where they have always stood, getting the butt-end of it all.

Prices have risen way out of line with the wages of the workers. First the victory tax and the income tax, and now the withholding tax eats into the earnings of labor. But it is eating into wages which are already below the cost of living.

The yellow bosses' press and the pen prostitutes who write their daily lies have been screaming that the workers are the profiteers in this war, that their wages have far exceeded the rise in the cost of living.

It is easy to nail this lie down. The cost of living has risen almost twenty-five per cent in the last year. Food prices, the most important item in the worker's budget, have risen nearly twice that. There is no real price control and no real price ceilings!

What have the workers received in the past year in the form of wages?

The average 1942 wages of workers in manufacturing industries (that means the war industries) was \$37.88! Of these workers, those engaged in durable goods production averaged \$44.47 and those in non-durable, \$29.71!

These are the averages for the higher paid workers! But there are millions of workers who do not get such "high" wages.

More than 4,000,000 workers still receive less than forty cents an hour. More than 10,000,000 workers made less than \$16 a week in 1942 — about \$850 for the year!

See the article on page 3 by Gertrude Shaw on Representative Engel and the wages of workers.

Sure, workers have received some wage increases in the past year. But compare the following increases with the 25 per cent rise in the cost of living:

Apparel and finished textile workers received an 18.2 per cent increase.

Manufacturing workers received a 20.5 per cent increase. Firearms workers received a 2.4 per cent increase.

Machine tool workers received a 4.7 per cent increase.

Aircraft and aircraft parts workers received a 6.5 per cent increase.

Aircraft engine workers received a 6.5 per cent increase.

(Continued on page 4)

Profits of Bankers

It is not only the industrialists who are directly profiting from the war. Behind these industrialists stand the big monopoly banks. They, too, are getting theirs. Read these figures and then try to tell just what these enterprises contribute in sweat and toil. Measure their labor and productivity with those of the average worker!

Chase National Bank has control of more than \$4,569,496,050. It has increased its assets in three months (October, November and December, 1942) by \$669,540,099. Its profits rose from \$14,518,000 in 1941, a high year, to \$15,040,000 in 1942.

Central Hanover Bank & Trust Co., after deducting 1942

net operating expenses from net operating income had \$6,047,668 in net "earnings."

New York Trust Co. didn't do so well. It only made a profit of \$3,030,393.

Lehman Corporation, bankers, enjoyed a 68 per cent increase in the net profits per share in the last quarter of 1942 as against the previous quarter.

National City Bank had a banner period. Resources rose to \$3,761,671,281. In the last quarter of 1942, its backlog of undistributed profits rose from \$21,391,723 to \$23,793,450. During the year 1942 this bank increased its resources by more than 16 per cent and its undistributed profits by more than 33 per cent.

More Big Salaries

In sharp contrast to the wage levels of all workers, including the highest paid skilled workers, all of them doing the real creative work in the nation, we have the 1942 salaries of the big business "leaders."

Companies and Officials	1942 Salaries
Republic Steel Corp.	
Tom M. Girdler, chairman	\$275,000
R. J. Wysor, president	196,000
Pension Trust for Mr. Wysor	23,000
M. J. Clarke, vice-president	133,000
C. M. White, vice-president	133,000
American Tobacco Co.	
G. W. Hill, president	240,473
Vincent Riggio, vice-president	122,283
Paul R. Hahn, vice-president	122,283
International Nickel	
Robert C. Stanley, chairman-president	215,050
J. F. Thompson, vice-president	105,400
Westinghouse Electric	
A. W. Robertson, chairman	189,633
George H. Bucher, president	143,045
Roscoe Seybold, vice-president	57,738
Kennecott Copper Corp.	
D. C. Jockling, director	76,910
American Locomotive Co.	
Duncan Fraser, president	92,092

No Formulas to Freeze Salaries Of Big Business

Company and Official	1940 Salary	1942 Salary	Amount of Increase
American Locomotive, W. Dickerman	\$75,954	\$114,091	\$38,137
Armour & Co., G. A. Eastwood	74,378	101,340	26,962
Aviation Corp., V. Emmanuel	25,000	88,917	63,917
Budd Wheel Co., E. G. Budd	110,428	140,318	29,890
Burlington Mills, J. S. Love	91,940	196,340	104,400
Electric Storage Battery, R. C. Norberg	42,882	69,740	26,858
Fairbanks-Morse Co., R. H. Morse	120,700	162,170	40,470
Firestone Tire & Rubber, J. W. Thomas	91,937	120,000	29,337
Flintkote Co., L. J. Harvey	53,370	90,650	36,680
General Amer. Trans. Corp., L. N. Selig	60,000	84,000	24,000
Goodyear Tire & Rubber, E. J. Thomas	91,937	120,000	29,337
Kennecott Copper Co., E. T. Stannard	101,220	126,150	24,930
J. R. Kinney, Inc., G. L. Smith	23,600	44,150	20,550
Lima Locomotive, J. E. Dix	31,680	63,150	31,470
Loews, Inc., L. B. Mayer	697,048	949,766	252,718
Munsingwear, Inc., E. L. Otrich	27,886	68,787	40,901
J. C. Penney Co., A. W. Hughes	47,975	81,155	33,180
Phelps Dodge Corp., L. S. Cates	100,520	151,350	50,830
Savage Arms Co., F. F. Hickey	32,010	86,400	54,390
Snider Packing Corp., S. E. Comstock	22,000	35,595	13,595
Union Bag & Paper Co., S. S. Calder	86,829	100,731	13,902
Vick Chemical Co., H. S. Richardson	48,360	95,285	46,925
Willys-Overland, J. W. Frazer	60,000	123,184	63,184

Europe in Revolt

A Review of Political Events

NAZI-OCCUPIED BELGIUM SEETHING WITH UNREST

There is no direct and reliable way to check on the temper of the people in Europe after years of Nazi occupation. Many of the stories printed over here cannot be taken at their face value. But an indirect check is provided by simply comparing the information carried by news letters of governments in exile this year with those of a year ago.

Although there may be an amount of unreliable and only partially true material in them, the fact is that now, in nearly every issue, they carry stories of widespread resistance and mass dissatisfaction, whereas last year all that was reported were acts of individual sabotage. This is highly symptomatic. Here, for example, is a selection from the July 10 issue of News from Belgium: "Women Demonstrate for Food—Demonstrations of protest against the famine have occurred at Mornimont, near Namur. Housewives marched in procession to the local administrative offices and demanded that supplies of potatoes be distributed."

"Russian Prisoners Offered Food by Namur Population—Russian prisoners, crowded together in trucks, have arrived at the Campinaire coal mines, Namur.

"They had received no food or drink for four days. Three of the prisoners died of privation during the journey.

"When they heard of the arrival of the Russians, the local inhabitants crowded round the train and gave them sandwiches and tobacco.

"Nazi Officer Shot Dead by German Sailor—The Belgian underground newspaper, L'Espoir, reports that an officer of the German army was shot dead by a German sailor in an Antwerp street car."

NEWS FROM ONE WHO ESCAPED

The same issue of News from Belgium contains an unusually interesting report on the situation among the German soldiers in Belgium by a Belgian woman who has just escaped to England:

"Never will you receive confidences from two German soldiers together, because, between them, no matter how many years of friendship may bind them together, there is a constant ghost—the ghost of fear. To each German another German, even though he be a comrade, might be in the pay of the Gestapo.

"No longer do they believe that Adolph Hitler is God, no longer do the majority of them believe with an implicit faith in eventual victory. For Hitler has brought them, after almost four years of war, more than victories, more than iron crosses, more than the spectacle of a plundered Europe. He has brought them disillusion.

"The suicide rate in Belgium is high; for Belgian citizens it stands scarcely higher than it did in peacetime; the heavy increase can be found among the ranks of the occupation forces. But German soldiers in Belgium do not die by their own hands alone. Many have been executed by their comrades, and many more will follow the same path.

"Disaffection among the German occupying forces in Belgium is rife. You have only to enter a cinema to learn that fact. Usually at the beginning of the performance there will be a newsreel of some sort. Most of it will be devoted to scenes of fighting on the Russian front. The commentator's voice sweeps on enthusiastically describing how the glorious German armies, advancing ever to victory in the name of the Fuehrer, drive all before them. He may believe what he is saying, but the German troops in the cinema, most of whom have seen service on the Russian front, most certainly don't. His words are greeted by cat-calls, by jeers, by shouting and boos. Frequently the cinema is cleared by German guards, who are brought in, and numbers of the recalcitrant elements are arrested."

