What Major Tasks Face Trade Union **Conventions?**

LABOR ACTION

SEPTEMBER 27, 1943

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

By DAVID COOLIDGE Labor Editor of Labor Action

The organized labor movement in the United States is getting together in annual conventions. Two great federations of labor, the AFL and the CIO, will convene in Boston and Philadelphia on October 4 and November 1, respectively. Several of the more important internationals of these two federations are also holding their annual conventions. During September and October the United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers, the United Automobile Workers and the Industrial Union of Marine & Shipbuildbuilding Workers will have met.

These conventions will be made up of thousands of delegates, representing twelve to fifteen millions of workers. They will come from mine, mill and factory. There will be youth, male and female, attending their first labor convention. There will be grizzled veterans of the picket line and of the class struggle. There will be Negro delegates from the CIO industrial unions. There will be Jew and Gentile, Catholic and Protestant, native born and those born beyond the seas.

These thousands of delegates will assemble to hear the annual reports of their national and international officers. They will listen with attention as the officials report on their stewardship during the past year.

Thousands of worker delegates to the various conventions will discuss and vote on urgent and serious questions that confront them daily in the mines, mills and factories. They will pay close attention and give serious consideration to every major issue. They will do this because they represent millions back home who have elected them to be their representatives: to speak and vote for them, to argue for them and to represent their interests. And, too, these delegates, taking responsibility for their own acts, must report to the millions back home on their stewardship.

What are the main problems that these delegates will be confronted with? We can state them simply and directly. All of the conventions and each delegate will be faced with the problem of the Little Steel formula, this high wall which encloses labor in a concentration camp of low wages, and holds the working man and working woman to a permanent low standard of living as lon as the formula is operative.

Each convention and delegate will be confronted with the government's job stabilization decree, which makes it impossible for labor to improve its economic status, standard of living and working conditions by moving freely about from one employer to another.

Labor is faced with the Smith-Connally Act, which makes it a penal offense for labor to use its most powerful weapon, its numbers, in an organized and militant manner in order to wring concessions from the bosses.

(Continued on page 4)

Militant Program Needed, Says Akron Labor Writer

The following article was written by John C. Green in the Summit County Labor News, the official publication of the organized labor movement of the Akron, Ohio, vicinity. We are republishing it because it to the anti-strike pledge. It is hoped represents a partial program of mili- that both conventions will thoroughly tancy and progressive action which the labor movement must adopt if it is to survive the growing anti-union campaign of reaction. Many readers will find in the views of Mr. Green a close similarity to those which have appeared in the columns of this paper. Mr. Green's views are an added reflection of the fact that LABOR ACTION represents the best interests of the American labor movement and the working class in general.

In past "Observations," the writer pointed out that, in view of the Smith-Connally anti-labor bill, it became inconsistent for labor to adhere thrash out this matter and come to a decision that will benefit labor organizations and not keep their hands

Workers Must Organize Now to FIGHT LABOR DRAFT!

One of the biggest dangers now facing the American working class is the drive prepared in Washington to push through a universal labor draft. The Austin-Wadsworth Bill, which is calculated to create a condition of veritable slavery for labor, will come before the present session of Congress. The bill has wide support from the reactionary bloc in the Senate and the House. But even more dangerous than the congressional advocates of a labor draft is the fact that a labor draft is favored by the President and his Administration.

The reason given for pushing a labor draft is the manpower shortage. But the current debates in the press and in Washington reveal that the manpower situation is a mess brought about essentially by the bungling of the War Manpower Come

A Hundred Per Cent Tax On War Profits Would Answer These Vultures of Big Business

As part of the campaign to repeal the re negotiation of profits law, big business is now testifying before the House Ways and Means Committee. Behind this campaign stands the National Association of Manufacturers, with corporations valued at \$60,000,000,000.

Last week, Ralph S. Damon, representing the airplane manufacturers, testified that the thirty-three per cent clear profits earned b the industry "was merely a bookkeeping fig ure." Lying about the real position of the airplane companies, he declared:

"Unless changes are made in the renego tiation and tax laws, we will be in the position of the gladiators who said 'We who are about to die salute you."

Needless to say, the airplane industry is not about to die. On the contrary, it really began to live when the war began. The government built huge plants for these magnates, supplied all the capital, and gave them contracts which guaranteed high profits! How high were these profits?

Well, figures on eleven big companies revealed that they made \$299,000,000, or 126 per cent last year, on a stockholders' investment of \$238,000,000. With taxes and renegotiations this profit was cut to \$78,000,-000, or thirty-three per cent. This, then, is

L. Y. Speers, president of the Electric Boat Company, also poured out his crocodile tears before the committee and charged that the renegotiation law was "definitely socialistic." Why? Because it cut his war profits down from \$17,840,000 (ten times higher than his pre-war average) to \$8,000,000, or twice as much profit as the company ever made!

BUT---

Committee figures showed what the labor and socialist press pointed out long ago, that, despite the present "high" taxes and renegotiation of contracts, corporations made \$24,-000,000,000 in profits in the past three years and still had \$12,000,000,000 left after paying dividends (most of this going to the big officials!).

These profits are greater than any 'in the history of American business, far greater than in the First World War, when 23,000 new war millionaires were made.

The trouble is that the taxes on corporations and capitalists are not big enough; the taxes on war profits are too small. What is needed is a one hundred per cent tax on all war profits!

"Equality of Sacrifice?" Bunk is hardly a strong enough word. Here are a couple of instances why, right before your eyes.

mission, the War Mobilization Director, Congress and a host of other "experts" in charge of this matter.

The opposition of the labor movement to a labor draft and the deep dissatisfaction of the workers over such a prospect has caused some Administration supporters and opponents alike to question the advisability of instituting measures such as the Austin-Wadsworth Bill.

That isn't the only reason, however. They question whether the problem of manpower can be solved by any new agencies, whether such new agencies will do a better job than those responsible for the present mess.

The Baruch report on the labor shortage on the West Coast charged the government agencies with responsibility for that situation, urging in place of a labor draft or a national service act, a pooling of labor and the establishment of manpower priorities.

