Italian Workers Strike To End War And Oust King

By SAM ADAMS

Italy stands poised on a knife's edge. It is almost a month since the "Sawdust Caesar" resigned. In this period, Marshal Badoglio was made Premier. The new Italian government was first asked by Roosevelt and Churchill to surrender unconditionally. Then General Eisenhower offered "honorable peace terms" for surrender.

The new government rejected both offers. But it is a most insecure government. At its back stand the armed legions of Hitler. In front of it is a mounting wave of Allied arms which threatens to overrun the entire country. All around it is the rising tide of the working class-the most important element in the whole situation.

The masses have taken to the streets. From the first day of the collapse of the fascist regime they made known their demands: Peace! Freedom! Elections! But the regime of Victor Emanuel and his Marshal cannot satisfy the needs and demands of the Italian workers and peasants, and surely this ruling clique cannot last.

The latest news from Italy is that the workers have gone out on a general strike! The demands of the general strike are a ringing cry of the workers' determination to be free. They want:

- 1. The immediate liberation of all political prisoners.
- 2. The complete liquidation of the monarchy and monarchistic institutions
- 3. Cessation of the war and an appeal to public opinion of the Anglo-Saxon countries for respect of the rights of the Italian people.
- 4. Freedom of press and organization.

Gaetano Salvemini, well known anti-fascist, has charged that: "Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt are waging, in Italy, two simultaneous wars. One is aimed at achieving 'unconditional surrender'; the other is aimed at preventing revolution."

And this is the fact: The Allies are interested above all in preventing the Italian masses from asserting their wishes and their rights. When Churchill speaks of preventing "anarchy and chaos" in Italy, he means to keep in power the "authority" of the rotten, incompetent and murderous ruling class. He means to prevent the people from taking matters into their own hands. And when Roosevelt endorses Churchill's remarks it is for the same reason.

"Anarchy and chaos," indeed! What kind of a regime was Mussolini's? And what kind of a regime is that of Badoglio?

Is the murderous regime of fascism an "orderly" regime? And are the craven, profit-mad Italian big business men the representatives of "order"? They may be to Churchill. But to the Italian masses they represent everything that is rotten, disorderly and chaotic in our civilization.

We must say: Hands off the Italian masses. They will deal with their corrupt rulers. They want peace and they alone can achieve it. They want order, but by order they understand freedom—free speech, free press, and the right to organization. That is the only kind of order worth anything. They do not want the order of the police regime of fascism. They do not want order imposed by guns. They want an end to the old life! Nothing must stand in their way.

The American working class must solidarize itself with the Italian masses in their struggle for freedom. Greetings are not enough. Papers are not enough. Money is not enough. American

The System Operates to Enrich Monopoly, By Increasing the Wealth, Profits, Dividends And Salaries of Big Business Magnates

By MAX SHACHTMAN. National Secretary, Workers Party

AUGUST 16, 1943

Labor's position is growing worse by the month. The cost of living continues to rise for the working man's family. The official figures of the Department of Labor show that living costs have risen 26.9 per cent since January, 1941. That is bad enough. But every worker, every housewife, knows that even this high figure is considerably below the real increase.

The official figures are too low because the government officials are afraid to give too much justification for labor's demands for higher wages.

They are too low because they don't take into account what the housewife is forced to take into account every time she buys something. Namely, the almost universal violation of the "price ceilings." Namely, the fact that black market prices are far higher than the officially-fixed rate. Namely, that many commodities are being produced with such a lowering of quality, without a corresponding lowering of price, that it amounts to a stiff price increase in the end.

Price controls are a failure from one end of the country to the other. Price roll-backs are a bitter joke. Ninety-nine per cent of the government promises that prices would be rolled back or controlled have remained promises that never left the paper they were written on.

Who Will Benefit from Subsidies?

It is estimated that the \$485,000,000 payment made out of the U.S. Treasury to roll back prices on meat and butter will mean a saving of no more than thirty cents a week for a family of four. To put it another way, it means that to meet the high cost of living, the head of the family will get a "wage increase" of three-fifths of one cent per hour if he works a fifty-hour week.

Who will get the real benefit out of this payment? The big packers will get \$400,000,000 per year as a gift, and the creameries will get another \$85,000,000. That is a typical example of how the government acts to "protect" the interests of the workers. The cost of living has risen tremendously, almost 27 per cent according to the official and far too conservative figures of the government. But the government has ruled at the same time that no wages shall be raised more than 15 per cent above the rate paid in January, 1941. At holding back wages, the government works like a clock, and does not hesitate to use all the power and force at its command.



LABOR ACTION

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

WHAT IS COST-PLUS?

Carlo

ican workers outside of agriculture are worse off, financially, than they were before the World War broke out in Europe four years ago. These 20,-000,000 have either received no wage increase during the four years, or their income has lagged behind the galloping cost of living. The other 20,doo,ooo are able to keep a little closer pace with the skyrocketing prices only by toiling long, wearying, nerve-and-body-wracking hours of overtime.

This statement is made by no less an authority than John W. Edelman, labor liaison officer on the staff of the Office of Price Administration.

There are other reasons why the workers, even those who are getting a somewhat higher figure on their paycheck than they used to get, cannot keep up with the cost of living. Every worker knows what these reasons are.

The Standards for Workers

First, there are the rising taxes, which have increased for millions of workers anywhere from 5

Union Labor Must Lead the **Fight For Negro Rights**

By W. F. CARLTON

The racial tension in the country steadily gets worse. In areas widely separate from each other, outbursts have already taken place or people live in daily fear of them.

The recent demonstration by the Negroes in Harlem is of exceptional significance, because New York is one of the areas where relations between races are better than they are in most other places in the United States. But if it can happen in New York, it can happen anywhere. LABOR ACTION has repeatedly

drawn the attention of the labor movement to the danger of this situation for labor. Once more we call their attention to the fact that it is necessary to act now. The ruling class is already acting.

Attorney General Biddle proposes to prohibit Negroes from going into industrial areas such as Detroit. Elsewhere in this issue LABOR ACTION deals with this dangerous order, aimed not only at the Negroes but at labor and the people as a whole, regardless of race, nationality or creed. We mention it here merely to emphasize that racial tension and racial upheaval are not merely the concern of the Negroes and of the government.

Negroes and the Labor Movement

Labor cannot content itself by being sympathetic to the Negro. It has to take responsibility for the defense of the Negro people against the violence of their persecutors. But it must do more. It must take responsibility also for assisting the Negroes in their struggle for their legitimate rights as citizens of the United States. The CIO, all things taken into consideration, has recognized the importance of white and Negro solidarity

in the labor unions. In the course of the last six years Negro labor has made more progress toward its complete integration into the labor movement than during the the preceding sixty years. This is not to give a blanket endorsement to all policies and procedures toward Negro labor

tween white and Negro labor and undo all the good work which has so patiently been performed during the last few years.

ONE CENT

Unions Must Take the Lead

One of the most striking features of the recent disturbances in New York and Detroit is the fact that in the factories white and Negro labor continued to work side by side, not only in solidarity but anxiously discussing together the fighting and the agitation in the streets. One of the leaders of the UAW in Detroit has reported that during the disturbances many workers called upon the leadership to take steps to put an end to what they felt instinctively was a danger to the union and a disgrace to American democracy. These workers were absolutely correct in

They were correct because the situation cannot continue as it is. If groes in the streets continues, sooner or later it will affect the relations in the factories. It will affect the relations in the unions. Unscrupulous effect of creating bad blood between different sections of their own workers and recreating the situation which existed before the CIO.

One of two things must take place. Either the white and Negro solidar. ity in the factory must take upon itself the task of putting an end to the violence and division outside. Or, the violence and division outside will continue until it starts to undermine the solidarity inside the factory.

What Defense Means

Workers in the factories asked their leaders to take steps against the rioting, to do something. One reply was that nothing could be done, because the labor unions had to be on guard against forming what would be called vigilante bands. This makes no sense at all.

If unionists, Negro and white, make it officially known to

their demand.

the fighting between whites and Neemployers are not going to miss the opportunity to encourage provocation leading to violence. They know that this must ultimately have the

labor must say:

Italian workers and poor peasants: Go to it. Get rid of your exploiters. Destroy the old system of exploitation, poverty, insecurity and murder. Build anew. Build the Workers' Republic of peace, freedom and security. We are with you with all our hearts.

And it must add to all who stand in the way: Hands off the Italian workers and peasants!

(See pages 3 and 4 for other articles on Italy)

No "Little Steel" **Limits For Profits**

There is no stopping big business! It continues to coin it in as a result of the war program. Its profits are climbing!

The July issue of Exchange Magazine, organ of the New York Stock Exchange, reports new rises in profits and dividends of industry excelling those of the previous high year of 1942.

Reporting on 835 companies listed on its exchange, the magazine revealed that 596 paid cash dividends during the first six months of 1943, as against 560 in the same period of 1942. One hundred and eleven of these companies paid higher dividends than they did in 1942!

The railrad companies, which are fighting bitterly against any wage increases for their low paid workers, are having a banner year. They paid a total of \$88,345,000 to stockholders, as compared with \$67,321,000 last year. This was a gain of 31.2 per cent!

The aviation industry, another in which wages are notoriously low, led the list with an increase in dividend payments of 98.5 per cent!

The rubber industry, which is also contesting wage increases with the aid of the WLB, increased its dividend payments by seventy per cent.