Such reports are not too valuable because often they come from people who believe that, in general, all Germans are beasts who should be exterminated. But if even those rabid anti-German racists print facts of this sort, there is no reason to doubt their reliability.

A COMMENT ON THE SICILIAN INVASION

P.S.—As I write this column the first graduates of the American Gaudier school are let loose on the Sicilian people. The United Nations army has officially announced that it is to collaborate with Italian fascists provided they are not "active" fascists. Since, obviously, after the occupation, these fascist officials will cease to be "active" fascists, they may become active collaborators of

the Allied military governments of occupied territory. It would only require a change of allegiance from Benito to the Allies.

To make the thing even clearer, it was also announced that "no political activity will be permitted." There will be no contact with anti-fascist exiles in the United States and Britain. Didn't someone say this was a war against fascism?

Europacus.

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Sperry Workers Want Real Union

In the July 16 issue of Shop News, a representative of the local union executive committee informs the Sperry workers that the committee has decided, among other "unimportant" matters, to investigate incentive pay.

Coming in the midst of a campaign by big business and the National Association of Manufacturers to put across incentive pay behind the back of labor, this "committee to investigate," not elected by the Sperry unionists, is a dark forecast of coming events. There are people in the Sperry local who are trying to put this new piecework plan into effect for the bosses.

The members of Local 450 must be on their guard. This plan will only force them to produce more for less pay. The Sperry workers will lose on incentive pay even if the company doesn't chisel on time study—and this penny-pinching, anti-union company will chisel. Any Sperry worker knows this.

Even the most favorable kind of "incentive pay"—ten or twenty-five per cent increase in pay for ten or twenty-five per cent increase in production—contains all the evils of piecework. A worker may, by a murderous speed-up, produce two hours' more work per day. This plan is a scheme to avoid paying over time for it. Quite a saving for the Sperry company, to say nothing of the saving to the company in other overhead expenses.

Akron Transport Workers Strike Against WLB Edict

By MEL STRONG

AKRON—For the second time in two months the Akron Transport Workers have had to go on strike in protest against the meagerly low wages and miserable working conditions of the Akron Transportation Co. On Wednesday, July 14, the local panel of the WLB ruled against the Transport Union on virtually all points of any importance.

It was on the basis of this hearing by the local panel of the WLB that the strike of May 23 and 24 ended in a fifteen-day truce. Now the workers find that the WLB panel intends to give no concessions that would cost the transportation company a little bit of its swollen profits. Profits are made from the workers here in Akron with the most antiquated equipment of any city of comparable size in the country.

The first strike was ended through

present situation in view of freezing of wages, arbitration, government boards and so on.

The labor movement has fought this new piecework system for many years because labor understood the injuries which come through speed-up, and the jealousies and divisions which it creates among the workers.

The Sperry workers know that incentive pay scheme is no alternative for them. Their way out is to get a real wage increase and reclassifications. The sister local of Sperry, Ford Instrument, has already had various meetings which overwhelmingly voted down this boss-inspired proposal.

The high-handed procedure of the executive board has been resented time and again by the workers. Anti-union sentiments are growing in many departments mainly because of the bureaucratic methods used in handling union problems such as dues collecting, the question of the check-off and the disregard of meeting decisions.

Sperry workers went through a long and bitter struggle with the company in order to organize themselves into a union. They are entitled to real rank and file democracy and control of their union with a constitution, by-laws, regular membership meetings and a regularly elected executive committee—not a temporary executive committee under the complete control of Brother Dermody—so that the decisions of the membership will be carried out.

the intervention of Michael J. Quill, international president of the Transport Workers Union, CIO. Again Mr. Quill, strike-breaker of the Daily Worker school, has come to town with his "unity patent medicine" and tells the workers that all they have to do is go back to work and then appeal their case to the WLB.

Strike-breaker Quill has been against strikes, "no matter for what reason" since June, 1941, and the workers know that an appeal to the WLB will end for them the same way it did for the rubber workers and the miners. The workers are learning that the WLB is but a government agency to assist the bosses in a frontal attack on the living standards of the workers.

In giving up the right to strike, the workers gave away their best weapon to combat this attack on the part of the bosses.

New Jersey CIO Plays 'Politics'

The Jersey political situation gets funnier and funnier, if you've got the kind of humor that lets you laugh at labor leaders who are making jackasses of themselves.

The CIO leaders are split into two factions, each following a faction of the split Democratic state machine. In Hudson County, Boss Hague's own stamping grounds, the Stalinists seem to run the CIO Council. Having whitewashed the Boss and promised to take anybody, absolutely anybody, he wanted to back for Governor, they boldly went up to Hague's nephew and got an agreement that John Grogan, Hudson CIO president, would have one of the nine places on the machine's Hudson assembly ticket.

So now they're in on the ground floor, and the Hague ground floor is much lower than a basement would be in any half-way respectable establishment.

The non-Stalinist CIO leaders, Abramson and Holderman, who believe in "independent" political action, also want to support the Democratic Party. As the New York Sun of July 15 says, they "are recognized as Governor Edison's labor leaders"; and Hague and Edison, as you know, have been scrapping to see who should be the big boss in Jersey.

Just the same, these independent followers of Edison are willing to support Congresswoman Mary Norton for re-election. She is a big shot in the Hague machine but a "friend" of labor. So their independence consists of playing around with both Edison and Hague.

Meanwhile the AFL chiefs get real radical and say they are going to run their state secretary, Vincent Murphy, who is now Democratic mayor of Newark, as an independent candidate for Governor. That is, maybe they will. They are for the Democratic Party, too, and will not carry out this horrible threat of "independence" if the Democrats "can agree on a candidate who stands for a progressive administration of our state's affairs."

All three cliques protest their undying devotion to Commander-in-Chief Roosevelt. They are waiting to see if he can straighten out the differences between his underlings, Hague and Edison.

We don't think the rank and file workers have anything to wait for. The time has come for them to rise up in every union, denounce the whole smelly situation, and proceed to a really independent labor party—with no aids, ifs or buts. And with no pledge of loyalty to anyone—except to labor and the majority of the American people, who ARE labor.

The Editor's Comments

What Is Independent Political Action?

What the labor bureaucracy believes independent political action to be may sound amusing, but it is hardly a funny subject to the American working class. Faced with the mass political discontent of the union rank and file, the labor officialdoms in the CIO and AFL give lip service to independent political action while, in fact, they act as flunkys for the two capitalist parties.

In last week's column, we pointed out that the formation of a Labor Party was an indispensable need of the American labor movement. This need has been with us for a long time, but it was brought home sharply by the deliberations of the seventy-eighth Congress, the most reactionary in the country's history.

No worker, and not even the labor officialdom, has any doubt about the character of Congress. Both organizations of labor have called Congress and big business on a number of highly important questions.

Not independence, but Support of FDR

All of this would seem to indicate, as so many of the rank and file workers understand, that the labor movement must begin at once to organize its own party, a party of all who toil, a Labor Party, to represent the interests of all labor. Not so with the labor bureaucrats. They proceed with the theory and belief that the interests of labor and the fate of the labor movement are in the hands of one man—Franklin D. Roosevelt.

This is a false and dangerous theory. It is a theory which destroys the real independent mass strength of labor, capable of doing a thousand times more for itself than any living individual can or will do for it. This is especially true when that individual is the head of one of the capitalist parties, a conglomeration composed of New Dealers, big business men, Southern bourbon poll-taxers, reactionary labor baiters and so-called "labor leaders," who are in many cases the labor lieutenants of big business.

Behind the practice of the labor bureaucrats is a totalitarian ideal. It is anti-democratic and fosters the dangerous illusion that the hope of labor is not in its mass strength but in its reliance upon a great and strong man!

The Meaning of the CIO Political Letter

Now, the CIO special sub-committee composed of George F. Addes, James B. Carey, Julius Emspack and David J. McDonald, have issued a public letter to all the unions in its organization to prepare for the political campaigns of 1943 and 1944.

What does this committee propose that the workers do on the political field? Run independent candidates? Organize a Labor Party? Fight both bosses' parties? Not at all. It proposes that the CIO "bring its maximum influence to bear on our congressmen to change the present anti-labor Congress into a pro-labor win-the-war Congress."