The report stated: "Proper handling of manpower has been made impossible by the failure of government agencies to work as a team with a clearly defined program."

But the most revealing aspect of the Baruch report is that the cost-plus-fixed-fee contracts which the government signed with the big war production factories have resulted in a mass hoarding of labor. This is not only true of the West Coast; it is true of every other industrial center of the country.

The discussions over the labor draft have revealed further that the Tydings amendment, which resulted in deferment of more than 1,500,000 agricultural workers out of 12,500,000 LABOR ACTION will carry full (there were only 1,400,000 industrial deferments out of 42,000,000 labor material on the UAW convenforce) not only helped in the creation to be held in Buffalo on tion of the current manpower "shortage," but it has led to a virtual "peonage" of Southern agricultural workers, who are held captive under That issue will contain firstmiserable working conditions and low hand reports on the Shipyard wages.

Workers convention, as well as When the Baruch report was finala statement by the Workers ly made public, Senator Ferguson of Michigan offered a resolution calling Party on the trade union situafor the abolition of the costfixed-fee contracts. Said the senator: (Continued on page 4)

The adoption of the following opinions into a progressive labor program would have an invigorating effect on the workers and it would be a smashing blow against those who seek the destruction of the labor movement either by direct assault or through the adoption of such policies as can only result in a drastic weakening of it.-Editor.

Two important conventions will take place within a few weeks, the United Rubber Workers convention at Toronto and the United Auto Workers convention at Buffalo.

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Both conventions will take up an important issue, the no-strike pledge. The Firestone and Goodrich locals, two of the largest rubber unions in the URWA, will present resolutions calling for the revocation of the nostrike pledge. A number of such resolutions will also be brought before the Auto Workers convention. The rank and file of the Auto Workers has always been suspicious of the proposal to tie the union's hands by the no-strike pledge, and it took a lot of persuasion to get the membership to accept this noose around la-' bor's neck.

In most cases the no-strike pledge matter was not brought before the rank and file union members until after the leaders had already given the no-strike pledge to President Roosevelt.

Roosevelt promised many things in return-no lockout, no profiteering, and limitation on profits, no war millionaires, control of the cost of living and no union-busting campaign,

What did organized labor get? Smith-Connally bill, frozen

wages, angher taxes on the pay envelope, a continued rise in prices and living costs, and threats of further anti-labor legislation by Congress.

The war profiteers were not affected at all; profits skyrocketed beyond their greatest expectations and they used the no-strike pledge as a club to destroy unionism in the auto and other unions. .

completely tied.

These two conventions can give real leadership to organized labor by revocation of the no-strike pledges, as proposed by the Goodrich and Firestone locals of the URWA and many locals of the UAW.

. . .

The War Labor Board, the armchair strategists of the war profiteers, has become nothing else but a buffer between enormous profits on one side and frozen wages on the other side. A brick wall for labor to bump its head against. A barricade between war profiteers and organized labor. Their answer is NO to wage earners.

It is time that members of organized labor resign from labor boards. To organized labor they are about as much use as a cárbuncle on the neck or a fifth wheel on a wagon. . . .

When wages are frozen and workers are stampeded into greater and greater production efforts, it results in greater and greater profits, and labor holds the bag. It gives something for nothing. Demand wage increases.

. . .

The greatest weapon of labor has always been the strike weapon. When labor gave up the right to strike it was putting a gun into the hands of the employers to snipe at labor. And they have taken plenty of pot shots at the unions.

. . .

No union leadership is intelligent enough by itself to make decisions for the unions. Decisions made must come directly from the rank and file of the organization. In the past, as well as today, we see top leadership making political and economic decisions for the organized workerswithout even consulting the membership. That is wrong. No vital decision should be made before it has been thoroughly discussed by the membership of the union. Bureaucrats in the unions should be re-

moved from office. . . .

Labor must organize the ex-soldiers; machinery should be set in motion to do so. If organized labor does not organize them, the politicians and employers will, and then they will be used against organized labor; as was done before. Act now! Do it at once!

the way a big business is being "wiped out."

tion.

October 4.

Next Week--

Stalinist Bureaucrats Champion Reactionary Program

A Report on the Convention of the UERMW

By STANLEY HOLLAND

The ninth annual convention of the United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America, CIO, is over. It might as well never have taken place, as far as the membership is concerned, for its total accomplishment will add up to one great big minus.

Today, with the rising cost of living and the burden of increased taxation playing havoc with the standard of living of the American worker, it was mandatory for this union convention to attempt to seek a solution to this most pressing problem. Plans for a struggle against the wage freeze, job freeze and tax program should have been rejected and the no-strike pledge rescinded. The reactionary Congress of big business should have been answered with a ringing cry for independent labor political action: These questions, along with the WLB and the Little Steel formula, are of acute interest to the workers.

Avoiding Real Issues

The UE convention either slid over these problems as if they did not exist, or when they bothered to take them up at all they invariably did the wrong thing.

In the last issue of LABOR AC-TION we reported on the proceedings of the convention through the first three and a half days. We are now able to report that the last two days of the convention followed the pattern of the opening days by placing its rubber stamp on all the resolutions introduced by the Stalinistdominated leadership of the UE. The major questions not previously

reported are a resolution calling for the second front, a resolution condemning John L. Lewis (this was the second resolution on Lewis, the first being contained in a previous nostrike pledge), a refusal to nominate James B. Carey, former president of

as secretary of the CIO at the forthcoming CIO convention.

These three questions were predetermined by Stalinist party policy. 'the Stalinists have had control of the UE for the last two years and since that time have been running it with total disregard for the desires of the ranks.

A Stalinist Political Policy

The second front resolution is quite clear in itself. It is a call to American trade unionists by the local agents of Stalinist Russia to give expression to Stalin's present political desires.

Condemnation of John L. Lewis is merely another expression of Stalinist policy. Ever since Moscow changed sides in the war, since Hitler broke his pact with Stalin, his American agents in this country have been told to support the Administration in everything it does. The UE convention did just that. Since trade union militancy and the anti-labor conduct of the Roosevelt Administration are in constant conflict, the Stalinists stand on the side of the Administration and have hacked away at all trade union militants.