"Labor," official organ of the railway unions, reports that for the first six months of this year, the railroad companies, a monopoly industry, have increased their "earnings" over 1942 by fifty per cent. Profits for the railroad magnates in 1942 were the highest in history. This year they are even higher.

"After paying interest, rentals, taxes and all other charges," says Labor, "Class 1 carriers had a 'nest egg' of \$448,800,000, which compares with profits of \$289,185,666 in the first six months of last year."

At the time of this writing, there have been no protests in Congress, the WLB has not tried to apply the "Little Steal Formula" to profits, nor has the President said anything either.

A starting

At holding back prices, the government is bankrupt and helpless, by its own admission.

The bankers, the business men, the corporation heads, the monopolists, the war profiteers-all cry that labor is well off, too well off. Their kept press echoes them. Their tools in the government say the same thing.

But the fact is that half of the 40,000,000 Amer-

to 35 per cent since the beginning of the war.

Second is the wage cut in the form of War Bond buying, which is voluntary in theory but which every worker in a plant knows to be close to compulsory in practice.

The situation has grown worse by the month. What is in sight? Relief from the situation? No, only a worse situation.

The Roosevelt Administration has no program, unless unkept promises are to be considered a program. Congress is even worse, for we have in Washington today the most reactionary Congress the country has had in years, an open tool of capital.

What is the program of the official labor leaders, the heads of the CIO and the AFL?

The organized labor union movement in this country is at the peak of its power. All told, it now numbers 13,000,000 organized men and women. This represents a force that can enforce its legitimate demands without the slightest difficulty. But the labor leaders keep scraping and bowing

(Continued on page 4)

Stalinists Get Licking in ALP **N.Y. City Election Primaries**

this writing that the Stalinists in the American Labor Party, led by their fellow travelers, Marcantonio and Connolly, have suffered a defeat in the New York City ALP primaries. The Dubinsky-Counts-Rose group claims victory in the two largest

ALP boroughs of the Bronx and Brooklyn. They concede Manhattan, weaker ALP district, to the misnamed Left Wing.

The Stalinists carried on a furious and dirty campaign to win this primary. They employed every conceivable device at their command to turn the trick. Using CIO locals under their control, they sought to mobilize the whole union behind their stooge candidates.

ALP voters were canvassed by Stalinists seeking their votes. Stalinist voters previously registered with the Communist Party now registered with the American Labor

It appears certain at the time of Party. Well known Stalinist leaders did likewise, hoping that victory in the primaries would put them in a position of leadership in the party. The Stalinist campaign was sparked by the Daily Worker, which went all-out in a filthy drive to take over the party.

The stake was a high one for both groups. Had the Stalinists captured the New York City primaries, they would have been in a position to take over the state organization and use it in the interests of the Communist Party. If this had occurred, the Dubinsky - Counts - Rose leadership would have walked out of the party, taking with-them the overwhelming majority of the party's members and supporters.

Thus a split in the ALP was one of the issues in this election, for a victory of the Stalinists, the greatest danger in the labor movement, would have destroyed the organization.

In this sense, the victory over them was all to the good. But it

The ALP has still to become a genuinely independent party of labor. As yet it is completely tied to the Roosevelt wing of the Democratic Party.

The next progressive step before the party is a complete break with capitalist politics and the Democratic Party-for real independent political action. With such a program, the ALP could become an important instrument in promoting a national independent labor party. This is the real task ahead of the ALP.

In the meantime, the Stalinists were licked-and that is all to the good!

in the CIO. But the general trend can best be illustrated by the results of a poll recently taken among 10,000 Negro people by the Pittsburgh Courier.

Asked if Negro workers should seek closer cooperation with organized labor, 96.4 per cent of them replied "Yes." Only 2.4 per cent said 'No." And 1.2 per cent were uncertain. It is clear that the sentiment of the

majority of the Negro people has changed tremendously from that of the old days, when so many Negroes looked upon white workers and organized labor as their bitter rivals for the favors of the employers.

Labor worked hard to achieve this measure of success. The racial upheavals will break up solidarity belic that they do not intend to have racial disturbances undermining the solidarity of their unions; if they state also that since the government and the police show that they are either unable or unwilling to protect the Negro people and to keep order they intend to do so, how in the name of heaven could anybody call such organizations "vigilante bands"? At best, the argument is stupd. At worst, it is an excuse for inaction. In view of this situation, it is necessary for the unions to establish union and workers' defense guards against reactionary fascistic bands.

We go further than this. Nothing is so certain to make (Continued on page 4)

'Would the WLB Do This For \$6.58 a Day?'--Miner

"The government says it needs coal badly, but I believe the miners need a raise worse." That is the opinion of a coal miner who has written a letter published by the Scranton, Pa., Times concerning the justice of the miners' wage demands.

This is his story of conditions in the mine as he knows them:

"I work in the mines in twenty-six inches of coal. I carry twenty-five pounds of powder, a safety lamp, battery lamp (seven pounds), a lunch and a bucket of water for one and three-quarter miles to my working place. When I reach there I am exhausted.

"Then we have to slug for seven hours in sulphur water, dust, smoke and under a falling roof. Would the WLB do this for \$6.58 a day? I guess not. Why doesn't the board investigate the coal mines and see what is going on? They can't see the mines from the outside.

"I pay \$10 every pay day for bonds, I pay social security, victory tax, union dues, lamp rental, gloves and other expenses. When I get my pay I have about \$55 left (for two weeks-Editor). I am ashamed to hand it to my wife. She has even shed tears at the amount I brought home. From what I have left I have to pay \$20 rent, \$1.50 light, \$15 insurance and \$20 on the store book. What have I left? My empty pay envelope." - From the United Mine Workers Journal.

should be remembered that on a number of fundamentally important questions affecting the labor movement there is little to choose between the two groups.

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

A Union Program For Worker Ex-Servicemen

By HARRY ALLEN

The American Legion has announced that its membership today numbers 1,136,000, the highest in its history. These figures include some servicemen in the armed forces today whom the American Legion has been able to enroll. Despite the increases in membership, the Legion still remains unsuccessful in its labors to recruit the overwhelming majority of workingmen veterans of World War I. Nevertheless, the recruiting campaign of the American Legion poses today an extremely serious problem to the organized labor movement in regard to the workerveterans of vesterday and tomorrow. What is to be done?

Worker-Servicemen's Organization

It is time now for the labor movement (AFL, CIO, Railroad Brotherhoods, et al.) to take measures lead- gion endeavors to reach all soldiers

servicemen's organization of workingmen

It is time now for the organized labor movement unitedly to discuss this question and to emerge with recommendations and proposals.

The tentative name of a workers' ex-servicemen's organization should be selected. A tentative set of bylaws and a constitution should be formulated. The labor movement jointly should assign a committee to prepare a series of leaflets and pamphlets, setting forth why labor proposes a program for and the formation of a workers' ex-servicemen's organization.

One of the latter's aims would be to counteract the reactionary organization and program of the American Legion. Just as the American Le-

Ford Welders Strike Against **Discharge of Union Militant**

By CY LEON

DETROIT - Over 2,500 workers of the Ford Motor Co., Highland Park Plant, struck on Friday, July 30, when a committeeman was fired for taking up the grievance of a worker. When several welders were told by the company that their wage rates were cut, they took their grievance to Committeeman D. Watkins. Watkins was then discharged on the ground that he incited the workers to strike action. This brought about the walkout which tied up a tank job for two days.

The company claimed that the welders must take a wage cut because they were transferred to a new type of work. All the men recognized in this an attempt to cut the wages of a few workers in order to test out the possibility of a general wage cut. For this the men supported the welders' protest and the committeeman's attempt to settle the grievance. When Watkins was fired, the men walked out.

Europe in Revolt

RUSSIAN AND BRITISH-AMERICAN DIFFERENCES

torship has aroused the hopes of the mittee, under the leadership of one

way the German workers felt who Bismarck, was a very clear indica-

demonstrated a couple weeks ago in tion. It is very possible that this

In the face of the daily boosts in the cost of living, especially in the Detroit area, the Ford Motor Co. (whose assets increased from \$700,-000.000 to over \$800,000,000 in one year!) has the impudence to meet the workers' demands for raises with a wage cut. There is no doubt that had the men quietly accepted the cut, it would have immediately spread

further. This is the old Ford system of making the tank job the testing ground for "experiments" in worsening the conditions of the workers in the rest of the plant. For example,

they tried to shift the lunch period of the tank job from company time to the workers' time. When the workers rebelled, the company retreated.

While the men are now back at work with Watkins out and the welders' grievances pending, they still feel that only through action can they hasten a favorable settlement.

A Review of Political Events

ing to the formation of a veterans' or and present veterans with its scabby, fascist program, the labor movement must see that its literature, putting forth a progressive program for the veterans, reaches every union member and serviceman.

The national executive boards of the respective labor organizations should advise every local union and central labor body to take up this question, with the object of crystallizing quickly positive views, a program and organization for the servicemen.

Defeat Reaction at Home

It will not be difficult to make the men and women in the unions, and the men and women in the armed forces, understand the validity of preparing the worker-veterans of World War II particularly for the storms ahead. Without a well-organized, disciplined army, no battles are won on the military front. Yes, American labor has enemies abroad; the fascists and Nazis everywhere are its bitter enemies. But labor has equally dangerous and reactionary enemies on the home or domestic front.