There are many things wrong with the letter—as a matter of fact, there is little in it which is true. On the whole, it reads like a Daily Worker statement.

The idea that Congress does not want to win this war is ridiculous. That's like saying that the American capitalists want to lose the war. Congress may not agree with the Administration program and practice, but it wants to win the war just as much as the President does. As lackeys of big business, they know that the fate of the profit system, in which they believe heart and soul, depends on winning the war. Their difference with

the President is on how tough to be with labor and how much profit the capitalists should derive out of the war effort.

Congress and the President agree on the necessity of holding down the labor movement and cutting its standard of living. They agree on the right of big business to profit. These are the fundamental questions!

Casting About to Influence Anti-Labor Congressmen

The CIO letter proposes that the unions organize in every congressional district, in every community, to "direct public attention and pressure to the local congressman."

What nonsense! Congressmen are hardly in need of more public attention. They have been getting plenty of it. And so far as pressure is concerned, they have been getting plenty of that, too—from the NAM, the Chambers of Commerce, the big farm bloc, and others of the same ilk. But they have also been getting pressure from the labor unions. But to whom did they respond? Every worker knows the answer—they responded to the profiteers of all kinds.

The labor movement may bend this or that congressman. But does the CIO Executive Board expect to change the stripes of the Southern senators and congressmen? Does it really expect to make pro-labor men of Smith, Connally, George, Cox, O'Daniel, Rayburn, Starnes, Dies, Byrd and Tydings? Does it really expect to change Martin, Hoffman, Engel, Schafer, Clark, Lambertson, Tabor, Day, Dirksen and their colleagues? To continue through the list of senators and representatives will show how utterly stupid is the plan of the CIO Executive.

But it isn't only stupidity. It's part of the Green-Murray plan to prevent the formation of a Labor Party. On this question they are in league with the totalitarian Stalinists.

Would it be too difficult to form a Labor Party? In our opinion it is one of the easiest tasks of the CIO and AFL. The foundations for such a party already exist. It is present in the twelve million organized workers. Their local unions form the basis for an immediate establishment of a Labor Party. It is not necessary to start from scratch.

The Labor Party Is a Cinch If Labor Will but Go Ahead

If on top of the already existing labor unions you added the money, organization drives and energies that the labor movement is expending in support of capitalist politicians, the Labor Party would be a cinch.

Just think of all the years the labor unions have been "rewarding their friends and punishing their enemies." Think of all the energies and money expended for the purpose of getting repeated run-arounds and double-crosses. If all of this energy and money were concentrated around the single aim of establishing a Labor Party the workers of this country would advance its position and interests a thousand-fold.

All of this points to one thing: the rank and file of the union movement must proceed now, in their locals and regional organizations, to set up committees for a Labor Party to participate in the 1944 elections with a program designed to advance the program and interests of labor against the program and interests of profiteering big business. If the labor unions fail to do this, they will get another series of blows from the capitalist politicians far worse than those given even by the seventy-eighth Congress.

Walter "Peep-Hole" Winchell, who smells a fifth column plot.

Senator Connally and Representative Smith, of "no-strike" fame.

Harold Ickes, who gave the miners the double-cross.

Earl Browder, an expert boot-licker, who could dig coal without getting off his knees.

That's enough for a start. How about some nominations from other readers?

E. L.

Labor Action Book Service

ORDER YOUR BOOKS BY MAIL! All current books available—large stock of out-of-print and rare books and pamphlets on socialism and the labor movement. Write us what you want, and if we do not have it in stock, we'll try to get it for you. If you have books to sell, send us a list and we'll make you an offer. Price includes postage. Send remittance with order. Make checks or money orders payable to Labor Action Book Service, 114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y.

KARL MARX:

Capital—Three volumes	\$7.50
Single volume	2.50
Value, Price and Profit	.25
Wage Labor and Capital	.10
Communist Manifesto	.05

ENGELS:

Socialism—Scientific and Utopian, paper	.25
cloth	.60

JUDD: India in Revolt25

The following books are second-hand, scarce and out-of-print copies:

LEON TROTSKY:

The Third International After Lenin	2.00
My Life (some new copies)	3.00
Revolution Betrayed	2.00
Terrorism and Communism	1.25
Whither France?, paper	.50
cloth	.75
Lessons of October, paper	.50
cloth	.75
Our Revolution	6.00
Spanish Revolution in Danger	.80

(and assorted pamphlets)

MAX SHACHTMAN:

Ten Years—History and Principles of the Left Opposition	.75
Behind the Moscow Trials	.50

CASE OF LEON TROTSKY—Verbatim Report of Mexican Hearings, paper 1.00

KOESTLER: Darkness at Noon 1.25

COREY: Crisis of the Middle Class 2.00

PAVLOVITCH: Foundations of Imperialist Policy
Lectures to the Red Army Staff 2.50

BOGDANOFF: A Short Course in Economic Science 3.00

The Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor

Warns Workers on Incentive Pay Drive

Dear Editor:

I have just read the fine article in your issue of July 19 about a Stalinist attempt to put an incentive pay (piecework) scheme over on the Cleveland Fisher Body workers, and would like to make a few comments on it.

The article states that incentive pay is not the policy of the majority of the International Executive Board of the UAW, who do not support it. I wouldn't be so sure of this.

It's true that they have gone on record against incentive pay "in principle," but they have allowed Frankenstein to remain on a WPB board studying the subject. The rank and file at recent regional conferences demanded that Frankenstein get off this committee, but so far as I know the Executive Board has done nothing about this demand.

There are two other points. First, locals are allowed to adopt incentive plans, if the plans incorporate certain "safeguards." This gives the Stalinists some room for maneuvering, as at Cleveland Fisher.

Second, there has been before the International Executive Board during its last two or three meetings, a resolution that locals be urged to open negotiations for incentive pay. It has on each occasion been tabled, but many members are undoubtedly waiting for the workers to get desperate for pay rises in any form before throwing off the mask and voting for this proposition.

As you know, the WPB wanted to introduce incentive pay into the aircraft and shipbuilding industries, then spread it to other war industries. The opposition of the workers, not of their leaders, has blocked this plan so far.

This view is further confirmed by a little news dispatch in the New York Times today. It says the Navy has been pushing the incentive plan at meetings in San Francisco of the

WPB's shipbuilding stabilization committee but that it is unlikely to be adopted. Why? I quote:

"Various unions have given consideration to the incentive pay theory for some time, but a section of labor leadership is said to have found great difficulty in establishing a base for the idea's operation."

This is not very clear English, but it must mean that the labor leaders haven't yet been able to put the idea over with their followers.

In any case, all the unionists would be well advised to keep a very close eye on all their leaders on this issue.

I hope to write you soon an account of how Phil Murray has been supporting this incentive pay campaign of big business.

W. W.

New York City.

Sun Ship Worker Wants Labor Party

Dear Editor:

Ever since I have been working at the Sun Shipbuilding Co., in Chester, Pa., I, along with my fellows workers, have been fighting for our elementary economic rights.

Our attempts to organize the yard into the CIO have been fought tooth and nail by John G. Pew, the arch-reactionary of Pennsylvania and monetary economic rights.

Our attempts to organize the yard brought thousands of workers into the fight. It has made them realize that they themselves must actively participate in the fight for better working conditions, higher wages, etc.

Some of us at the yard are beginning to see that this is not enough. Pew controls the entire political machine of the state and with it the courts and newspapers. Because of his financial influence, he is able to guarantee the victory of any candidate whom he chooses.

Pew's party is the Republican Par-

ty, but although at election time the Democratic Party opposes him, it has done nothing about Pew's notorious swindling of the people.

While we are fighting Pew in the yard, we have neglected to fight him on the political front. He has constantly used his influence to sabotage and distort our efforts.

I am sure that this condition exists all over the country. What is the use of fighting the boss in the shop if we don't fight him politically? No matter whom we vote for, the Republicans or the Democrats, we still vote for the boss, because his men are on both tickets.

I think LABOR ACTION is right in its fight for an Independent Labor Party. Our experiences at Sun Ship have proved that only an Independent Labor Party will fight for the rights of the workers against the reactionary representatives of the bosses in Congress.

Sun Ship Worker.