Therefore, when John L. Lewis and the United Mine Workers challenged the Little Steel formula, and with it the anti-labor War Labor Board, the exorbitant price ceilings, and the general miserable conditions forced on workers in this country by the war profiteers, it was the Stalinists (and among them the Stalinist leaders of the UE were the loudest) who joined together with big business in violently attacking him. Hence, by virtue of the same logic, the UE leadership forced through a resolution reaffirming their no-strike pledge, despite the beating that organized labor is taking from the industrial barons, and also called for a forth term for President Roosevelt. The resolution for incentive pay that was foisted on the UE membership was the leadership's answer to the UE, for re-election to his post a need on the part of the organized

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labor movement to fight the wage freeze. The incentive pay plan is a new word that has been coined for the old speed-up, piecework system that the trade union movement has constantly fought.

The Stalinists have answered every demand on the part of the workers in the shops for wage increases with "You can't get it now because of the Little Steel formula, but you can make more money with an incentive pay plan." No suggestion to fight wage freezing, for that means bucking Roosevelt's Administration, For that would mean bucking the American capitalists. And they can do neither today, for the foreign policy of Stalinist Russia is to say to the United States: "You do not have to fear an alliance with us. We have no

quarrel with you or the capitalist system." This sell-out is designed to further diplomatic relations between the USA and the USSR.

The attack on James B. Carey came as an outgrowth of the CIO secretary's opposition to the Stalinist "rule or ruin" policy in the trade union movement and more recently for his denunciation of the Alter-Ehrlich murder by the GPU.

Militant Program Needed Instead of facing union problems. the Stalinist leadership devoted time to singing praise of itself. When they were not doing this, they praised Stalinist Russia, and then, to let the world know that they were still "loyal," they praised Roosevelt and his Administration. The real need for the UERMW is

Starvation in India Result of British Rule

a militant program to infuse new life blood into the organization. We gave that program last week when we reported on the convention. We repeat it again because it is all-important. Here it is:

1. For militant unionism - repeat the no-strike pledge!

2. Against incentive pay or any other piecework system; for wage increases!

3. Against the WLB's Little Steel formula!

4. Against the labor draft

5. For an Independent Labor Party

6. Organize the unorganized!

7. For a progressive and militant union leadership!

Mass starvation has again hit India. Throughout the province of Bengal the famine has so ravaged the area that the dead lie in the streets. In the city of Calcutta alone, estimated deaths from hunger average about 150 persons in any one day.

Walter Briggs, United Press correspondent in India, has just sent a harrowing story of the mass death and hunger to be found everywhere. He toured the streets of Calcutta and saw the horror with his own eyes.

Briggs tells of walking through the streets of Calcutta at sunrise where he had seen dozens of persons on the sidewalk who had died the previous night. He reports that wherever one turns in the city, one can see children with bloated stomachs, and men and women perishing for lack of strength to move on. The people are wailing for rice, but there is not enough to go around.

The writer further reports that at one time things got so bad that there were not enough facilities to pick on some, help to explain the untoid

up the huge toll of dead on the streets. Newspaper editors found the death toll so high at times that they were prevented from publishing a complete tally. Briggs saw families waiting in lines five and six blocks long for a plate of watery gruel. He saw three and four year old children

digging in rat-pillaged waste from overturned garbage cans. Yet, right around the corner,

state functionaries, politicians, industrialists and other officials gorge themselves on seventeen - course meals!

No help is expected until January, when the harvest comes in. Undoubtedly the situation will grow worse in the coming months.

This story, together with reports of profit grabbing and mismanagement, with stories of the black market, and with other stories that tell how prices rose over 70 per cent on all commodities and up to 800 per cent

suffering. Several food riots have already been reported.

But behind this story of mass starvation lies the imperialist rule of Great Britain over the millions of Indian people.

India has been the prime object of exploitation for the English capitalists. Untold profits have been soaked out of the blood of the Indian masses. Death to the Indians by starvation means nothing to the English, for they care for nothing but their profits. Out of the present starvation the British imperialists are making a handsome bankroll, for it is they who run the economic life of India.

And India, fighting for her freedom from British imperialist rule, is told by her British overlord that she is not capable of handling her own affairs. Only the fine, educated, rich, bloated, capitalist British imperialist is capable of running India.

These are the fruits of British rule! Independence NOW is the burn need for Indiat

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LABOR ACTION

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NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Behind the Bosses' Plan For Incentive Pay

The incentive pay speed-up campaign is on again. The War Production Board's big spring push, begun with the aid of all the business magazines, bogged down badly when it came up against labor opposition, especially from the rank and filers of the United Automobile Workers Union.

General Motors is nevertheless demanding, in negotiations for a new contract, that the incentive speed-up be reintroduced, although the company knows perfectly well that more workers originally joined the UAW to get rid of the speed-up than for any other single reason.

WPB's C. E. Wilson, Donald Nelson's chief aide, also refuses to be discouraged by his failure of last spring. He has started a new summer drive on behalf of his pet project with personal tours to important auto and aircraft fronts (Detroit and the West Coast). He has enlisted new allies from the ranks of journalism (for example, Reader's Digest for August; Fortune for September; Saturday Evening Post, July 24; Los Angeles Times, August 22). The old allies of the springtime are still faithful to a cause so dear to their hearts (Time, July 19; Business Week, August 14).

Bosses Understand Incentive Pay

We don't intend to review all this literature, but some of it is of the highest interest to trade unionists, since it shows so clearly what their bosses are thinking about. In a large special section, "Reports to Executives," Business Week, August 14, reminds its readers that the incentive idea isn't new but has taken on a new interest because of the manpower shortage.