Labor must watch, circumvent and defeat these home front enemies. such as the bosses and their tools. The American Legion, with its present program and leadership, is an, anti-labor organization. The Legion tries to use the ex-servicemen to maintain exploitation and capitalism in all respects. It is the job of labor to make common cause with the servicemen in the immediate and ultimate interests of labor and the exsoldier workers.

selves must ratify the form of organ-Therefore it is time today for the ization and program of a workerlabor movement to prepare all the necessary bases to recruit the exservicemen into a workers' veterans' organization just as fast as they are released into civilian life.

LABOR ACTION

They must not become victims of American Legion propaganda and other reactionary forces in the country. As an obvious reason, therefore, the labor movement must reach and win the servicemen on labor's side before the servicemen have a chance to become demoralized in the convulsive post-war world to which they will be returning.

Soldier and Worker Solidarity

A worker - servicemen's organization is imperatively required which will maintain direct connections with the labor unions. The ex-servicemen must be in a position to turn to the labor unions as the instruments through which they will be able, to the greatest degree possible, to obtain jobs, either full or part-time.

Hence, more than ever the unions should try to increase their rights and powers on job hiring, etc., especially having in mind the released soldiers at that period. It is a necessity for the unions to cement a close alliance with the servicemen. The time to begin is NOW.

Whatever tentative organization and plans for a worker-servicemen's organization are set up today by the labor movement, it must be clearly understood that, immediately after the war is over, a national convention of worker - ex - servicemen must be held. At that convention the rank and file soldiers and sailors them-

Brother preacher, teach us union-

in his heart. You have watched him

all the way. He wants a strong union

in Southeast Missouri and he can

The value of a worker is plain: the

worker sits down, and won't a wheel

turn, nor a ship be built nor nothing

move. Why don't we think of this,

brothers? Let us get together with

our chairman and ask him questions

show how we can get it.

Why a Labor Movement? From a Sharecropper

souri. Why? Because the white work-It is labor's only hope. I want to assure you, unless we organize ourer figures the boss is giving him selves, as poor Negro and white \$0.25 more than the Negro worker. workers, we will never have a de-This is the thing that is keeping us cent meal. The white workers get separated. \$2.25, the Negro workers get \$2.00. This difference of twenty-five cents ism and how to organize. This is keeps the white worker fooled. We our security against the boss. Why Southern Negroes are waiting on don't you help your chairman to orour white brothers. Please hurry! ganize a strong union? He knows what steps to take. Why don't you Friends, we need you bad. Brothers do at once the way he talks and acts? and sisters, let us wake up and stop He loves to do it. He has the union

and think how we are fooled. Look at what we get for a day's work! Look at the cost of living! Look at the hours we work! And for only \$2.00 and \$2.25.

Let us talk and reason together. If we do this, I am sure we can get together. When we look through the matter, we will find out what is the cause of our being underpaid, not having shelter over our heads, not

ex - servicemen's organization; and elect all officers. By these measures alone, this veterans' organization will set itself apart from the big businesscontrolled American Legion. From the outset, moreover, all lo-

cal veterans' groups that are organized must be invited by the labor movement to send representatives or delegates to the Central Labor Councils in each city. This is necessary in order to maintain direct solidarity between the ex-servicemen and the unions. Thus, too, the servicemen will have tangible evidence that the labor unions are really interested in their special problems.

In order that national policy and practice may be coordinated, the labor movement should also arrange to have the ex-servicemen represented in all its bodies, including the national executive bodies.

As a practical consideration, the unions should make special financial arrangements so that ex-servicemen may join or return to unions of their adopted or former trades.

Progressive Role for Servicemen

More so than the civilian workers. the ex-servicemen will find it difficult to adjust themselves in the postwar period. Their outlook, upon returning from the battlefields, can lead toward several conceivable developments, in which their role can be either reactionary or progressive and militant in relation to the labor movement. Certainly they will be in an aggressive, fighting mood.

The task of the unions is to make sure that these energies and moods are linked to and made organically a part of the interests of the organized labor movement. Then, the exservicemen's post-war role can be a positive, valuable one. Now is the time-it is not too early-for the labor movement to look ahead and prepare its attitude and program in respect to the servicemen.

president of the AFL, for workers to enter the American Legion to reform it is the wrong proposal today. Instead, the organized labor movement should take upon itself the task of initiating a program and organization of worker ex-servicemen of World Wars I and II.

Half of the forty million American workers outside of agriculture are worse off financially than they were before the new World War broke out in Europe four years ago, John W. Edelman, labor liaison officer of the staff of the Office of Price Administration, revealed this week.

These twenty million have either received no increase in wages during the four years, or their rise in earnings lagged behind the galloping cost of living, Edelman said

Shachtman Speaks At N. Y. **Meeting On Italian Events**

Under the joint auspices of LA-BOR ACTION and the New York Local of the Workers Party, Albert Gates and Max Shachtman addressed an audience of two hundred interested listeners in New York City on August 8 on the events in Italy.

Gates spoke on the origins of fascism and described it as a movement which sounds very anti-capitalist and socialistic, ensnares the support of the middle classes, and then takes power in order to further enslave the working class and to wipe out the middle class in the interests of big business.

He showed that Mussolini took over Italy with the blessings of the present King and big business. Mussolini then proceeded to wipe out every working class organizationthe trade unions, the working class political parties, and to throw every militant worker into jail, whether he was actually engaged in anti-fascist activity or not.

What the Masses Want

Comrade Shachtman spoke on the situation in Italy which led to the ousting of Mussolini and his replacement by Badoglio. The Italian people are tired of the war, tired of fighting and dying for Italian and German imperialisms, and their passive resistance to the war was sufficient to overthrow the rotten fascist regime.

The Italian workers, the speaker declared, are now awakening after twenty years of defeat and oppres-

sion. Their organization into political parties will follow. The Stalinists will attempt to divert their energies into support of Allied imperialism, but fortunately for the Italian workers they have behind them some very militant and revolutionary traditions which will make easier the formation and growth of a revolutionary socialist party, a Fourth Internationalist party, in which lies the hope of the Italian revolution. Such a party will inscribe on its banner the demands of the Italian masses for peace, freedom, bread, and will fight for them until a working class government is established.

Defend the Italian Workers

Shachtman stated that the capitalist statesmen, Allied and Axis, understand that the Italian revolution is the beginning of the European revolution and that is why they seek order in Italy. Churchill want an "authority" to deal with because he will not deal with the Italian people. It is the duty of the American working class, Comrade Shachtman declared, to prevent the imperialists from stifling the Italian revolution. The Italian workers must build

their party in the midst of the revolution, said Comrade Shachtman. In the United States, the building of the Workers Party is already begun. He concluded by asking all workers in the audience who wished to hasten the downfall of capitalism and the ushering in of a socialist society to join the ranks of the Workers Party.

The Editor's Comments Labor and the Soldiers

James A. Wechsler, labor editor of PM, in a column of August 9, devoted himself to a discussion of the relations of the soldiers and the labor movement and called attention to the growing antagonism and, at times, the positive hatred of the labor movement and the workers by large bodies of soldiers.

Wechsler is apparently deeply concerned with this question and points out how in the specific case of the coal miners' strikes, a veritable lynch spirit prevailed among soldiers all over the world. (Wechsler omitted to mention that his own writings on the miners' fight and John L. Lewis, were no little reason for this feeling of the soldiers, since his paper is widely circulated in army camps.) That this is a serious problem for the whole labor movement and the working class in general, is obvious. But what is responsible for this con-

dition and what can be done about

it?

Soldier Is Isolated from Worker The soldier, in his camp and war front life, is completely divorced and isolated from the day - to - day life of the country, from the working class and its problems. This alone would lead to a misunderstanding or lack of understanding of the problems of the people at home. He is unaware of the problems of the high cost of living, the burden of new high taxes on the workers, lack of consumer goods to satisfy the needs of the people, inadequate housing for war workers, worsened conditions of labor, and in general, the sharp decline in the living standards of the people. He is unaware of the fact that while the workers and farm laborers toil long hours under adverse conditions, big business, the war contractors, brokers, advertising agencies, etc., are making a good thing of this war by piling up unheard-of war profits. He is unaware of the rise of a new group of war millionaires.

litical and labor press to them, and kept from maintaining any close contact with them.

Does this mean that the soldier is free of politics? Not at all!

He is the victim of a steady barrage of the anti-labor propaganda contained in the columns of the capitalist press which is constantly before him. Army papers publish columns of Westbrook Pegler, Clare Booth Luce and other reactionaries. Officers permit themselves to be quoted in Army papers against the labor movement, in which the lynch idea is often put forward.

Stars and Stripes may publish a vicious attack on John L. Lewis and the miners, but John L. Lewis and the miners are virtually barred from using the columns of that paper to explain and defend their struggle.

Liberals find it well-nigh impossible to express themselves in Army periodicals. Radicals and socialists are completely barred.

Who, then, speaks to the soldiers?

a big Berlin factory: "What the Ital- committee is not only a means of ians can do, we can do."

The few reports filtering through, the tight net of a double censorship indicate the renewed activity of the European underground, especially in the fascist countries, but also among all those workers and peasants in all Europear countries who suffer under the Nazi yoke.

The downfall of Mussolini's dicta-

peoples of Europe. They feel the

These events also have considerable repercussions in the camps of all the imperialist powers. Stalin is evidently worried about the turn of events in Italy. England and America do not want him to have his share of the Italian booty. He has expressed his discomfort rather openly in a number of ways.