Sorry—No Room On Front Page

Dear Editor:

I hope you will find room on your front page for this appeal to all good Americans. Due to the lack of patriotism on the part of thousands of coal miners who continue to stay out of the pits (merely because they don't get enough to feed their families) this country is rapidly facing a coal crisis.

Unless enough true-blue, 100 per cent, dyed-in-the-wool pay-tries act immediately, terrible things may happen. However, we are fortunate that this country still has such red-blooded Americans. I propose that LABOR ACTION use its pages to get up a list of such people and organize them in a shock brigade to go to the coal pits and show these miners how it is done.

I want to get the ball rolling by submitting my own nominations for such a production crew. My nomi-



Introductory Offer

TO:
LABOR ACTION

114 WEST 14th STREET
New York 11, N. Y.

SIX MONTH SUBSCRIPTION 25¢!

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

Giraud-- Disciple of Roosevelt--II

By A. A. B.

The Giraud business lights up the inside of American class politics, the aims of the war and the future crises of Europe. The American workers must dig into it until they have it all clear.

First of all, a great body of the American people believe that Giraud is a fascist and a tool of the Roosevelt Administration. Take the press during the last few weeks.

Edgar Mowrer, New York Post, July 8: "Not a mess? Ha, ha, ha!" This guy is bitter, for, as a famous foreign correspondent, he knows the truth.

New York Post (editorial, same date): "So we pass from insults against de Gaulle, to insults against the French people."

"We could not recognize a democratic French movement when it stood before us, and now we can't recognize the French people themselves... Vive la République! Vive de Gaulle!"

New York Post (editorial, July 9): "If we persist in our present wrong-headed policy toward the French we shall precipitate a disastrous crisis... It must result inevitably in French civil war."

THE PRESS IN A DILEMMA

Life, July 19: "Those who understand France are profoundly disturbed by General Giraud's visit."

Life magazine demands that the government recognize both Giraud and de Gaulle. "The French... are baffled and increasingly resentful that their old friends across the Atlantic should encourage an opposition, at the risk of plunging them eventually into a bloody civil war."

Walter Lippman, New York Herald Tribune, June 24: "The prejudice which we have displayed against General de Gaulle will strengthen him amongst the French... We are rapidly making this man the symbol... of French, and not only of French but of European independence."

PM editorial by Eyes of These 'high officials' is... the fact that he is making a fight for French national sovereignty."

New York Post (editorial, July 19): "The conviction is inescapable that there is an understanding between England and the United States against the resistance movement of France and its leaders."

Johannes Steel (Radio Station WMCA, June 20): "The much-touted Giraud plan for French unity was issued in Washington today. Stripped of its verbiage it means only this: General Giraud wants to do to France what Franco did to Spain... namely, use French colonial troops or troops trained in the colonies for the political re-conquest of France by the reactionary elements that back him. The whole thing is a farce!"

The New York Times, of course, is backing Giraud (in a dirty, under-handed manner), but even Anne McCormick on June 30 said: "It would be unfortunate if the visit (of Giraud) gave the impression that the government is backing General Giraud against General de Gaulle."

Walter Lippmann on July 20 showed how far the scandal has gone. Roosevelt, as we know, has refused to recognize the French National Committee, of which Giraud and de Gaulle are co-chairmen. Lippmann said that France does not exist. Says Lippmann, point-blank: "It is a false and therefore unworkable doctrine." And he ends: "May the President and his Secretary of State be granted the humility and the wisdom which men must have in order to decide rightly issues of such depth and consequence." Lippmann is obviously on his knees, praying to God for help.

ROOSEVELT STEERS THE COURSE

It should be perfectly clear by now to any intelligent American worker what is happening. The French masses have rallied round de Gaulle as a symbol of national resistance. Roosevelt, representing the ruling classes of this country, and Churchill, the ruling classes of Britain, are working with the French ruling classes to crush the masses the day after the victory over Hitler.

The French capitalist class is fascist in its heart. But Roosevelt does not care. The thing is to have an army trained and ready, and anything will do to get it. An army for this purpose cannot have two leaders. So with the whole world watching, Roosevelt sticks to Giraud and defies all popular sentiment in America, and even the warnings of the New York Times. If you want a proof of what the war is being fought for, there it is before you.

There is, however, another point which the workers must grasp, and this is as difficult as the first is easy. The liberals are screaming their heads off for de Gaulle. This is typical of their usual stupidity. It must be clearly understood that neither Giraud nor de Gaulle has any real power except the power that Roosevelt gives to them. They have no army to speak of, they have no weapons. They are completely dependent on the United States and on England.

The French ruling class is bankrupt as no ruling class was ever bankrupt, except perhaps the present Polish ruling class. The struggle between Giraud and de Gaulle is the struggle to get hold of the power that Roosevelt has to give.

AGAINST WORKERS' POWER

Now the American workers have had some experience with Roosevelt and the American ruling class. It is perfectly clear by now that these are determined to crush the French proletariat. If they do make some sort of compromise with de Gaulle, it is because they have come to an agreement with him as to how this should be done.

Roosevelt will never give any armed power to anyone who is going to use it to fight for even ordinary parliamentary democracy for the workers. He wouldn't give it to the Republican government in Spain and he will not give it to de Gaulle. The liberals can shout now (as they shouted about Spain) until their throats catch fire. That is the truth about Roosevelt.

What will de Gaulle do? We can tell you where he will end. You remember Kerensky in Russia, Ramsay MacDonald in England, Negrin in Spain, Chiang Kai-shek in China, Gandhi in India? Whatever they said and did, they ALWAYS capitulated to the big powers, and the workers were left to shift for themselves and fight as best they could for their own workers' democracy. That is the truth about de Gaulle and will be the truth, as history will show.

We must not be fooled again. There is only one real power to oppose to the imperialist power, and that is the power of the workers. De Gaulle would choke if he tried to call for the power of the workers in France.

The American workers must make clear to all that they are heart and soul for the French workers in their struggle for national independence, but that they support neither Giraud nor de Gaulle, candidates of Roosevelt to be used for Allied war purposes.

The only power they can trust to ensure independence and democracy for the workers in France is the power of the workers themselves.

Congressman Engel Discovers Profiteers; They Are the Workers, He Avers

By GERTRUDE SHAW

One of the most common ways of lying is to take a fact which is the exception to the rule, pretend it is the rule, and proceed to draw utterly false general conclusions.

Representative Albert J. Engel, reactionary Republican from Michigan, has been tramping around to war plants—actually only forty-seven out of the tens of thousands in the country—with pad and pencil in hand, taking down "statistics" of this unreliable kind.

He found a girl of eighteen making \$65 a week. He inquired at a bank where workers deposit their pay checks and was told the checks average from \$60 to \$110 a week. He learned that newly trained tank welders in certain factories are being paid \$87 a week. And, horror of horrors, he was told of a machine-gun assembler making \$8741 annually and he remarked: "Think of paying a machine-gun assembler \$241 more than the base pay of Lieut.-Gen. Stilwell, who commands the armed forces in the Chinese theater."

Are High Wages Justified?

"Is there any one in or out of labor circles who can look those facts in the face and justify them?" asked Mr. Engel with a dramatic flourish.

Certainly! LABOR ACTION most certainly can—assuming Mr. Engel's figures to be facts. The congressman has himself reported—from his personal investigations—THAT CORPORATE PROFITS ON WAR CONTRACTS RANGED AS HIGH AS 53 PER CENT AFTER PAYMENT OF ALL TAXES. So why shouldn't workers whose toil produces the war material on which the bosses are reaping their war harvest, why shouldn't the workers get high wages?

We might add that senators and representatives get \$10,000 a year. Every worker has a right to ask: Why should these gentlemen receive such high salaries? On the basis of

labor and productivity, a good many of these legislators are highly overpaid. As a matter of fact, on the basis of labor and productivity, many of these gentlemen owe the people of the country a large rebate!

Another point worth noting in connection with the salaries of senators and congressmen is that they are decided upon by themselves!

Furthermore, it should be noted that generals would be very unimportant persons indeed—way off in China or anywhere else—if there weren't these tank welders and gun assemblers who produce materials of war. From the standpoint of basic importance, therefore, the machine-gun assembler actually rates as high pay as the lieutenant-general or general, or at least as a senator or congressman.