"In addition," it proceeds, "employers, who have long thought they could get more for their labor dollar and who have been frustrated by a deep-seated union opposition ..., are hopeful that a mood of sacrifice engendered by the war makes labor less tenacious in its hostility "

Naturally the bosses wouldn't think of failing to take advantage of a patriotic mood of sacrifice on the part of the workers. Unfortunately for them, it's mostly the top leaders of the unions, who wouldn't have to work in the shops under the speedup, who are most affected by this mood. While many workers too are doubtless willing to sacrifice, they are at the same time acutely aware

of long hours, frozen wage rates, the patriotism plus the economic squeeze steadily rising cost of living-and, in among the workers. But the ecocontrast, the ever-rising profits of the flag-waving corporations.

Patriotism and Sacrifice

By CHESTER WALTERS

we felt.

me?"

sequences.

all helped.

either.

So, Business Week adds, the employers are counting on the mood of sacrifice, "particularly when it can be demonstrated that any advance in HOURLY RATES (our emphasis) is impossible under government regulations but earnings may be increased under an incentive plan." The bosses bank on patriotism to do the job among the labor leaders,

things are going and go out on strike nomic squeeze on the workers has

resulted largely from the "patriotism" of their leaders, who have threatened often enough to quit the War Labor Board and to launch a campaign against the Little Steel formula but have always, when the time came to "put up," patriotically shut up instead. These brave leaders have now reached the low point of joining employer and public members of the WLB in punishing work-

ers who get impatient with the way

What a Train Wreck Can Prove

If you've never felt happy and sad at the same time, except at the

movies, we suggest that you read those newspaper stories of last week-

end's Congressional Limited wreck again. Because that's just the way

We were overwhelmed with horror at the descriptions of the wreck,

and with sympathy and pity for the victims. But there was something

in those stories that made us hopeful for this old world, just the same.

When the wreck happened, nobody passed by on the other side.

look, and stayed to help. Taxi drivers, servicemen and just plain. Joes

pitched in to save as many lives as possible.

me move this girder." And he did.

ternes treating Jewish women.

Poverty is a train wreck.

Disease is a train wreck.

Ignorance is a train wreck.

Our local union has at all times

Hunger is a train wreck.

hammedan or two.

simple facts. Like these:

Neighbors, hearing the noise of the crash, ran from their homes to

In all the accounts we read, nobody stopped to ask: "What's in it for

People turned their homes into first-aid stations, their cars into am-

We might even add, in a whisper, that nobody was heard to remark:

Maybe profits aren't the most important thing in the world, after all.

Negroes and whites, Irish-Americans, Polish-Americans, Italian-

Nobody said: "Step to the rear, N-r." They said: "Hey, slla, help

White soldiers carried out colored babies. Guys named Smith helped

Maybe "race" isn't the most important thing in a asse like that,

Catholic priests saying prayers for dead Protestants. Gentile in-

Jews and Gentiles, Catholics and Protestants, maybe even a Mo-

You know, some day we're going to wake up and realize a few

Then we'll all pitch in, like the neighbors at Frankford Junction.

-From the Liberal and Labor Press, Chester, Pa.

And God help the guy that tries to divide us with profits, or "race," or

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Americans, even so-called "aliens," lent a helping hand.

Guess it isn't "religion" that matters, either.

"religion," or politics-or, "What's in it for me?"

girls named Raskowski. And vice versa, all along the line.

bulances, and their clothes into rags, without much thought of the con-

"But there's no profit in helping." Nobody made any profits, but they

for a day or two, or perhaps only an hour or two. Business Week is often refreshingly frank. The Los Angeles Times,

famous the nation over for its Toryism, is in its reactionary blindness, BRUTALLY frank. In a leading editorial in its issue of August 22 this unblushing mouthpiece of big business develops the following instructive ideas:

Pushing the Old Game

Judging by all the hullabaloo (WPB propaganda; enthusiastic testimony of Almon E. Roth. an employer member of the WLB before a House committee; a speech of Frederick C. Crawford, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, to 1,500 Los Angeles business men, etc.), you might think incentive pay was something new. As a matter of fact, it's just the sensible old American idea of letting every man produce and earn all he can.

"It is," to quote directly, "the vital principle of the open shop, or American Plan system ... that no able ... worker shall be limited by the incanacity or indifference of others, or shall be required against his will to join an organization which denies him the right to do as much work as he can and be paid in proportion."

It's a good joke on the New Dealers (gloats the Times), who encouraged unionism and thus undermined the American Plan, that they themselves are now trying to restore incentive pay. They are anxious to increase war production but "under the New Deal system production can be increased only at a fifty per cent increase in the per hour cost paid to the same workers for the same perhour rate of production." That's the damage caused by the overtime provision of the wage and hour law.

Hudson Local 154, UAW, **Elects Convention Delegates**

Hudson Local 154, UAW-CIO, recently elected thirty delegates to the UAW convention, all of whom are committed to fighting against an increase in dues, against incentive or piecework pay, against the Smith-Connally Act, and to fighting for a raise in wages, roll-back in prices

and equal pay for equal work." There were two main slates involved in the elections-one, the "administration" slate, headed by President Al Germaine; the other, a rank and file slate, headed by Claude

Both groups advocated slogans most important difference being tion of the contract. To date, this that the former, although asking for has not been done becaus repeal of the Smith-Connally Act, makes no mention of the no-strike peal of both.

Result: the workers earn too much. Then they try to use all their extra money to buy things, that drives prices up, and everybody suffers.

"It can be argued," concedes the Times. "that incentive payments would also be inflationary. They would be, in the sense that every dollar put into spendable circulation is such. But in this case, the added money so paid would be in direct proportion to the added production secured, instead of the one and a half times that, which the unionist formula exacts. In other words, it would be exactly the same thing as hiring extra workers at the base pay rates, which we would be very glad to do, if there were extra workers to hire.

Give Bosses a Free Hand

What is the Times saying? Goods for consumers are scarce, so prices must go up. "Of course! Naturally!" says the Times. Workers are scarce, so the price of labor must go up. "That's not fair." protest the Times and the corporations. "You work harder, and then we'll pay you more. When you turn out ten pieces, we're glad to pay you for ten. But if you want to be paid for fifteen, don't tell. us that workers are in demand or that butter has gone up fifty per cept. Get to work, turn out fifteen in the time you once did ten, and you'll earn your pound of butter honestly."