Pravda has stressed that invasion of Italy is not to be regarded as a real second front. The paper has voiced in violent terms Stalin's dissatisfaction with the Allies. Stalin right now uses all kinds of pressures on the Allies, including the hardly veiled threat to conclude a separate peace with some German Badoglio if the Allies do not give him more help and booty.

ENGLISH AND AMERICAN ANTAGONISMS

On the other hand, relations between London and Washington are none too good either. Important English circles attack Churchill as being too subservient to American influence and stress the point that England should have a more independent policy. (The reverse charge is made against Roosevelt in this country.) They emphasize, for example, that England should immediately recognize the French National Committee and try to build up a close friendship between England and renascent French imperialism as a bulwark against America.

There is also much misgiving as to the role of the AMGOT, the British - American organization to rule the occupied countries. Walter Lippmann recently stressed that this organization was established with the idea of taking over administration of countries immediately after they had been occupied by Allied troops. But now things look slightly different, since the occupation of a whole country all at one time appears possible.

The job of administrating the whole of Italy in a state of revolt is somewhat tougher, and some of the more shrewd diplomats are asking: "Would it not have been better not to ask for 'unconditional sur-

pressure against the Allies, but also a real feeler of Stalinist Russia for a possible separate peace with a Germany dominated by reactionary officers. This possibility should not be ruled out as fantastic, especially since it might have much appeal for the German officers' clique faced with the alternative of unconditional surrender to the Allies or collaboration with Russia on an "honorable"

The new German National Com-

von Einsiedel, a great-grandson of

Readers of Labor Action Jake the Floor basis. Relations between Russia on one side and England and America on the other are extremely strained right now. It is indicative that Maxim Litvinoff, Russian Ambassador to the United States, has not returned from his vacation in Moscow for "health reasons." It is also indicative that the Russian Ambassador in London, Maisky, has been recalled to Moscow, to be replaced by a young and obscure diplomat. Washington was evidently amazed at the creation of the German National Committee and begins to feel that the Russians have much greater ambitions than

render' and to work directly with some native dictatorship? This would save much trouble and would be more convenient in order to fight 'anarchy' and 'disorder.'"

had been heretofore realized.

While the hopeless Don Quixotes stewards present, including fifty per of the liberal press want to make everyone believe that the only desirable alternative in Italy for the United Nations would have been to collaborate with Italian democrats, the much more shrewd politicians of the Right realize that it was per-July 26, which informed the Sperry haps wrong not to have made clearer overtures to the Badoglio clique. In REAL rank and file democracy and the fight against revolution, even momentary concessions might be

worth while. Apparently there is serious conflict brewing between the different imperialist powers, and there is also a great uncertainty about the best way to take over in Europe and yet prevent any revolutionary outbreaks. This uncertainty of policy and these differences among the imperialist powers is a point in favor of the European revolution. Another and even more important factor in determining the fate of the coming intervention in Europe will be the attitude of American workers and soldiers in the face of this counter-revolutionary intervention.

Europacus.

having a decent meal and not having twenty-five cents in our jeans to buy the baby some candy.

Can we not see that President Roosevelt and his office burden us with all these taxes? Now we don't have a real union in Southeast Mis-

He Knows What This

Please continue to send LA and

the NI. Congratulations to LABOR

ACTION for its clear-headedness and

Sperry-Nassau Worker

It will interest you to know that

on August 5, at the stewards' coun-

il of Local 450, at least half of the

cent of the grievance committee,

steering committee, etc., threw in

their stewards' buttons, thereby ten-

This mass exodus was a protest

in accordance with your article of

workers that they are entitled to

control of their union with a con-

stitution, by-laws, REGULAR mem-

bership meetings and a REGULAR-

LY ELECTED executive committee

-not a temporary executive commit-

tee under the control of Brother Joe

The sentiment voiced by the stew-

ards who have resigned is by no

means to be interpreted as an anti-

union or anti-labor move. The feel-

ing expressed at this particular

stewards' council meeting is repre-

sentative of the attitude of the rank

and file. This move should be inter-

preted by the entire membership as

a step in the right direction toward

recognition and reorganization of

Joe Anonymous (N.Y.C.)

the rights of the working people.

100 Mar. 1

dering their resignations.

Wants a Real Union

D. B. (Ithaca, N. Y.)

Paper Stands For

excellent labor courage.

Dear Editor:

Dear Editor:

Dermody.

about the union. He can explain most any common thing we want to know about the union. This is his

daily study. Brothers, unless we get a union, we are going to perish in a land of pienty.

Wage Tax Hits

Dear Editor:

Carnegie-Illinois

their pay checks last pay day.

ty per cent raise to superintendents,

assistant superintendents and other

big shot bosses in the plant. That is,

Workers at the Carnegie - Illinois

The other twenty million were

able to keep pace with skyrocketing prices only by toiling long hours of overtime, he pointed out.

-Labor, August 7.

in effect, the company is going to pay the income tax for them.

Of course there's a hitch involved. These poor guys will now have to work forty-eight hours a week, instead of the forty-four they formerly Steel Company works in South Chiworked-and no raise when they cago, where wages run as low at take time off. That's a new hardship seventy-eight cents an hour, felt pretty low when they saw the hole for the small bosses, maybe, but workers have grown used to the fact the new income tax had made in that they get paid only for the time punched on the time card.

Of course Carnegie workers can always ask for a raise too, but they know from experience that it takes two to six months of run-around before the average worker in the mills can get a few cents raise, if any. Now with the hold-the-line order, even that seems impossible.

Steel Worker (Chicago.)

Introductory Offer TO: LABOR ACTION 114 WEST 14th STREET New York 11, N.Y.

SIX MONTH SUBSCRIPTION 25¢



He knows nothing of the alliance of big business with Congress for the purpose of destroying the rights and gains of the labor movement. And he does not understand that if big business wins its drive it will hit him first in the post-war period.

He does not know that the fight of the labor movement, for higher wages, against sweatshop conditions of work, against speed-up and profits is in reality a defense of the soldier. If the labor movement wins, it will mean that the soldier can come back after the war to take his place with the rest of the working class, If the labor movement loses this fight, the soldier will find upon his return to civilian life, that wages have been depressed, hours lengthened, conditions of work have deteriorated and, above all, the rights of the workers, won after many battles,

Big Business Propagandizes the Soldier

army of unemployed.

these facts? Because no one has told him about them!

have been taken away. Above all, he

will find himself a member of a new

There is a rule that the soldier must be free of "politics." Thus, it is impermissible for a paper like LABOR ACTION to circulate among soldiers. The labor movement is, for all practical purposes, barred from speaking to soldiers, sending its po- of big business.

Employers, Republicans, Democrats from the North and South, the Chambers of Commerce, Rotarians, Lions, professional labor baiters, etc. Recently, President Johnston of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, delivered a speech denouncing the workers and the labor movement. This speech was broadcast to soldiers all over the world.

Would the War Department permit a speech by Murray, Green, Lewis, Thomas, or any other labor leader, in which the struggle of the workers for their economic, political and social rights were defended? To ask the question is to get your answer.

Labor Movement Must Speak To Fellow Workers in Uniform

But the chief fault for this situation lies with the labor movement and the labor leaders. They have been as timid as rabbits in fighting for their right to speak to the soldier and to write to him and for him. For that reason the soldier has been the victim of reactionary antilabor propaganda, much of it vicious and much of it in the lynch spirit. It has come from the press, over the radio and through speeches. It has come from anti-labor columnists, representatives of big business and Army officers who voice their lynch sentiments before the soldiers and then have their remarks published in the press at large and in Army journals.

The labor movement will face a serious danger if it does not assert its right to address soldiers directly and to write to them through the medium of a widely circulating labor press among the armed forces.

There is no reason why the soldiers should be the special property of big business and reaction. The soldiers are, in truth, workers in uniform. Their real interests lie with labor. The labor movement must speak plainly and clearly to its fellow workers in uniform and explain that the union movement in its present struggle fights for the interests of the soldier, is trying to keep the Why is the soldier unaware of living standards of the workers high, so that the soldier may return from the war, get a job at decent wages, at decent hours and under decent living conditions.

The labor movement needs to speak out now and in a loud voice. Otherwise the soldiers will become the victims of the vicious propaganda

They didn't feel any better when they found out how the big salaried bosses fared with the pay-as-you-go plan. For the company, feeling that the new tax caused too great a burden for the bosses, gave out a twen-

LABOR ACTION



Negro Life A La Hollywood

-By R. Fahan

After years of having produced movies in which Negroes were portrayed either as Stepin Fetchit clowns or as dear old Mammies, Hollywood has made a "concession" to the Negro people by producing two all-Negro pictures, "Cabin in the Sky" and "Stormy Weather.'

These pictures should, by all means, be seen. There is a tremendous store of talent in them. It is thrilling. at least for me, to listen to Ethel Waters' singing and quite as thrilling both to look at and listen to Lena Horne; Bill Robinson tap dances as no one else can; Katherine Dunham has a grace and agility which are remarkable; in a word, both pictures are rich stores of entertainment.

Yet truth requires that we speak in harsh terms of both films, for they carry on in the same old vile Jim Crow tradition which has characterized almost all of Hollywood's treatment of the Negro. First of all, they are all-Negro in cast. But it is clear that any serious portrait of Negro life, even any portrait of Negro entertainment, even any portrait of the Negro idyll (whatever that may be) as "Cabin in the Skey" attempts, must necessarily include the whites.