What the Workers Really Get

But the workers are not getting high pay. They, therefore, have other things to worry about than the pay of generals. These generals, who have none of the living problems of the workers, seem to get along all right. Here are some facts about workers' wages which are not exceptions but the rule:

Secretary of Labor Perkins made it known some months ago that in July, 1942, there were 16,000,000 workers in this country making less than \$16 a week. ON A YEARLY BASIS THIS ADDS UP TO LESS THAN \$850, OR LESS THAN ONE-TENTH THE ANNUAL PAY OF A LIEUTENANT-GENERAL—NOT TO MENTION A GENERAL'S PAY.

More recently—on July 2, 1943—President Roosevelt stated: "It is too easy to act on the assumption that all consumers have surplus purchasing power and that the high earnings of some workers in munitions plants are enjoyed by every worker's family. This easy assumption overlooks the 4,000,000 wage workers still

earning less than forty cents per hour, and millions of others whose incomes are almost as low."

From these facts Mr. Engel has drawn the entirely erroneous conclusion that these underpaid workers must be fooled with such political twaddle as the payment of subsidies to the food bosses. However, what we are interested in now is that the President's figures must considerably understate the actual case. For we have grave doubts that in one year's time 12,000,000 of the 16,000,000 workers getting less than forty cents an hour and less than \$16 a week in July, 1942, have graduated out of that class.

But of course, Mr. Engel won't want to lower the wages of these sub-sub-standard workers. Perhaps to him \$16 a week is about right as the reward of those who toil and sweat to produce the wealth of this wealthiest nation on earth. He's a better game—the war workers who get more than \$16 a week.

Average Wages Are Low

But how about that girl getting \$65 a week? Is she typical? Are the wages of those \$67-a-week tank welders average? Are pay checks of \$60 to \$110 really the run of the mill? And is not the machine-gun assembler getting more than a lieutenant-general very extraordinary indeed?

Again we call into court official government figures from the U.S. Department of Labor. In September, 1942, the average wage in all manufacturing industries in this country was not \$110 nor \$67 nor \$65 nor \$60. IT WAS THIRTY-SEVEN DOLLARS AND EIGHTY-EIGHT CENTS. In the manufacture of non-durable goods the average wage was AS LOW AS TWENTY-NINE DOLLARS AND SEVENTY-ONE CENTS. In the manufacture of durable goods the average was higher—FORTY-FOUR DOLLARS AND FORTY-SEVEN CENTS.

Let us assume that all war workers are in the higher-paid category. There is still a far cry between the average of \$44.47 and the exceptional figures Mr. Engel puts to propaganda use to beat down wages.

The wage freeze, Presidential hold-the-line edict, Little Steel formula, WLB stalling on wage demands and the entire anti-labor campaign have certainly not been conducive to raising the average wage since September, 1942.

What has the cost of living and the tax squeeze done to that \$44.47? The Consumers Union gives an eloquent answer. A recent thorough survey made by it of consumers in all parts of the country and at different income levels, reveals the following:

Workers Face "Actual Disaster"

To meet the skyrocketing prices of food and other necessities—five per cent of the families earning below \$1,500 are borrowing to make ends meet; in higher income brackets, 2.8 per cent are borrowing to pay their larger bills; 15 per cent of the lower income families are drawing on meager savings; 11.4 per cent of higher income families are drawing on savings also—55 per cent in the former category are buying less of everything; in the latter category, 44.6 per cent are buying less food and clothing—all groups are cutting down on amusements and similar items—all groups have to count every penny they spend.

Consumers Union concludes from its survey that a large section of the nation's population is faced with "ACTUAL DISASTER"—quite a different conclusion from that drawn by Congressman Engel that wages should be reduced.

The real facts mean that the struggle for higher wages is an absolute necessity for all workers.

After the Dissolution of the Comintern

New Stalinist Plans to Undermine Labor

By MAX SHACHTMAN

(Part II)

Despite tremendous efforts of propaganda, of exploiting the widespread admiration for the fighting qualities of the Russian army, and even of direct and indirect attempts at bribery and corruption, the Stalinists have not yet succeeded in gaining control of the labor movement in the capitalist democracies. They want that control and they need it. It is one of the means they need for exerting pressure upon their partners in the imperialist war, in order that they—that is, the Stalinist bureaucracy—may extract greater concessions during the war and the "peace" to follow, in the form of a greater share of the war booty, of new countries for the Kremlin to exploit and new peoples to oppress.

To put it more simply, Stalinism needs the labor movement, or control of the existing labor movements, not in order to advance the position of the workers or to defend their interests, but purely and simply as a blind and docile instrument for upholding and extending the tyranny of the Russian bureaucracy, both at home and abroad.

Inside his Russian empire, as is known, Stalin has long ago wiped out all vestiges of an organized labor movement with an even greater thoroughness than Hitler displayed, and it is noteworthy that there has not even been a mention of a Russian labor movement or its activities throughout the war. But outside of Russia, in those countries where the labor movement does exist and does possess influence, the Stalinists want to control it.

From their own point of view, such an attempt to gain quick control is all the wiser in view of the fact that there is mounting evidence of the labor movement's swing to the left, that is, toward greater and greater independence from the imperialists, the war machine, and the capitalist parties. For every sign of this swing today, there will be two tomorrow and two hundred as the war draws to a final decision.

The shift to complete working class independence would be like a death-blow not only to the capitalist politicians and their politics, but also to Stalinist politics. The sooner and more thoroughly the Stalinists can infiltrate the labor movement and gain control of it, the better position they will be in to impede the swing to class independence.

A change of name, a change of form, a change

of approach—these are calculated by the Stalinists to achieve their ends more efficiently than the maintenance of the fiction of a Comintern, or of Communist Parties.

STALINISTS—EXTREME RIGHT WING

This is a fact, and it holds true particularly for the labor movement of the United States. The Communist Party—in its present form or in its disguise of tomorrow, under its present name or the new one it may take—is today at the extreme Right Wing of the labor movement. It constitutes the best organized and most reactionary force in that movement.

The old-style labor bureaucrats are a secondary (but by no means unimportant!) danger, by and large and as a rule, in comparison with the danger of Stalinism, which Leon Trotsky once so rightly described as the "syphilis of the labor movement."

The "native" labor bureaucracy, reactionary, incompetent and capitalistically-minded though it is, is nevertheless compelled from time to time, in defense of its own narrow interests, to defend the broader interests of the working class, and at all events, to preserve (though their methods do not at all assure success) the labor movement which makes their existence possible.

The CP bureaucracy is concerned exclusively with the defense of the interests and power of the ruling despotism in Russia. Where these interests demand the crushing of the labor movement, the CP does not hesitate for a moment to do the crushing, as it did not only in Russia but also in Spain.

UNIONS NEED TO BE VIGILANT

That is why the labor movement in this country (and in all others) must now be doubly vigilant against Stalinist infiltration and sapping of its ranks. We say doubly vigilant because the Stalinist campaign will henceforward be more insidious, and probably more difficult to detect. That is precisely what the Stalinists are counting on. That is why the militants in the labor movement, who want to see it become strong, independent, effective, fully free of all influences alien to its interests and mission in society, must be wide awake and prepared for combat.

There is work to be done, and done immediately. One of the first and most sinister steps in the new Stalinist campaign was mapped out at a con-

ference called ostensibly by the Daily Worker, but actually by the Communist Party, for which it speaks, on June 10, in New York's Webster Hall. On June 3, the Daily Worker (page 8) intimated what the conference was all about:

"Is the Daily Worker useful to the labor movement in the broadest sense? If so, CAN IT THEN BECOME OFFICIALLY PART OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT, to be used by the labor movement fully, as part of its educational and organizational program?... (My emphasis—M. S.)

"It is our opinion that we BEGIN, first, on a small scale in the shops, in the local unions, etc., to convince the trade unionists that the Daily Worker and The Worker are invaluable to their struggles and THEY MUST HELP TO MAKE IT AN OFFICIAL PART OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT (my emphasis—M. S.) by constant use and reference to the Daily Worker in all their activity."

THREATENS LABOR INDEPENDENCE

These two sentences really give away the whole strategy of the campaign. The Stalinists are out, first of all, to foist their paper onto the organized labor movement as its official mouthpiece. If successful, this would mean that the labor movement has no mouthpiece, is really gagged, and that the Stalinist bureaucracy would be able to speak officially in the name of the organized American working class.