Now we know how the laws of nature should operate under capitalism: just the way the capitalists want them to. On behalf of the workers of America, we thank the editors of the Los Angeles Times. The more they explain incentive pay and the other laws of nature under capitalism, the better we understand that we want something else, even such an un-American "ism" as unionism.

Good and Bad Union Politics For the past several weeks and for ers and their economic demands were subordinated to the boss polisome weeks to come, many international labor union conventions have tics of the convention leaders. been and will be held. The problems Thus, we saw the sight of a union which confront these union convenconvention spending nine - tenths of tions naturally reflect the economic

as "political questions."

tions.

ers. Since economic problems, how-

ever, are closely related to political

questions-they cannot truly be sep-

arated - the union movement must

concern itself with political ques-

The problems of wages, hours

and working conditions intertwine

with the problems of relations of the

unions to the bosses, the press and

the government. It is as impossible

to separate the wage problem from

"politics" as it is to separate the "po-

litical questions" from the economic

The decisive question is whether

the unions concern themselves with

politics at the expense of the eco-

nomic interests of the workers, or at

the expense of the general interests

of the trade union movement. There

is such a thing as good politics, just

For example, in the opinion of this

paper, as well as of the writer, the

creation of an independent political

party of the workers, a Labor Party

based upon the trade union move-

ment, is the most important politi-

cal need of the American working

class. Such a party could continue

the struggle for labor on the politi-

cal field. It is indicated by the pro-

grams and activities of the two capi-

talist political parties, by Congress,

and, not least of all, the Administra-

tion. For labor to depend upon these

forces and their rotten boss - con-

trolled - and anti-labor political ma-

chines is to insure a veritable slaugh-

This view is not only ours. Thou-

sands, and thousands of workers feel

the same way about it. Many local

unions have gone on record for real

independent political action, and

some have explicitly declared for a

The mass union movement has the

force, the organization and the money

to guarantee the establishment of

such a party. Yet the officialdoms

machine of Roosevelt, or, even

worse, the corrupt state and city ma-

chines of both parties.

ter of the union movement.

Labor Party.

as there is bad politics.

What Is "Good Politics"?

struggle of the union movement.

its time forcing down the throats of and political situation in the country the delegates the fourth term for and the unions cannot avoid concern-Roosevelt. The UERMW was the ing themselves with what are known first union convention to take a record vote on support to the Demo-The union movement is primarily cratic machine. an economic movement of the work-It then went into the issue of the ers. Its essential task is the improvesecond front, and here again the Stament of the conditions of the work-

The Editor's Comments

linist-controlled convention involved the union in the conflict over political and military strategy which divides England and America from Stalinist Russia. Needless to say, the convention adopted a resolution in support of Stalin's demand for a second front.

The convention then went on to support the whole Administration anti-labor program. It demanded repeal of the Smith-Connally bill not because it was a threat against the union movement, but only because one of its provisions provided for a strike vote. The fact that in every ballot the workers voted to strike is something which the Stalinist union-wreckers avoided discussing. It called for support of the President's price program, although there is hardly a worker who does not recognize what a farce this price program has been.

It came out in support of the Pres ident's wage freeze and hold-the-line order, which is responsible for so much hardship for the working class. But it turned right around and passed a resolution in favor of incentive pay, the big business scheme to speed up the workers and put them on the cheating piecework system once more.

In contrast, the convention defeated every important proposal for strengthening the labor movement, for fighting for wage increases, for defeating the reactionary drive against labor, and the anti-labor programs emanating from Washington.

What Kind of Union Politics?

The UERMW convention is a prize example of what a labor union should not and must not do. The main problems of the unions today are how to improve the economic position of the workers, to defend the integrity of the unions against the union-busting campaign of big business, to defeat the anti-labor WIB, the wage freeze and the hold-theline order, and the profit-mongering remain tied to the Democratic Party of big business. This requires milli tant union action; it requires milli tant independent labor political and tion.

A Reply to NMU on Pegler We have just received a release that Westbrook Pegler made unfrom the Knitgoods Workers Union, founded, vicious attacks against the ducting a vicious, lying campaign

dies' Garment Workers' Union, AFL, fifth columnist.

Local 155, of the International La- National Maritime Union and is a against the president of our inter-

Bland. The Daily Worker has been connational union, David Dubinsky. If

As a result, the Negro brothers were forced to put out a separate slate of their own, at the same time endorsing certain candidates from both the

other groups. None of the Negroes was elected. This is not merely, an error. It, is one of the most serious shortcomings in the UAW generally. Delegates from Local 154 have good reason to fight for repeal of the Smith-Connally law and the nostrike pledge. Hudson Motor Car Co. is violating its contract at will, and unsettled grievances are, piling up daily. One month ago, the membership voted to file for a strike vote which were almost identical, the if the company did not cease viola-

containing a letter of its managersecretary, Louis Nelson, to the National Maritime Union of America. in response to an invitation to picket the notorious labor-baiter. Westbrook Pegler.

We do not agree with everything Mr. Nelson says in his letter. For example, it is wrong to say that there is no value in passing resolutions condemning enemies of labor, or even to picket such reactionaries on appropriate and necessary occasions. While Mr. Nelson, is absolutely right in declaring it necessary to educate the workers as the best means of fighting such persons as Pegler, resolutions and picketing are part of such an education.

But there is much in this letter that is good and true; for the issues involved go far beyond the mere question of whether Westbrook Pegler should have been picketed. The letter follows: Mr.+Ferdinand C. Smith, National Secretary. National Maritime Union of America, 346 West 17th Street. New York, N. Y.

Dear sir and brother: We have received your letter and

resolution urging us to join you in "arrangements for mass picketing of any newspaper ... which publishes Pegler's column."

In your resolution you point out.

ATTENTION!