The Negro in America contacts the whites everywhere, like it or not; the segregation of Jim Crowism is merely a FORM of contact. And to make an all-Negro film is merely to carry that form over into the movies.

But not only do these films continue the Jim Crow tradition; they are dishonest even within that limitation. Never is a Negro shown as a serious human being capable of the same emotions as anyone else.

"Cabin in the Sky" perpetrates the old myths-in that

In Memory of Trotsky's Death World Socialism Follows His Teachings

By ALBERT GATES

Three years ago this August 21, Leon Trotsky, co-leader with Lenin of the Russian workers' revolution of 1917, outstanding leader of the Bolshevik Party, and creator of the Red Army, was murdered by an agent of Stalin, a gunman of the GPU.

In the death of Trotsky, the working class of the world lost its greatest champion, for he was truly the outstanding fighter for the freedom of the people in the last two decades.

Beginning with his struggle in Russia in defense of the revolutionary principles and practices of socialism, he carried on an unceasing fight against the new bureaucracy which had usurped the power of the workers in the interests of its own class well-being. For this implacable struggle, Trotsky and his adherents underwent the fiercest persecution.

Many thousands were jailed, other thousands were exiled, hundreds were assassinated by the GPU. Trotsky was arrested, exiled and then deported from Russia.

Driven from the country by the usurpers of the revolution and the destroyers of the workers' state, which he was so instrumental in founding, Trotsky continued his struggle for the Russian masses against their new exploiters, the bureaucracy, whose life was set apart from the people by its comparative well-being, and by its intense exploitation of the Russian workers and peasants.

First from Turkey, then from France, Norway and finally Mexico, Trotsky let the world know that Stalin and his clique had undermined and destroyed the great gains of the Russian Revolution. He told the world that Stalin's theory of building a "socialist society in a single country" was a violation of the internationalist theory and spirit of socialism.

He told the world that under Stalin the Russian working class was intensely exploited, as was the peasantry. The working class had lost its hard-won rights! The Bolshevik Party, the trade unions, cooperatives, the fraternal organizations, were either destroyed or became so ineffective as instruments in defense of the rights of the people as to be non-existent.

Every industrial or agricultural advance made in Russian economy, he proved, came at the expense of the well-being of the workers and peasants. The regime became more and more totalitarianized until it stood out as the leading dictatorship in the world-not of the workers, to be sure, but of Stalin and his personal clique.

The best traditions of Bolshevism and the Russian Revolution were trampled underfoot, until today there is not the slightest resemblance between the Russia of Lenin and Trotsky and the Russia of Stalin.

The greatest danger of which Lenin and Trotsky warned, namely, that the revolution might degenerate into nationalism, and lose sight of its internationalist origins and purpose (the establishment of world socialism), has come to pass.

Russia; under Stalin, has become a nationalist state in the worst tradition of the Czars.

The rapid degeneration of the Russian Revolution only made Trotsky more severe in his criticism. But he was not only concerned with Russia, i.e., with the hope of saving the Russian Revolution and turning it once more in an internationalist direction. He was as much concerned with the course of world politics and the development of the world movement of socialism.

He saw in the degeneration of Stalinism a danger to the movement of the workers in all countries. For Stalin had transformed the Communist International, a once heroic body of world socialism, into an adjunct of soviet diplomacy and the GPU.

In a series of countries, Stalin played the singular role of destroying the workers' movement and preventing the revolutionary triumph of the people. Beginning in China in 1926, and following in England, Austria, Germany, Spain and France, Stalinism shackled the workers' movement and rendered it impotent in the struggle against a decadent capitalist system.

As Trotsky saw capitalism plunging into another world war, more destructive and more futile than any which preceded it, he sought to rally the diminishing ranks of the international social-. ists for the purpose of continuing the fight for socialism as the only hope of freedom, peace and security for the peoples everywhere

He hammered away at a single thought: the future of the world depends upon the people themselves, upon the working class above all as the most cohesive and progressive class in society. The future of humanity depends upon the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of a classless society; it depends upon the abolition of exploitation and production for profits, and its replacement by a classless society. .

The present imperialist world war is a complete vindication of the theories of Trotsky, for it exhibits the utter decay and degeneration of world

capitalism, the complete futility of its purposes. But if it demonstrates the decay of capitalism and the necessity for socialism, it also establishes the utter decay and degeneration of Stalinism, which has become a partner in the crimes of imperialism.

But, above all, Trotsky foresaw the workers' movements emerging from the chaos of the war; he saw the rejuvenation of the socialist organizations and the triumph of the workers' revolution.

Trotsky did not live to see much of this war. His life was cut short. Stalin, the greatest foe of socialism, had hounded his prey. And finally, on August 21, 1940, in the little town of Coyoacan, a suburb of Mexico City, Frank Jacson, agent of the GPU, succeeded in his murderous assignment.

The convicted assassin now sits in a Mexican prison serving a twenty-year sentence (the maximum penalty under Mexican law). All his needs are taken care of by the Mexican section of the GPU. For his deed he must be repaid.

That Trotsky was a dangerous adversary of Stalin is clear. He was an adversary because he was the champion of internationalism, of world socialism, of the democratic movement of the revolutionary working class. All of this, Stalin opposed. But if Stalin thinks that he has destroyed the internationalist movement of socialism, he is sadly mistaken.

The crisis of world capitalism, of which this war is the highest expression, makes unbearable. the life of the people. They cannot and will not long endure the life of poverty, exploitation, unemployment and death!

The weakest link in the imperialist chain, Italy, has already cracked. The heroic Italian working class, after having endured twenty years of fascism, at the first sign took to the streets with the red flag in its hands and the International on its lips.

In this single event is expressed the irrepressible march of the future, of world socialism. Italy is the first sign; it will not be the last.

As the workers of Europe reawaken and begin anew the struggle for freedom, socialism will once more be their battlecry. The oppressed colonial peoples of the world will follow in their wake and the movement for world freedom will march forward in giant strides.

The reawakened and revitalized world movement of the workers will be the greatest vindication of Leon Trotsky, leader of the international working class, champion of the world socialist society, the order of peace, freedom and security.

A Guide To Socialism

by Ernest Lund. Published by the Workers a pretty thorough basic course in socialism. Party, 114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y.; 60 pages, 10 cents.

By HENRY LORING

Here's the pamphlet that a lot of us have been waiting for-waiting a long time. Ernest Lund has called his sixty-page pamphlet "Plenty for Allthe Meaning of Socialism." His title explains the idea behind the booklet: that socialism, and ONLY socialism, means "plenty for all," and that when workers understand this, the capitalist system of war, poverty and oppression will not last long.

A HARD-HITTING PAMPHLET

Lund's work gives the hard facts and the meang of the facts stated in the simplest There are no complicated theories here, no involved arguments about things that the active trade unionist has not had the time or opportunity to become acquainted with. And Lund states the facts and tells what they mean in language that no one will have any difficulty in understanding.

PLENTY FOR ALL-The Meaning of Socialism, lize, after reading it, that you have gone through

IT WILL MAKE YOU THINK

You will feel that you can go on from "Plenty for All" to the classics of socialist literature and read them with understanding. A GOOD agitator, and a GOOD agitational pamphlet, is the kind that doesn't just stir you up but makes you THINK and gives you something to think about. That's the way "Plenty for All" affects you.

Why haven't we had a dozen pamphlets like this, each one with a little different approach, during the past two or three years? Mainly because no one has taken the trouble to sit down and write them. In the past ten years at least, there have been only one or two attempts to do the job, and no pamphlet was produced that left its mark, no pamphlet was produced to circulate

'Tis a Sad Tale--Or, How the Rich Do Suffer

The press has just reported that Montgomery Ward Thorne, nine-year-old son of Mrs. Marion Thorne, heiress to the \$1,500,000 mail order fortune, is having a devil of a time trying to make his nine-year-old ends meet.

It seems that the Mr. Devil-High-Cost-of-Living has overtaken this scion of inherited wealth. Right now the boy just cannot live properly and be educated on the family's \$4,000 a month combined income.

His good mother, therefore, has filed suit in the Circuit Court of Chicago to have little Montgomery Ward Thorne's allowance of \$500 a month increased "to help meet the HCL."

Here's the way it is: Mrs. Thorne receives \$3,500 a month. Together with her son's income they "earn" \$4,000 each month of the year, or a total of \$48,000 annually.

You'd think that anybody could live on

Fascism and the N. Y. Times

-By Jim Sikokis

the printer of

Page 3

In exposing Eadoglio, Churchill and a few of the lesser lights who tried to sell us Mussolini and fascism as a bit of heaven that "Providence" had bestowed upon Italy and the Italian masses, we may be overlooking some of the influential citizens and institutions in this country who did the same thing. They should not be neglected, but given their due share, so that when they suggest policies for the working class in this country we will know their underlying motives by looking at their records.

From the day Mussolini came into power, the one agency in the United States that outstripped itself to gain friends for Mussolini and the fascist regime was the New York Times. Other capitalist newspapers would print, from time to time, a bit of truth about the real conditions in Italy. But not the New York Times. As far as the Times was concerned, the truth about Italy did not seem to come within the clasification of "All the News That's Fit to Print."