The Stalinists already have control of some of the unions in this country. They may try out their scheme with these unions first. As usual, they would try it out to see how it works and how strong the reaction against it would be. If they get by with such unions as, let us say, the National Maritime Union, or the Office and Professional Workers Union and others under their domination, they will take the next step. A few successes along this line would mean the enslavement of the American labor movement, for its Stalinization could mean nothing else.

It must be prevented. It will be stopped before it gets well under way. The militants in the labor movement must inflict a stiff defeat upon the Stalinists that they will be a long time forgetting.

We will return to this question, and to the question of how to blow up the Stalinist drive, in future issues of LABOR ACTION.

Gentlemen Farmers with Smooth Hands

We've heard a lot about the farm bloc and there are some people who think that this lobbying group is representative of the mass of the nation's farm population. As a matter of fact, this isn't at all true.

The farm bloc is an organization of the big landowners, the rich farmers, the bankers and insurance companies who own large farms. They are the ones who profit from farming, not only from what they reap as a result of pegging prices and exploiting the poor farmer and agricultural laborer, but also from parity payments made by the AAA.

Drew Pearson, in one of his syndicated columns, showed the extent of absentee-ownership in farm lands. In four of the biggest farming states in the country, these absentee farmers who never touch the soil yet receive benefit payments, are large insurance companies. Here is a list of them:

- Ohio—Union Central Life Insurance, Cincinnati, \$49,153.
- Wisconsin—Northwestern Mutual Life, Milwaukee, \$45,517.
- Iowa—Equitable Life Insurance Co., Des Moines, \$33,417.
- Missouri—General American Life Insurance, St. Louis, \$52,170.

In the state of Mississippi, for example, British absentee owners of the Delta and Pine Land Co. of Scott, Miss., received \$50,141.

The highest benefit payments in Illinois went to the First Trust Joint Stock Land Bank of Chicago, \$29,151. In Omaha, Neb., it was the Federal Land Bank, which received \$77,605, and in Minnesota, it went to the Federal Land Bank of St. Paul, in the amount of \$75,761.

The largest payments in the four biggest agricultural states in the Northwest also went to insurance companies.

Coming East, we find that in New York it was the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. which received the highest payment in the country, the amount being \$101,863. The Connecticut General Life Insurance Co. of Hartford received up in that state with \$48,437. While in Pennsylvania, it was the Provident Mutual Life Insurance Co. of Philadelphia, which cleaned up with \$13,073.

Here, then, are some of your gentlemen farmers who never touch the soil. But they get their all right and they have their organizations in Washington on the job to see to it that the "farmers'" interests are "protected."

"Clever" Labor Politics in New Jersey

By Walter Weiss

Here's the big labor political news of the week: CIO leaders back Boss Frank Hague of Jersey City.

No, we don't mean Earl Browder when we say CIO leaders; we mean honest-to-goodness CIO leaders.

Of course, you didn't find this story on the front page of your paper, or in the editorials or in the cartoons, or in the funny poems about "Ivan" Hague and the "Comrade" Frank. The Stalinists take the abuse and the how-haws, which they deserve. The CIO leaders then do the same thing in a slicker way and get away with it—in the newspapers, anyway. But the workers will have the last word on this.

A LABOR LEAGUE OF NEW JERSEY?

The New York Times tells the story on an inside page in its issue of July 12:

"The American Labor League of New Jersey and the New Jersey State Council of the CIO will refuse to support A. Harry Moore if he becomes Mayor Frank Hague's candidate for governor."

You see, these fellows are tough and slick and fussy, not like the Stalinists. Frank Hague will have to be careful WHICH of his boys he picks or else—

We continue from the Times:

"The two groups, however, are ready to throw their support to Mrs. Mary T. Norton, New Jersey member of the House of Representatives."

Mary is one of Frank's girls; she loves him, and he loves her. But she's Okay with the CIO leaders, even if she is an important cog in Hague's—and Roosevelt's—notorious machine.

NOTORIOUS ROOSEVELT'S AID

But, as we said, these CIO leaders are fussy. They won't even talk directly to Hague. Or do they? Anyway, the Times says Carl Holderman and Irving Abramson went to Washington and told their story to one of Roosevelt's secretaries. Well, we guess Roosevelt will have the dirty job of passing the word on to Boss Hague.

We continue from this Times:

"Primary object of the CIO leaders' trip was to enlist White House aid in closing the breach between Governor Charles Edison and Mayor Hague and to assure choice by the Democrats of a candidate acceptable to the league."

This speaks for itself. Hague and Edison are fighting for control of the Democratic machine in Jersey. The Stalinists back Hague and abuse Edison. The CIO leaders try to bring these bosses, who are themselves just representatives of bigger bosses, the corporations, together. For what? Believe it or not—for the benefit of labor!

THE POT CALLS THE KETTLE BLACK

The New Leader, paper of the Social Democratic Federation, which is fighting the Stalinists for control of the American Labor Party in New York, has the nerve to condemn the Stalinists for trying by their support of Hague "to break up the liberal and labor forces rallying to form an independent labor party."

Does the New Leader also condemn the Jersey CIO leaders? Condemn their own pals? Condemn the boys who act just the way the Stalinists do? What they mean by an "independent" labor party is one that looks over the candidates of the boss parties and chooses between them.

At the same time, in Washington, the CIO Executive Board was announcing that it "means business on political action (CIO News, July 12)." Phil Murray says that he wants to act in unity with the AFL and Railway Brotherhoods. So maybe the Jersey boys are out of step? You're wrong. Murray doesn't even want a third party to put on the ballot. Like the American Labor Party, he will back candidates of the old parties. He says he just wants a bigger non-partisan league to boost various boss party candidates, rewarding "friends" and punishing "enemies."

The Stalinists shout against any trace of independent labor action. Some of the CIO leaders are slicker and try to appease the demand of the rank and file for a genuine labor party. But what they offer is just a fake and we don't think it'll go over so big.

ANNOUNCEMENT!

A Pamphlet on Socialism

PLENTY FOR ALL

By Ernest Lund

WILL BE OFF THE PRESS ON

AUGUST 15

Published by the

Workers Party of the U. S.

114 West 14th Street
New York 11, N. Y.

Editorials

A Word on Labor Politics

Labor politics can be interpreted to have several meanings. It really means independent political action by the workers through their own party, a Labor Party.

It has also been said to mean the organization of labor committees to support the candidates of the capitalist parties under the old practice of "rewarding your friends and punishing your enemies." The labor leaders in this country also think that independent political action means, above all, tying in with the bosses' parties, working within them as labor specialists and even running on their tickets as labor candidates.

The last named is the practice we are most accustomed to observing in this country. And this is the greatest weakness of American labor.

The labor officialdom has too often and for too long been tied up in the rotten political machines of the Republican and Democratic Parties. This situation is one of the most powerful barriers to a genuine independent political development of the American labor movement.

Daniel Tobin is a high ranking Democrat. William Hutcheson is a high ranking Republican. Labor bureaucrats, the big and small ones all over the country, are entangled in the web of rotten machine politics of both parties. As "labor lieutenants of capitalism," they do the labor movement the greatest harm by their political activities.

This holds not only for Tobin and Hutcheson, but for Murray, Hillman, Green, et al.

Independent labor political action means exactly that. It means that the workers must establish their own party, a Labor Party, to advance its own program and interests against big business, organized in the Democratic and Republican Parties.

'I'll Tell All,' Says Truman

Senator Truman was irked by two things following the publication of his committee report on the frauds of Curtiss-Wright. One was the defense by Under Secretary of War Patterson of the company and the Army officials who aided them in the passing on of defective airplane engines, and the other was the barefaced lies of the company in its advertisements published after the Truman report was made known—advertisements, incidentally, which are paid for by the government.

Truman advised the "gentlemen" who head this profit-bloated corporation that, if they did not cease their lying

ads, he would publish the secret testimony on which his report was based!

Part of the advertisements lauded the Wright Cyclone engines which go into the Helldiver plane. It has now been disclosed that the government paid Curtiss-Wright \$83,000,000 for sixty-five Helldivers which the Navy does not regard as suitable for combat service. Each one of these "USE-LESS" planes cost \$1,277,000. What a profit for Curtiss-Wright!

Senator Truman said before the publication of his report that it was purposely toned down in order not to hurt morale; that the real facts were more shocking than those made public. Now he threatens to tell all if this Merchant of Death company does not desist from lying about its inspection work and its products.