Detroit Readers of Labor Action-

You are invited to attend a series of four discussions on problems vitally affecting the labor movement:

Sunday, October 3, 8:00 p.m. "The Labor Movement and the Fight for Equal Rights for Negroes"

To be held at the

LABOR FORUM WESLEY BUILDING, ROOM 304 2847 GRAND RIVER (NEAR TEMPLE)

ADMISSION FREE

considered Westbrook Pegler as antilabor and reactionary, as much as "I Am the Law" Mayor Hague of Jersey City. We would still consider them reactionary even if they should change their minds and collaborate with the Communist Party. Pegler's attacks have been leveled not only against the National Maritime Union but all labor organizations. We do not, however, believe that the way to combat the Peglers and reactionaries is through the method of picketing, resolutions and name calling. We do not believe that the remedy is picketing Mr. Pegler's publication any more than we would have favored the picketing of the Daily Worker prior to June 21, 1941, nor would we have agreed to picketing Mr.- Browder's office for sponsoring "The Yanks Are Not Coming" move-

On the Daily Worker

House.

May we also point out that labeling Westbrook Pegler a fifth columnist loses its force when you apply the same term against everybody who disagrees with you. Thus, the Daily Worker and the communist press label David Dubinsky, John L. Lewis and many other labor lealers who disagree with you, "fifth columnists."

any organization should adopt a resolution asking us to participate in picketing the Daily Worker for that reason, we would opposé it as we do the picketing of the N. Y. World-

Telegram. I am very much afraid that the same people whom you call fascist today have more in common with you than they have with the genuine, democratic forces in our country.

We still have to win over and convince the readers of Pegler, but this cannot be done by using the same method of name calling that he uses or by picketing the newspapers. Only sound education and democratic, constructive deeds will convince the American people.' Labor had its enemies and will always have them but organized labor has found better means in combatting the Peglers. ment and the picketing of the White

The Role of the Stalinists

Let us further point to the inconsistency of your position. While you are ready to picket Pegler, you would certainly oppose the picketing of Rickenbacker, who is just as vicious and is just as much an enemy of the labor movement. The reason for your distinction is quite simple, because Rickenbacker has just returned from the Soviet Union with a favorable report and hence has become persona grata. The distinction, therefore, that you make, is not whether one is anti-labor, but whether one is critical of the communist movement.

All forces who were and are antilabor but who have a good word for the Soviet Union will be taken into your midst, as has already happened with the Rickenbackers, the Mayor Hagues and the Judge Aurelios. You and your cohorts fought to give the American Labor Party nomination to Judge Aurelio. However, all those labor leaders who have proved themselves loyal and devoted to the inter-

ests of the laboring masses of our country but who differ with you as far as the communist movement and the Soviet Union is concerned, you label and attack as enemies and fifth columnists. Before looking for equity or jus-

tice, please see to it that your own hands are clean as well as your conscience. Fraternally yours, .

Knitgoods Workers Union. Local 155.

(Signed) Louis Nelson. Manager-Secretary.

Neither slate included the demand for an Independent Labor Party, although the general assembly of the local had earlier expressed its realization of the need for such a party by instructing its delegates to the Labor's Non-Partisan League convention and to the Michigan CIO conference to support the movement for an Independent Labor Party.

It is significant that in this local, where the KKK is reputed to have some influence, neither of the main groups included a Negro in its slate.

Ship Local 9 Rank and File

SAN PEDRO-Local 9 membership ferred to above were rejected, corof the Shipbuilders Union here, in its attempt to elect delegates to the national convention of their union. ran into a series of bureaucratic and dictatorial acts on the part of Walter S. Pollard, the appointed director of the local, with the cooperation of

Local 9 has been under the rule of this administrator for ten months and has of late begun taking steps to get rid of what appears to be a permanent stay on his part. A petition was circulated in the last month addressed to the General Executive Board, asking for autonomy and the right to elect delegation to the national convention. Action on this petition was then tabled to the eonvention.

Stalinist stooges.

Green Orders-Pollard Disposes

The national president of the union, John Green, apparently ordered Pollard to conduct elections for delegates in the regular constitutional fashion. Pollard, knowing that he couldn't get elected by the membership, and determined that no one should go to the convention who was not his, body and soul, was afraid to permit elections. Although it is not clear as to just how it happened, the union minutes now disclose that the membership approved at its August meeting an Executive Board motion delegating to it the power to handpick the delegates. At the Septemin almost every case the minutes re-

the straight a second of the

national office of the UAW and government conciliation service are dopledge, while the latter demands re- ing everything possible to "conciliate" the differences before allowing the union even to file with the NLRB, as provided in the Smith-Connally bill

the inter-

Thus the local finds that all of its sacrifices for the war effort have gained nothing but a tough, recalcitrant management, whose profits are increasing steadily, and a growing lack of interest by members, who feel that the union is doing nothing for them. Prices must be rolled back, wages must be raised and labor must take back its only weapon, the right to strike!

Fight for Union Autonomy

rected or repudiated. Some shift meetings were more successful than others and the membership proceeded to elect its own delegates.

It seems that Pollard, after receiving the telegram from Green directing him to hold elections, pulled out of his hat this motion to give the Executive Board the right to pick the delegates. Green then approved such a procedure, provided that the membership approved. Nobody denies, however that the membership did not and would not approve such a procedure.

Delegates Elected Anyway

After these meetings Green wired Pollard to certify the delegates elected in spite of the dictatorship.' Pollard, apparently feeling secure in his new-found alliance with the Stalinists, and expecting support from them at the convention, disregarded Green in the same manner as he had disregarded the constitution, and refused to certify them.

What the outcome of this fight for the restoration of democracy to the membership of Local 9 will be, we cannot say. Whatever concession or half-way measure may be granted will come only as a result of the rank and file indignation with the high-handed and arrogant attitude of the Local 9 dictator.