NO TIMES REPORTER EXPELLED

Virtually every newspaper had an honor roll of its foreign correspondent who were deported from Italyexcept the Times. From 1936 to 1940 at least thirty correspondent were thrown out of Italy-and not one of them belong on the Times' staff. Arnoldo Cortessi, who represented the Times in fascist Italy, had no difficulties with Mussolini. The fascist Ministry of Propaganda supplied the Times' correspondent with the lies it wanted the world to believe. This material would be relayed to the paper and printed as gospel truth. Cortesi lost his job only after Mussolini passed laws that no person of Italian birth could be a correspondent for a foreign newspaper.

Herbert L. Mathews, who succeeded Cortesi, was even worse than his predecessor. Late in 1940, the reporter was tripped up by sending out a story which, although given to him by the Ministry of Propaganda, exposed Mussolini's feelings on a few subjects that the "Sawdust Caesar" did not care to reveal so soon. To give the impression that the story was false, Mussolini lifted Mathews' visa for a few months and then returned it to him.

FOR MUSSOLINI-AGAINST TRUTH

For months at a time, one or more items appeared virtually every day in an attempt to prove that totalitarianism had accomplished wonders in Italy. Without casting any doubts or listing ANY of the obstacles that may have stood in the way, there would appear items such as: "Seven New Bridges to Be Built Across the Tiber," "Canal for Northern Italy," "Big Airport for Rome," "Postal Savings for Tripolitana," "New Flora for Tripolitana," "Progress in Albania," "New Opera House for Addis Ababa," . "School Reforms in Italy," 'More Tunnels for Rome," "Hot Springs in Ethiopia," "Italy in Colonies Keeps White Prestige," "Italian Government Restoring Ancient Castles in Ethiopia," "T.B. Death Rate Dropped 50%."

All of this fiction was poured out by the Times at the same time that it concealed the truth from its readers. Mussolini's fabrication about the death of Carlo Rosselli (who was murdered by henchmen) found its way into the columns of the Times. An insinuation that Matteoti, the socialist leader, had probably died of a weak heart that could not survive a dose of castor oil-that too appeared there. Noted anti-fascists and world-renowned scholars wrote letters to the Times protesting against these lies and presenting the truth in these cases, but the Times had no space for their letters.

WHITEWASHING THE BIG MOUTH

The Times with difficulty attempted to humanize Mussolini (we admit it was a tough job) in columns and umns of stories. Typical is one that termed him a "philanthropist," who paid "from his own private sources" to build a basilica or something or other. He sent the money "anonymously," but the source, traced with difficulty, was none other than the shy, modest, retiring Mussolini. Along the same line, "Mussolini has no vital ailments, but he must wear spectacles." Now, isn't that touching and homey? Just a nice man you would like to meet on Main Street and invite to your home!

assumed "good-natured" way-about the Negro: the crap shooter, the razor wielder, the washwoman, the itterbug. Do Negroes live and suffer, laugh and weep, love and hate as genuine human beings capable of depth in their emotional expression? Not according to Hollywood. The best that Hollywood can say for the Negro is that ... well, "some of them aren't such bad devils after all (if they keep their place!)"

"Stormy Weather" doesn't quite insult the intelligence in the way that "Cabin in the Sky" does. Its plot is so thin that it is merely a series of vaudeville acts; but even here, does anyone in his senses believe that the career of Bill Robinson can be adequately portrayed in terms of an all-Negro cast?

One wonders why such talented Negro actors consented to these Uncle Tom pictures. In a sense it is very irritating that they have done so. By the charm and grace of their performance they have made these pictures so attractive and enjoyable that their very talent serves to obscure the basic reprehensible characteristics of the film.

There are great dramas, and comedies too, to be made with the Negro as the theme. But they will have to be honest and human. They will have to escape from the Jim Crow straightjacket. And they will require Negre actors with a sufficient sense of dignity and integrity to insist on such a portrayal of the essential tragedy which Negro life in American is today.

Elk Hills Crime

Despite the furor created by the disclosures of the Standard Oil steal in its contract with the Navy over the Elk Hills oil reserves, the contract, denounced by the Department of Justice as "illegal and invalid," is still in effect, and the oil company is in a position to pump 15,000 barrels of oil daily from the Naval reserve.

The announcement that the contract was still in operation came from Congressman J. Hardin Peterson, chairman of the House Public Lands Committee, in charge of investigating the transaction.

When the first announcement was made of the contract, it was greeted with universal denunciation. The President subsequently ordered its cancellation, and Secretary of the Navy Knox declared that the President's order was complied with.

Now we learn that the Navy consented to a continuation of the lease until such time as a new contract can be worked out. A new contract was submitted to Attorney General Biddle, but the head of the Department of Justice found that the second contract was as bad as the first one.

They are now working on a third contract in the "hope" that it will be better than the first two. In the meantime, Standard Oil stands on safe ground. The Navy and the Department of Justice do not wish to start condemnation proceedings against this oil octopus (even though they have that authority by an act of Congress) on the ground that it would require "a large congressional appropriation."

What they mean to say is this: When we deal with big business, we put on silk gloves, because we daren't be too nasty with the profiteering merchants of death. After all, it is not a trade union we are dealing with. It is a hundreds-of-millions-of-dollars corporation!

His style is simple, straightforward and forceful. Maybe it could be polished up a bit; maybe it could be highlighted by a few wise-cracks at the expense of a system that is crazy enough, God knows, to be the biggest joke in the world.

But you can't hit hard and wise-crack at the same time-at least, it's a gift that few have. Lund prefers to hit hard, to say what he has to say in a simple and interesting manner; and he does a magnificent job. It is characteristic of his style that he "takes the reader along with him," asks questions and answers them, hammers home his points, examines the facts first from this angle and then from that angle, in the same way that a first-class speaker and agitator does it-at a mass meeting, on a street corner, before a union meeting, on the picket line.

Even if you think you know what Lund has to say (and you probably don't know ALL of it, anyway) you can learn plenty from THE WAY HE SAYS IT. The job of building a workers' world is a job for agitators-agitators who work with FACTS, not wild creations of the imaginationand this is a handbook for agitators.

Most of the main ideas of socialism are taken up at one point or another in PLENTY FOR ALL -a whole chapter to some, a paragraph to others, but they are all there. You will read this book, though, because you are interested in what Lund is telling you, from the first page to the last, and not just because you want to find out what he has to say on one particular point. And you will rea-

in the tens of thousands of copies that would indicate a BEGINNING of a campaign to bring the ideas of socialism to the mass of American workers.

Pink-tea socialism, the socialism of the professors and the preachers, has had its popular pamphlets. Workers seldom saw them, but they were printed, at least. Stalinism has had ITS pamphlets -plenty of them, a new crop to suit each zig-zag in the party line, and some of them pretty good.

But REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM hasn't really attempted to enter the field. There were reasons for this, but we had better forget them, now that the viewpoint of revolutionary socialism, of the Workers Party and of LABOR ACTION, is put forward in such a satisfactory form as in Ernest Lund's "Plenty for All." We had better forget our past lack of attention to popular socialist literature, and make "Plenty for All" a new beginning.

Savoy, Take Note!

According to the Everyman Encyclopedia, we get the following scientific information about "Savoy":

"SAVOY, a variety of cabbage with crinkled leaves, in season from mid-autumn to the end of winter. It should not be cut until the heart is quite firm. It does best in a somewhat heavy soil."

King Victor Emanuel of Italy, head of the House of Savoy, take note!



wouldn't you? But then you don't know the trouble the Thornes are having.

Prior to the death of her husband, Mrs. Thorne had nine (N-I-N-E) servants, two cars, a yacht and lived on no less than \$100,000 a year.

And now? Now the poor woman is compelled to do with only one (O-N-E) servant and one (O-N-E) car, and only \$42,000 a year.

And her boy, poor lad, lives on only \$6,000 a year. Think that's a lot of money? B-U-T-

Could YOU live on \$42,000 a year? Could your little nine-year-old boy live on \$6,000 a year?



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.

Mussolini was given credit in the New York Times for connecting the "Eternal City" with the outside world with five new roads. It said nothing, of course, about the fact that the NEWEST of these roads was at least a thousand years old!

The Encyclopedia Treccani was completed by fascist scholars in 1939. The Times wrote an editorial praising it by saying that "this great work is a mighty monument in the new epoch of Italian history." The fact that the encyclopedia had been started and was well under way before the "new epoch," and that anything worth while in it was written before Mussolini came to power meant nothing to the Times. Also, the fact that everything that had been written by Italian anti-fascists alive in exile, or dead in Italy, or by Jews, had been torn out -this, too, did not bother the "cultured" editors of the Times.

Levi D'Aconda, former professor at the University of Naples, and one of the world's foremost authorities on the romance languages, died in exile a year ago. He had been forced out of his professorship and into exile because he was a Jew. The Times wrote a lengthy obituary but not one word to explain why he was in exile. The same thing happened when the Times wrote an obituary. for another famous Jewish refugee from Italy, Rafaello Soria, who died in exile in 1942.

ITALY, THE WAR AND THE TIMES

When the present war approached, the Italian Ministry of Propaganda sang its theme song through the pages of the Times to the effect that "Italy is concentrating on peaceful internal and constructive projects." Only after it became obvious to everybody else that Italy was going to join Hitler did the Times become suspicious that its old friend was going to join the other side. But it still had hope, and offered friendly advice in an editorial on February 21, 1940, entitled: "Which Way Italy?" A month later another editorial with the same title again implored Mussolini not to choose bad friends but good ones. It was not a question then of fasvism versus democracy; it was only a question of don't join the other side.