Truman has no right to withhold any of the facts on Curtiss-Wright. We are not interested in whether this company provokes the senator and his committee. Curtiss-Wright is profiting out of the war effort. Its officers are fattening themselves from government contracts. The mass of people are really the ones who are paying for this enrichment of a bunch of soulless profiteers. They have a right to know the truth about these scoundrels—and the whole truth!

Giraud, 'Democrat'

In the midst of the "glamor" campaign put on by Roosevelt and the State Department in behalf of General Henri Honoré Giraud, co-leader and rival of General Charles de Gaulle in the French National Committee, this disciple pulled an embarrassing one on his sponsors.

When he arrived in this country, the reactionary general announced that he was here on a purely military mission which had no political significance. Of course, everybody laughed—some out loud, others by turning their heads.

While in the States, the general steered clear of politics. But when he arrived in Canada, he spoke his mind. The general declared his great admiration for the accomplishments of German fascism. While he deplored the "one party rule" of Hitler, on the whole, the Nazis did great things!

The "liberals" threw up their hands in horror, and again expressed their "surprise" that the State Department and the President were taken in by this obvious fascist, but no response came from Washington. As if they didn't really know their man.

What Giraud actually did was to announce what he would like to accomplish for France: a fascist-like régime, destruction of democratic rights of the workers, abolition of the trade unions and all workers' organizations and, finally, the dictatorial rule of French big business, whose servant he is.

This is the man who has been picked by Roosevelt and the State Department!

Facts and Figures Behind The Fight of the Coal Miners

By EUGENE VAUGHN

Now that the miners' struggle has calmed down a bit and reports of the struggle have passed from the front pages of the press to small articles buried in the middle of the newspapers, it is necessary for the trade unionists and the militants in general to take stock of the miners' fight against the bosses.

In the light of all the pertinent facts, it must be admitted that for the time being the miners suffered a defeat forced upon them by the resistance of the Roosevelt Administration and a reactionary Congress.

After three walkouts and the breakdown of all attempts at negotiation between the miners and the operators caused by the stubborn refusal of the mine operators to meet the miners half way, and after the persistent refusal of the WLB to grant the miners any substantial raise, Lewis ordered the miners back to work under a three-month truce ending October 1. The miners are going to test in court the question of portal to portal pay. However, Lewis stipulated that the miners would only work if the government retained control of the mines.

The government has not up to now returned the mines to the mine operators. Yet the government possession of the bituminous and the anthracite mines is purely nominal.

Meanwhile the operating heads of the companies, still thinking in terms of business as usual, continue in control of the mines as property managers of the government. The coal miners are paid by company checks. Receipts from the sale of coal are deposited in the company's bank account, and to this date the government has not asked to see the books of the coal companies.

Some Facts About Coal

To really appreciate the justifications of the miners' demands for a raise in pay, we must first know something about the conditions of the coal industry.

The coal industry has been, since the beginning of the early twenties, a depressed industry. This was the result of growing competition from the other fuels, petroleum, water power and natural gas. Whereas, during the years of 1916-20, coal accounted for eighty per cent of the energy consumed in the United States, in 1941 coal accounted for only 51.2 per cent of the energy consumed.

Wages--

(Continued from page 1)

Anthracite miners received a 5.3 per cent increase.

Ammunition workers received a 9.6 per cent increase.

Electric light and power workers received an .4 per cent increase.

Telephone and telegraph workers received a 7.8 per cent increase.

This is not a complete list. But it is enough of an indication to show exactly what the workers are getting. True, some of them have received greater increases than others, and get higher absolute wages than others. But, on the whole, the American working class is grossly underpaid and its wages are far below the rise in the cost of living.

Who benefits from these low wages? The answer is spread all over page one of this issue of LABOR ACTION. The American capitalist, the profiteers of every kind, big business and the monopolies, are waxing fat on the sweat and toil of the workers.

Compare the wages and increases of the workers with the salaries and profits of big business and you have your whole story. What to do about it? Here is a start:

Fight for higher wages. Defeat the infamous WLB and its "Little Steal Formula."

Demand a government levy on accumulated wealth (capital) to cover the cost of the war. Confiscate all war profits. Take the burden off the backs of the American workers!

Conscript all war industries under workers' control! Put an end to the farce of "equality of sacrifice."

sumed. This fall in the demand for coal and the consequent rise in the cost of producing smaller quantities of coal, with a constant overhead, was to a great extent shifted to the backs of the miners, with the consequence that the Thirties saw thousands upon thousands of miners leave the mine fields.

The excessive amount of part-time employment was one of the grounds for the insistence of the union for the limitation of the work period to seven hours a day and thirty-five hours a week. Yet in 1937, according to the Monthly Labor Review, a relatively active year, coal mines averaged only 193 days of actual operation. Even in 1940, with the war clouds already overhead, the miners averaged 28.1 hours per week and only \$24.71 weekly pay, a figure well below the average for all manufacturing industries combined.

The 1941 wage increase of \$1.00 a day led to an increase in operating costs of less than two per cent. The price of coal, however, rose ten per cent between 1940 and 1941. The advent of the war economy and the consequent shortage of oil, the main competing substitute for coal, changed the picture for the coal industry completely.

In 1942 the bituminous mines reached a new high in production of 580,000,000 tons. Similarly, anthracite producers also enjoyed the benefits of reduced competition from the oil fields. Anthracite tonnage requirements have risen to sixty-five million tons, the largest since 1930. The expanding requirements of the railroads, utilities, steel and war industries proved a great boon to the coal industry.

Operators Get Theirs

Yet, in the first half of 1942, over 70,000 miners left the coal fields.

Secret Report on Miners' Living Conditions Filed

During the height of the miners' strike, the yellow boss press, headed by the hypocritical New York Times, denounced the fight of the coal diggers for higher wages to meet the rising cost of living, first by denying that the miners were underpaid and then by charging that the miners' wage demands were really demands only of John L. Lewis and were, in fact, invented by him.

It took three coal strikes to knock one fact into the rock-like skulls of the pen prostitutes and their editor - overseers, namely, that the demands made by Lewis were the demands of the miners and that many of the miners would fight for them with or without Lewis.

Now comes Newsweek, a nationwide periodical, with a story in its special Periscope section revealing the existence of a special government report on living costs in the coal areas which it will not make public for fear of consequences of one kind or another.

It appears that after the OPA investigation found that prices were "not out of line" in the coal areas, Secretary Ickes ordered his own secret investigation. This investigation, which was published, though not prominently displayed, found the OPA report to be all wet. Prices were higher than OPA investigators reported them.

Ickes ordered a second investigation, not only on prices, but also on quality of goods, which was found to be lower; on the use of company scrip, and other phases of living conditions. The Ickes report on the miners' situation was of such a nature that certain persons in the White House had the report marked secret, subject to the Espionage Act, and ordered it filed!

This report, according to Newsweek, would have been truly revealing. We are certain, too, that if this report were published, the Administration-Congress-miner operators-boss press gang-up on the miners would have been impossible. In any case, the miners knew what they were doing!

Miners found better wage opportunities in other defense industries. The President's order freezing jobs, however, came in the nick of time for the mine operators, since it assured them of greater production and, therefore, greater profits.

The mine industry operates on the basis of decreasing costs, i.e., as it expands production its cost per unit of output falls, and consequently 1942 saw its profits increase a substantial fifty per cent over the prosperity profits of 1929. Yet after the maximum price of coal has already been put into effect on May 18, 1942, the mine operators had the price ceilings on coal lifted to care for the higher labor costs incident to overtime pay required by the extended work week. TO DATE ALL RAISES IN THE PAY OF THE MINERS DUE TO OVERTIME HAVE NOT COST THE MINE OPERATORS ONE CENT.

The miners realize that the post-war prospects of the coal industry are not particularly favorable. The war has knocked things out of kilter. But when oil comes back into its own once more, coal production is bound to fall. The miners wish to prepare for that contingency, and in view of the general rise in the cost of living and the disproportionate rise in the cost of living of the miners, who buy in company stores, the miners carried out one of the most militant struggles in the history of the American labor movement.

The rank and file of the miners have been given another lesson, that the mine operators will never willingly grant them any of their requests. The mine operators are interested in one thing only—profits. In this they have the noble assistance of the government.

Ickes ordered a second investigation, not only on prices, but also on quality of goods, which was found to be lower; on the use of company scrip, and other phases of living conditions. The Ickes report on the miners' situation was of such a nature that certain persons in the White House had the report marked secret, subject to the Espionage Act, and ordered it filed!