The role of the Stalinists in this situation in San Pedro has thoroughber meeting, a storm was raised and ly disgusted the membership. With few exceptions they have been the

In addition, we have the disgraceful conduct of Sidney Hillman and the Stalinist vultures, whose main activities are now confined to preventing any kind of independent political action of the workers and to destroying the New York American Labor Party, not because it acts as a genuine Labor Party (it, too, plays politics with the Republicans and Democrats), but because it contains within it all the elements for inde-

pendent political action. The UERMW Convention

We have just had an excellent example of rotten politics in the convention of the United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers, CIO, a convention completely controlled by the Stalinist "Communist" Party. This convention concerned itself with politics. As a matter of fact, politics dominated everything about the convention. The problems of the work-

only organized and vocal support for 'at the convention, LABOR ACTION Pollard since he arrived. It was they who supported and put into effect the rule laid down by Pollard that shop stewards should be responsible for the carrying out of the company's rules. It was the Stalinists who tried to intimidate the petition campaign for autonomy. And it was the Stalinists, through their chairman; Bill Bluhm, and his aids, Lopez and Goodwin, who prevented the membership from going on record in favor of elections.

democracy depends on what happens



Under Murray, under Green, under Hillman and the Stalinists, the eco nomic interests of the workers have been subordinated to the rotten politi tics of the two big capitalist parties That kind of politics is wrong; the kind of politics must be defeated by the rank and file of the union move ment.

The only politics which is good for the unions is the kind which strengt thens the unions, educates its work ers, advances the economic interest of labor. But such politics are independent labor action and independent labor political organization. If this becomes the concern of union conventions, there will be a proper relationship between "economics and politics." The workers will understand this kind of politics. The union conventions cannot substitute boss politics for the burning "economic," i.e., union-building problems which confront them.

predicted some months ago that the Stalinists, the new proponents of the speed-up system, using Brother Pollard, would try to make an effort to capture the IUMSWA and add it to their collection of crippled and company-minded unions. Such a fate will be that of the Shipbuilders Union unless the militants at the convention rally around a program of progressive unionism and fight these anti - union, company - minded stooges. The solution to Local' 9's To a large extent the restoration of problem is, of course, tied up with

the outcome of the convention.



LABOR ACTION

American Jewish Conference Reveals **Terrible Plight of World Jewry**

By WILLIAM GORMAN

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The American Jewish Conference that met in New York City at the end of August was a significant and impressive landmark in the history of the Jews of this country. It was the first time in twenty-five years that a gathering of such a size had taken place.

The more than five hundred delegates represented higher than ninety per cent of Jewish organizations, encompassing an estimated two and a quarter million people. Nor was publicity lacking. The New York Times, well known for its indifference to the struggles of minority races (Jews and Negroes alike) front-paged the conference twice.

Even the New York capitalist politicians, keeping their ear to the ground and realizing that elections are not far away, came out a week after the conference to request the government to help the Jewish victims of Nazi brutality.

Yet in spite of these superficial signs of momentary success, the conference was a marked failure. More than ever, the Jews today are victims of total reaction and unparalleled anti-Semitism. In contrast with this all-decisive moment, the conference was only an exhibition of futile words, gestures for "unity," dramatic scenes and endless speeches.

In short, the conference did not bring the wracked Jews of Europe one inch nearer to their salvation.

In a Quarter of a Century

It is obvious that the position of the Jews has changed drastically and tragically since the First World War. At that time, the Jews, although numerically not large, had a disproportionate influence in Europe and America.

In Eastern Europe, in the Balkans, Poland and Russia they made up almost the entire middle class, a vital part of the rising capitalist states. In Western Europe and America the

From the Pamphlet "Plenty For All"

Jews made up a not unimportant section of the capitalist class and of the middle class intelligentsia, journalists, propagandists, civil servants, writers and teachers.

What has happened in the interim of twenty-five years?

Very simply, the Jewish economic and social position in Europe has so deteriorated that the Jews have ceased to play any economic or political role whatever. Instead, a rotting European capitalism has made Jewry into a permanent scapegoat, held responsible for the hunger, war and misery that it produces. Just as in Czarist Russia, every time the corrupt and degenerate monarchy faced the anger of the masses, it would rouse the "Black Hundreds," who would channelize this anger into pogroms on the Jew, so too the Southern Bourbons and the Detroit auto magnates, fearing the consequences of unity of the black and

white worker, incessantly fan the The impoverished merchant and professional classes of the semi-feuwith the agitation against the Nazi dal Balkans and imperialist Germany were now exhorted to rob, plunder policy of persecution" and murder their Jewish competi-Evian and Bermuda tors. The "foreign" Jewish capital-

ists were squeezed out by the native ruling class. With their wealth confiscated, their merchants boycotted, their intelligentsia ghettoed, their workers chronically unemployed, the Jews lost all influence in Eastern Eu-

The Terror Against the Jews

flames of race hatred.

rope.

In Nazi Germany, the process was swifter, and the terror better organized by the totalitarian capitalist government.

In France, the same process was to culminate in Petain's anti - Jewish laws.

In England and America, anti-Semitism is undoubtedly rising, and the economic dislocation of Jewry has been hastened by the war. If we do

not have government-sponsored pogroms, economic pauperization of the Jewish masses, it is only because we are not yet in the throes of a social upheaval. The Allied economy, compared to that of pre-war Germany and Poland, is relatively healthy. But the American and British ruling classes are holding their Coughlins and Mosleys on leash for the everthreatening tomorrow, when they

will have to defend their wealth in the same manner as did the Polish, German and French capitalists, by pogroms, hooliganism, the murder and expropriation of Jewry. The liberal New Republic, writing

on the Jewish problem, stated: "It is an astonishing and disquieting fact that during the long series

of negotiations and conferences.., in Munich, which were marked by a constant stream of major concessions to the Nazis, no serious attempt was made by the democratic governments to obtain at least a modification of anti - Jewish barbarism. . . . There were at times, on the contrary, a marked impatience in official circles

Is it any wonder that the Evian conference for refugees, which met in 1938, is hardly remembered by

anybody, least of all by the wracked Jewry of Europe! 'The dignified representatives of the leading capitalist countries got together to convince each other why their respective countries could NOT take in any

refugees! And not very must later, Earl Browder, pressed against the wall by a Jewish newspaper columnist, had to admit that Soviet Russia did not allow admission to any sizable number of refugees!