As late as June 10 of this year, on the third anniversary of Italy's entrance into the war, the Times was still. a bit nostalgic about its old friend. The only thing that it could find wrong with the slave policies of fascism in Italy was Mussolini's "blunder" of joining Hitler.

On July 17, the Times, in an editorial, attempted to. give the reasons why it and others had up to this period adopted a sympathetic policy toward fascism, and why many Americans and Britons (chiefly business men) at. first regarded it with some tolerance because "it seemed to stand for order and purpose."

With this, the Times hopes to draw the balance sheet and close the book on its role as an active and faithful stooge for the fascist hirelings of the Italian capitalists. But its record cannot now be changed. The ink has long ago dried.

EDITORIAL PAGE

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Editorials **AFL** Officials **Do It Again**

Tradition means almost everything to the old-line bureaucrats on the AFL executive council-especially where these traditions are either outlived or reactionary.

The AFL officialdom fought in vain against the development of industrial unionism in defense of their craft organization, when in fact it had become clear that modern capitalism made the industrial form of organization a life and death question for labor.

Its attitude toward the Negro is mixed, but it would appear that the Negro-haters, the discriminators and the champions of Jim Crow in the union movement are the vocal ones, and dominate in their reactionary purposes.

For years, officials in the AFL have fostered and demanded "exclusion" acts for the Asiatic races. This was especially true with respect to the Chinese.

The war, however, finds China one of the "great powers" of the United Nations and an ally of the United States. The exclusion act against the Chinese has irked them no little, and the Generalissimo and his Missimo have publicly voiced their irritation, letting it be known that they would like to see this act abrogated. And they have found support in Washington, where a bill has been introduced to repeal this legislation.

bill, the AFL executive council voted to oppose modification of the Asiatic exclusion act to admit a quota of Chinese annually. todian of civil rights, would declare him-

The guota is a hundred. With the Chinese population at way over 400,000,000, it would mean that under the guota, one of more than each million persons in China would be admitted, provided they had the money to come here and could, under the of the Negro people? It means to hold conditions of war, make the trip.

But, says William Green: "The council decided to adhere to the traditional policy of opposing any modification or repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act." He thought the interests of the country and the labor unions "would be best served by that position."

Biddle on The March

The reported proposal of Attorney General Francis Biddle to limit and bar the migration of Negroes to cities and industrial *centers, as a partial solution to the race question in this country, is a monstrous plan. In general, his letter to the President on the problem of the Negro is devoid of any proposal which would lead either to a recognition of their rights or the enforcement of such rights.

This is not accidental. The Negro has many formal rights in this country. He is ostensibly a free citizen. The trouble begins when the Negro endeavors to take his rights, or demands full racial, political, economic and social freedom.

One would think, after Los Angeles, Mo-In the midst of the discussion over this bile, Beaumont, Detroit and New York, that the Attorney General, as chief of the federal law enforcement agency and cus-

self ready to enforce these rights. Instead, for all intents and purposes, he launches into a veiled attack on the Negro people.

What does it mean when the Attorney General proposes to restrict the movement these persecuted, oppressed and discriminated-against people responsible for their position in American society. Does Biddle propose to restrict the migration of Southern whites, Negro-baiters, champions of Jim Crow?

No; he proposes just the opposite. He proposes a new and worse form of Jim Crow.

We are not only concerned with the question of whether his proposal is constitutional or not. On the face of it, it is obviously unconstitutional. More important than this legalistic aspect of the proposal is the fact that the Attorney General is actually 'responding (whether consciously or not is unimportant) to the pressures of discrimination and Jim Crow. His proposal would not diminish discrimination, weaken the system of Jim Crow, but, on the contrary, would strengthen it.

Moreover, assuming that such a proposal were accepted, how would it be enforced? Would Biddle assign the FBI to the task of watching all trains, buses and roads to prevent the movement of Negroes? Would he build a new "Gestapo" to search the cities for "run-away" Negroes? Does he want to see another "underground railroad" of Negroes moving by stealth to the North?

Whatever the aim of the Attorney General (and that too is not overly important), his proposal, or idea, or plan, to "solve" the problem must be rejected out of hand as anti-democratic and an impermissible slander against the Negro people.

Italian Workers Blaze Path For European Revolution .

By A. A. B.

Every ruler, every ruling clique in Europe which is waging war, must now save itself from being in the position of Mussolini. This is a symbol of the pointlessness, the destruction and the misery of the war. It is not only the dictator who has fallen. All who ruled with him have gone. And the great body of their supporters have no defense against the people except such as Anglo-

American troops give to them. But if every ruling class does not want to be in the position of Mussolini and the fascists, still less does it want to be in the hopeless position of Badoglio and the House of Savoy. These have repudiated Mussolini and his policy, but say that they will continue Mussolini's war. Their position is absolutely hopeless. Where Mussolini could not make war they cannot. All that they can do is to draw upon themselves the full consequences of the ruin which Mussolini has prepared. The longer they wait. the more catastrophic the debacle and the more impossible their own position becomes before the people.

Not to be Mussolini. Not to be Badoglio. That symbolizes the problem of the European ruling classes. To make as rapid as possible an unconditional surrender in order first of all to gain the support of Roosevelt and Churchill against the revolutionary people, and also, if possible, to appear before the people as active fighters for peace.

Ruling Classes Trembling

Even before the fall of Mussolini this division within the war-making class of Europe had already appeared. There were persistent rumors of peace feelers to Britain and America and of split in the Hungarian cabinet over the continued sup-

In every satellite power in Europe

All these would-be saviors of society are not specifically concerned about the conflict between Anglo-American and German imperialism. They can come to terms either with the one or with the other. Their main preoccupation is to make peace early enough to prevent the disintegration of the armies and the state, which opens the way for social revolution.

they have to face the possibility of destruction by the powerful military apparatus of Germany, are not isolated. Inside Germany itself we must expect the rapid development of precisely such tendencies within the ruling class. Hitler, Goering, Goebbels and their immediate entourage must fight to the end. But the German capitalist class must avoid carrving the war to the stage where the German workers, like the Italian workers, take to the streets against them. The German workers will not be as handicapped as the Italian.

Caught between Anglo - American and German armies, the Italian workers have not been able as yet to do a thorough job of cleaning up the gang of thieves who have ruined the country during the last twenty years. The German working class will be in no such situation. When it begins to settle accounts with German fascism, the more thoroughly it does so the greater will be its oppor-

port of Hitler against the war-weariness of the Hungarian people. Saving Their Skins

there is this conflict between those like Mussolini and Laval who have to go on because no peace can be made with them, and those who are not so openly committed to Hitler and must seek ways and means to save their own hides.

However, these intriguers, although

What Is the Meaning of Cost-Plus?--

(Continued from page 1)

and begging and whining. They sold labor's most powerful weapon, the right to strike, and didn't even get a mess of pottage for it. They have no program of action, no plan, for putting a stop to the raids on labor's living standards. Their only program is to keep no scraping and bowing, begging and whining, before the very ones who are responsible for bringing about labor's present condition.

The Communist Party, and the unions it controls and paralyzes, have a program. But it is a program for making things still worse! They are working with might and main to ram down the throats of the working class the system of "incentive pay." The very idea of the system delights the capitalists. What does it mean? Three words sum it up: The speed-up system. The labor movement has fought the speed-up system, no matter in what guise it has appeared, since that movement was first organized. It was right. It is still right. It would kill itself if it allowed this system to be imposed upon it now.

The corporations say: We will produce anything you want, IF you guarantee us pay us what it costs to produce the product, plus a "reasonable" profit for our enterprise and our noble patriotism. If our costs, and our profits, are not guaranteed, you can look elsewhere. For what good is a war, and what good is a government that does not guarantee us what it "costs" us to produce, plus our profit? That wouldn't be our war and it wouldn't be our government.

That is what the capitalists say and, from their viewpoint, they are one hundred per cent right.

So the government, and all its departments, sign contracts with the big and little corporations in which the corporations are guaranteed their cost -plus!

If the cost of raw materials which the corpora-

So the government bought thousands upon thousands of acres of land-and turned them over to the corporations.

The government built thousands of plants throughout the country out of public funds-and turned them over to the corporations to operate and profit from.

The government scoured the country and the world to provide the corporations with a guaranteed flow of raw materials, in plants built or financed by the government, and set up on land bought by the government.

The government set up agencies to get labor for the corporations. Then it saw to it that labor's wage demands on the corporations were kept down. Then it froze labor to the jobs of the corporations in the plants built or financed by the government on land bought by the government with the public funds. The government wrote its contracts with these corporations so that if the war comes to an end, and the contracts for war goods are cancelled, the corporations would be compensated for their "costs and commitments on the uncompleted portion of the contract, plus some allowance for reasonable profit on the work done." That is how the National City Bank Bulletin describes the arrangement.

ment set up \$430,000,000 worth of magnesium plants, so that only eight per cent of magnesium production is privately owned. But all the production is run by the big corporations, and the profit is theirs.

The government invested \$625,000,000 in plants and facilities for the manufacture of synthetic rubber. It spent more millions in setting up a machine-tool industry for the capitalists. It built not less than 521 aircraft plants at a cost of \$2,700,-000,000-almost three billion dollars, ten times the value of the privately-owned investment in that industry-and the benefit and profits from that construction go to the corporations.

Cost-Plus System at Work

tunity of escaping punishment for the crimes of fascism.