This report, according to Newsweek, would have been truly revealing. We are certain, too, that if this report were published, the Administration-Congress-miner operators-boss press gang-up on the miners would have been impossible. In any case, the miners knew what they were doing!

Ickes ordered a second investigation, not only on prices, but also on quality of goods, which was found to be lower; on the use of company scrip, and other phases of living conditions. The Ickes report on the miners' situation was of such a nature that certain persons in the White House had the report marked secret, subject to the Espionage Act, and ordered it filed!

This report, according to Newsweek, would have been truly revealing. We are certain, too, that if this report were published, the Administration-Congress-miner operators-boss press gang-up on the miners would have been impossible. In any case, the miners knew what they were doing!

Time Out for Tears

H. D. Collier, president of Standard Oil of California, in a statement given out at a press conference on July 17, has finally given us the TRUTH about the Elk Hills deal. It seems that up to now Standard Oil has preferred to modestly conceal its role of public benefactor. Now, however, when the hue and cry over the affair has more or less quieted down and Standard cannot be accused of seeking to capitalize on its patriotic devotion to the public interest, Mr. Collier speaks out.

"We accept this contract notwithstanding the fact that we considered it unfavorable to our interests in some important respects. IN FACT, WE CONSIDERED IT A VERY COSTLY SACRIFICE ON OUR PART..."

WE can go a lot farther, because WE are not bound by the considerations of modesty that hold back Mr. Collier. WE can point to the long series of "costly sacrifices" that Standard Oil has made, over many years, for an "ungrateful public."

But Mr. Collier is not through. Restraining his sobs with difficulty (how pathetic is the sight of a strong man overcome by deep and noble grief!), he refers to the contract as "giving the Navy a blank check on our privately owned resources and to some extent on the very future of our company,"... and here we must pause a moment to consider this truly horrible prospect, revealing for the first time a state of affairs QUITE THE OPPOSITE of what some of us had imagined.

Then he lets go with some home truths, as the band plays the national anthem and fireworks light up in the background to form a picture of George Washington:

"Condemnation of privately owned lands and government operation of business is of course abhorrent of the principles of free enterprise which have made our American people great, principles that have carried us forward to the highest living standards known in all world history.

"Of course, we would be forced to resist condemnation, if it came to that" (do not depend too much on our weakness for making "costly sacrifices" in the public interest!), "but we would not want to be put in the position of obstructing any important governmental program—certainly not in war times.

"Therefore the contract seemed the lesser of two evils, and we accepted it, but not without consciousness that it imposed a costly obligation upon us, and to a considerable extent entailed our position as a free American enterprise."

Now all is clear: the investigation of the Elk Hills deal was a crafty plot directed, not merely against a great American institution, the Standard Oil Company of California, but against THE AMERICAN STANDARD OF LIVING ITSELF!

ITALY What About Signor Mussolini's Régime?

By CHRIS SIKOKIS

At the identical moment that Sicily was being invaded, a message from President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill was dropped down by airplane all over Italy. The message suggested that Italy get rid of Mussolini, and get out of the war, or suffer the consequences.

The message says nothing, however, about the Italians being permitted to choose their own particular form of government if Mussolini is thrown out. Why the omission?

This is the first real test of the Atlantic Charter. In North Africa, the people were not permitted to form their own government, ostensibly because the Atlantic Charter has no application to colonial peoples.

WHAT IS WRONG WITH ITALY

Italy is not a colony, but another European power. A guarantee of self-determination would undoubtedly speed the downfall of Mussolini and the end of the war in Italy. But this trifle was left out, not because Roosevelt and Churchill want to prolong the war, but because they have definite ideas of the kind of government they want in Italy.

The message says that the trouble with Italy is Germany. Why this attempt to whitewash the Italian ruling class? It was the imperialist ambitions of her own capitalist class that dragged Italy into this and previous wars. Roosevelt and Churchill are trying to give their brother class in Italy a clean bill of health, for they want the capitalists and the capitalist system to continue in that country and elsewhere in the world.

The military administration of the United States and Great Britain will remain in Italy long enough to make sure that a capitalist government, and not a workers' government, is in power. The aim, therefore, of the Roosevelt-Churchill document is to avoid giving the masses any impression that it wants them to get into motion.

It merely says that Italy should get out of the war and "disavow" Mussolini. What does "disavow" mean? Does it mean to get rid of Mussolini alone? Or a few of his henchmen? Or the entire Fascist Party?

By whom will this be done? And what is to take the place of the fascist régime? The king? Other fascists? The Vatican?

Historical documents are not written on the spur of the moment nor do they need additional documents to clarify them.

THE RATS WILL LEAVE SHIP

Many capitalists of Italy, perhaps the King and some sections of the fascists, see the handwriting on the wall and would like to save their own hides by throwing Mussolini out. But Hitler has troops all over Italy and a "palace revolution" is not easy to accomplish. Today a workers' revolution by the masses can bring a real and progressive end to the war and fascism in Italy. But Roosevelt and Churchill steer clear of revolution in their document.

For if the workers begin a revolution in Italy to rid themselves of Mussolini, they will clean house completely, not only of all the fascists, but also the main props of fascism, the royal house and the capitalists of Italy.

Recently, Luigi Antonini, president of the Italian-American Labor Council, refused to continue his government-sponsored radio broadcasts to Italy because of the systematic censoring of the sections in his speeches that urged the workers to strike and organize the fight against fascism.

Antonini, in a press release, said "the OWI was suppressing the truth about the real character of the discontent and dissatisfaction in Italy."

The character of the discontent in Italy is against fascism and all of its supporters. Yet the military administration (AMGOT) in Sicily, under the direction of General Alexander, is permitting fascist administrative and judiciary officials to remain on their jobs. It is possible that the entire fascist bureaucracy, with the exception of a few outstanding leaders, in the municipal, public services and governmental jobs, will remain intact.

THE REAL CHURCHILL

This is not strange. Churchill has often repeated that if it were a question of socialism or fascism, he would take fascism. On his return from Italy in 1927 he made the public statement that...

"If I had been an Italian, I am sure that I would have been wholeheartedly with you fascists from start to finish in your triumphant struggle against the bestial appetites and passions of Leninism.

"I will say a word on an international aspect of fascism. Externally, your movement has rendered a service to the whole world. She (Italy) has rendered the necessary antidote to the Russian poison. Hereafter, no great nation will be unprovided with an ultimate means of protection against cancerous growths."

LABOR ACTION A Paper in the Interests of Labor

Published Weekly by the LABOR ACTION PUBLISHING COMPANY 114 West 14th Street New York 11, N. Y. (3rd Floor)

Vol. 7, No. 30 July 26, 1943

ALBERT GATES, Editor

Subscription Rate: 60 Cents a Year 75 Cents for Canada, New York and Foreign

Re-entered as second-class matter May 24, 1940, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

WORKERS PARTY PLATFORM

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

LABOR MUST DEFEND ITSELF!

- Hands off the right to strike! For the defense of civil rights and all workers' rights! Against any wartime dictatorship measures!
- \$1.00-an-hour minimum pay! Time and a half for overtime; double time for Sunday and holiday work.
- Wage increases to meet rising costs. No wage or job freezing! Equal pay for equal work!
- For a greater share of the increasing national income. For a higher standard of living!
- No sales tax on consumer goods! No tax on wages! Against forced savings!
- For control of price fixing and rationing by committees of working class organizations. Freeze rents and consumer goods prices at the 1940 level to stop the rise in the cost of living.
- No government contract without a union contract. The closed shop in all war industries!
- Maintain and increase all government social services!

SOAK THE RICH—LET THEM PAY FOR THEIR WAR!

- A government levy on capital to cover the cost of the imperialist war. Confiscate all war profits!
- Conscript all war industries under workers' control!
- Expropriate the "Sixty Families"—the three per cent of the people who own ninety-six per cent of the national wealth!

DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS TO THE DRAFTEES!

- The right of free speech, free press and free assembly for the men in the armed forces.
- The right of soldiers to vote in all elections.
- The right of all youth, male or female, to vote at the age of eighteen. Old enough to fight; old enough to work; old enough to vote!
- For adequate dependency allowances paid by the government with NO deductions from the soldier's pay.

SMASH JIM CROW!

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

BE PREPARED!

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