The German capitalist class has already begun the process of dissociating itself from Hitler. Early this year there was a drastic purge; of the German army and the diplomatic circles. The German ambassador in Spain died in mysterious circumstances. Both facts and rumors are going to thicken henceforth. Already it is said that Von Brauchitsch is imprisoned. Whether that is so or not, that struggle among the German rulers is inescapable.

Italian Workers Show the Way

It is these things which paralyze military commanders and bring wars to an end. Once the Italian people took to the streets, the German ruling class could not fight with the unanimity and singleness of purpose of former days.

Stalin, who is in closest touch with the European situation, has recognized these inevitable developments. His Free German National Committee is no more than a basis outside of Germany to act as a rallying center for those anti-Hitler capitalist elements in Germany which wish to maintain the stability of German capitalism at the expense of the German working class.

In this frantic struggle of bankrupt and discredited ruling classes, to throw up new leaders who will hold the working class down, Franco of Spain and Salazar of Portugal occupy key positions. Franco in particular must know that the fall of Mussolini and the fall of Hitler signify in the minds of all Europeans, and above all, of Spaniards, the ultimate fall of Franco. It is to his advantage therefore to facilitate the emergence of groups in each country masquerading as lovers of peace, enemies of the German domination of Europe and willing and humble agents of Anglo-American capitalism.

Franco is in the "fortunate" position of not being responsible for having taken his country into war and led it to that particular kind of ruinous defeat. For that very reason he offers an admirable base for intrigues by Roosevelt and Churchill to prop up the tottering regimes in Europe and save them from the wrath of the working class.

This was the meaning of Roosevelt's unconditional surrender slogan at Casablanca. That far-sighted counter-revolutionist offered to the ruling classes of Europe support against their own working class in return for complete military surrender. We are going to see now, first, the frantic efforts to take advantage of the offer and, secondly, Churchill and Roosevelt doing their utmost to facilitate them.

No one can predict all that will happen in Europe. But henceforth, some of the greatest battles that will be waged there will be the battles of the classes. And in those battles the imperialisms of the world, together with Stalin, will find their differences not so great as to prevent their common front against the progressive aspiration of the oppressed masses.

What is to be done?

How is labor to meet this crisis in its life? How is it to deal with the problem of increased living costs?

We are concerned, first, last and always, with labor, with the working man and the working woman, with the working class. The patriots can shout till they are blue in the face about the "defense of the nation." But any "defense of the nation" which is not a defense, a protection, an improvement in the economic and political position of the working class, is not a "defense of the nation" but a defense of the capitalist class, the war profiteers and their interests.

Again, what is to be done?

To answer that question, look at what is being done by and for the capitalist class, enemy and exploiter of labor.

Big Business and Cost-Plus

The capitalists, who own and control the industrial and political life of the country, are hard at work "for the war." Naturally. It is their war and they are coining profits out of the blood and suffering of the war such as they have never coined before.

Every child in this country knows that in spite of the "heavy taxes" on the corporations and other employers, their profits are still the highest in history. They are rolling in wealth that they themselves never believed existed.

How do they arrange this wonderful miracle for themselves? Aren't they working for the "common good"? Aren't they working "for the government," on "defense contracts"?

They let industry produce for their common good. They are working for their government, because their government is working for them.

No wheel turns unless capital is guaranteed a contract which is based, in one form or another, on COST-PLUS. The capitalists have a program, and they do not yield an inch or move a step unless and until that program is carried out to the full. What is cost-plus?

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tions use goes up, that is covered by the government-plus the profit.

If the cost of transportation of materials, raw or finished, goes up, that is covered by the government-plus the profit.

If, by sheer organized might, labor gets an increase in wages, and the labor cost of the corporations goes up, that is covered by the government -plus the profit.

The capitalists and the corporations cannot lose. The government guarantees them against loss. The government protects their interests. The government guarantees that, come what may, they will get their blood-profits.

Costs are taken care of automatically. Whether they rise in reality, or rise only because of the thousand clever bookkeeping swindles and other swindles that the corporations know by heart, the government takes care to cover them.

How are profits judged? How is the "plus" figured out?

Very simply. The small capitalist, the weak corporation, can get only so much and not much more. The big corporations, strong economically and strong politically, demand more and get more. They use their organized power to obtain the biggest "plus," the biggest profit, that they can get. The government does even better. It does every-

thing it can to show whose government it really is, whose interests it really protects and looks after.

The government sees to it that the corporations take as little risk as possible, so that their profits of yesterday are protected, their profits of today are protected, and even their profits of tomorrow are protected,

To produce for the staggering requirements of the war, industry had to be expanded, and some new ones created. Land had to be bought. New plants had to be built. New machinery had to be produced. Raw materials had to be found all over the world or manufactured synthetically. Labor had to be assembled and put to work. In a pinch, high-cost, inefficient production had to be started and operated.

Government Aids Big Business

The corporations and the bankers said to the government: That is a tough and risky proposition. You do it. You spend the money and make the efforts. The people will pay-but not we.

The corporations can't lose! They had a program and the government has fulfilled it to the letter.

Jesse Jones, head of the government's RFC and Secretary of Commerce in the Roosevelt Administration, a bankers' man, a corporation man, told of some of the things that have been done in a speech he delivered in Washington (at the Evening Star Radio Forum) on July 21.

In the past three years the government has spent twenty-five billion dollars building plants and facilities of one kind or another, including a total of 1,500 plants. These are turned over to big corporations to operate and draw profit from. Title remains in the hands of the government. If these plants are not needed at the end of the war, the government is left with them. The corporations are in the clear!

About one billion dollars went into the steel industry alone from the RFC. In Utah it put up a steel mill for the Geneva Steel Company, a subsidiary of the United States Steel Corporation, at a cost of \$190,000,000. It did not cost Geneva Steel a penny. This branch of the steel trust operates it "for the RFC" and draws its profit from it.

That is what is meant by FREE enterprise!

In Homestead, Pa., RFC put up a steel mill for the Carnegie Steel Company at a cost of \$100,000,-000. More FREE enterprise for Carnegie Steel! In Chicago, RFC put up a mill for the Republic Steel Company at a cost of \$85,000,000. Republic Steel can't possibly get stuck after the war. Title remains in the hands of the government.

At a total outlay of \$760,000,000 of government funds, the RFC built nine aluminum plants and forty-five fabricating plants. Who runs them? Who draws guaranteed profits from them? Mostly, the aluminum trust of the United States.

Magnesium plants-the same story. The govern-

There is more, much more. Only a small part can be recited here.

When the worker's costs rise, he must absorb the increase as well as he can; that, says the government, is not its affair. When a shortage of tankers made it necessary to use tank cars and other railroad equipment, that meant a rise in costs. But when oil costs rose, the government began paying a subsidy of \$300,000,000 a year to the oil companies.

It costs the copper employers more to get the metal from the low-grade ore mines than from the better mines. So the government steps in. It covers the higher costs. It subsidizes the high-cost copper mines now to the tune of \$8,000,000 a year. The high-cost lead producers are subsidized by the government to the extent of \$4,000,000 a year. The high-cost zinc producers get a subsidy of \$11,000,-000 a year from the government.

Shipping and shipping insurance companies get government subsidies to the extent of \$94,000,000 a year.

The government covers their costs, covers them when they go up or when the companies say they go up, and guarantees them their profit on top of that.

In essentially the same way, the economic interests of the big, wealthy farmers, the big market producers, are protected by the government. The Commodity Credit Corporation and other government institutions are vigilantly at work, conscientiously protecting the big agricultural powers.

One simple example will show how it works: The ceiling price for soybeans is \$1.68 a bushel. The CCC says, we will support the price at \$1.80 a bushel. It buys the soybeans from the big producers at \$1.80 and sells them back for \$1.68 "to stabilize the price." Last year the CCC spent \$12,-000,000 just on the subsidizing of the soybean producers.

That is the COST-PLUS system.

The capitalists and their corporations cannot lose. Their rising "living costs" are taken care of by the government-PLUS their profits.

In the second half of this article, to be published next week, the author will deal with WHAT a Cost-Plus wage is, and HOW labor can get it.



(Continued from page 1)

would-be rioters and persecutors of the Negroes think twice before they start anything as the fact that labor, organized labor, white and black together, has determined that racial persecution must stop.

But labor has a still greater responsibility. It has the good will of the Negro people more than ever before. It has within its ranks hundreds of thousands of Negro workers devoted to the union. The Negro community, as the Harlem demonstration showed, has reached a stage when it is demanding its rights as citizens. It is determined to have these rights.

The government practices Jim Crow in every field. It shows no intention whatever of doing anything else except making a few gestures. Labor's Grand Opportunity

This is labor's opportunity. Labor must realize that its future place is at the head of the American nation. Labor must realize that if economic crises, fascism and imperialist war are to be conquered, then they can be conquered only by a fighting labor movement gathering around itself all the poor, all the oppressed, all the persecuted, making them see in labortheir shield against oppression and the fighter for their rights.

The exploited tenant-farmer, the old people whom industry has used and cast aside, the small shop keepers and the white collar workers on whom the burdens of capitalism increasingly fall-all these groups, the Negroes and other minorities, are looking for a way out of the perpetual capitalist crisis and the crimes and barbarism of capitalist society.

Labor must teach all these people to look to labor. By taking upon itself the defense of the Negroes, labor will not only protect its own organization. It will take a long step toward its place as the leader of American society.