The Jews, fleeing from fascist terror, were left to drown in the seven seas-on the typhus-ridden ghostship St. Louis, on cattle boats in the Danube, on the Struma only seventy in another article.

miles from shore, on the Patria in the very harbors of Palestine!

Even the Nazi paper, Volkischer Beobachter, gloats over the anti-Semitism of the so-called democratic countries. On June 20, 1943, it wrote: "For years the democratic world has had time to demonstrate in action its alleged love for Jewry by opening its frontiers to them."

And when the victims of Nazi brutality landed "illegally" in Palestine they promptly became victims of British imperialist brutality. The immigrants were clubbed, herded into concentration camps and even transported to Mauritius Island in the Indian Ocean, where they were lett to die of malaria!

Only two successive general strikes by the Jews of Palestine have obtained a more tolerable treatment for the impoverished, tortured Jewish immigrants.

And now we have the latest mockery-the Bermuda Conference. Originally planned to be held in Montreal, it was packed off to the island. of Bermuda so that nobody could witness the empty gestures of its organizers. Five years have elapsed between the cynical Evian Conference to the fraudulent Bermuda Conference. In that time, approximately three million Jews were murdered. In that time the Allies have neutralized entire countries, bribed politicians, invaded a continent, but have not carried out one concrete action to save the Jews from being slaugh-

This, then, is the terrible reality facing Jewry today. Did the American Jewish Conference realize it? Did they formulate a consistent program and methods of struggle to defend the very physical existence of the Jewish people and for the ultimate end of anti-Semitism and persecution? Hardly!

tered.

These problems we will consider

An "Episode" at Hillburn

By DAN BERGER

After the following story was written, the press announced that warrants were being sought in the Rockland County Court for the arrest of those Negro parents who refused to permit their children to attend the dilapidated Jim Crow school referred to in the article.

J. Edgar Davidson, school board president, stated that the parents would be charged with violating the state compulsory education law. Thus the Hillburn officials not only impose Jim Crow conditions, but they also insist that Negroes accept and like these conditions.

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Today, in Hillburn, N. Y., there is being staged an interesting version of the domestic version of President Roosevelt's Four Freedoms, highlighted by a repeat performance of the much older and more accustomed privilege of denying a Negro any of the freedoms.

This small town, represented by a part-time mayor, who is a golf-club grounds-keeper, and its school board president, a business executive, is asserting its right to refuse Negro school children entry into the only modern school house in the community. It proposes to continue to segregate them in the dilapidated, unsanitary shed which has been allotted to Hillburn's Negro population.

The strike of the Negro parents and their children against compulsory attendance in a Jim Crow school house is now in its second week. In defiance of the duly constituted authorities, the elected "guardians" of the "democratic" rights, they have formed their own school in a church and are engaged in vigorous united action against the oppression. Their fight has been taken up by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Rockland County American Civil Liberties Union, the American Labor Party and other groups, most of which are clamoring for a review by Governor Dewey of the legal issues involved.

SPACE AND COLOR

Stemming from a conception of Negro citizens' rights and needs like that of Mayor John Creelman, who believes that "all a Negro wants is a full belly," the affair began when Negro parents refused to register their children at the old wooden school and brought them to the roomy new building for registration last week.

A gerrymander-type of re-zoning of the township had in arbitrary fashion decreed that none of the children living in the main Negro area, west of the railroad tracks, could attend the new school. Peculiarly enough, this Jim Crow zone line ended abruptly at the homes of the mayor and the town clerk-on the west side of the tracks.

Lack of space was not advanced as a reason for the

action by J. Edgar Davidson, head of the school board and manager of the factory which is the town's principal industrly. The school has facilities for the accommodation of 180 pupils. The number of pupils now attending is 98; those excluded number 56. Thirty-two Negro children who live in the white zone were permitted to register and are included in the 98. Apparently, an important factor in the attempted segregation is the realization that Negro children would outnumber the whites.

rage 3

Small, quiet demonstrations and meetings have punctuated the struggle as the Negro families have faced unfulfilled threats of mass arrests and fines. They have settled down to a resolute strike, while over their heads the legalistic skirmishes are fought. The State Education Department has declared its intention of awaiting formal actions and appeals.

The NAACP, represented in Hillburn by its counsel, Thurgood Marshall, is preparing such action and preparing for attempts at intimidation. A citizens' commitiee, composed of prominent writers and artists, has also taken a hand in publicizing the facts and has appealed to Governor Dewey. Non-partisans and innocent bystanders may be found at their usual stand-the Republicans, invited to join in the defense of democracy, have indicated that they cannot take sides in the dispute; Rockland County's Democrats haven't heard a thing, although they were invited to listen in by the ALP.

FACTS OF LIFE STRIKE HOME

While the "liberals" scurry to unearth a freedom where there is none, while they try to clean house for the author of the Four Freedoms, the Negroes are fighting quietly and steadfastly in Hillburn. To be denied the fruits of their labor is no novelty to them. Now they are denied even the privilege of learning about the illusion of capitalist democracy. But they are learning the need for direct, united action.

A leadership which scrambles hopefully for crumbs off the capitalist government's conference tables continues to urge caution and unustified optimism. As befuddled as ever, the "liberals" shriek plaintively over each fresh outrage against workers, white and Negro. and at the same time, champion constantly the system and the men who deny the workers the elementary freedoms.

The utter inability of the "liberals," the false leaders. to reconcile purportedly democratic war aims with the reactionary facts of everyday life is being brought home to workers everywhere. Their answer, their solution, is to fight reaction and barbarism, however painted over with golden phrases. At Hillburn, as elsewhere, they are fighting.

Speech of Railroad Lawyer at FEPC Hearing Shows Up Hypocrisy of American Racial Policy

on race discrimination on railroads, stated that the roads had to adapt their "operations and employment practices to the prevailing mores and legal systems of the states they serve."

This statement is an excuse for discriminatory practice against Negroes and Mexicans. There are certain things that we should remember and repeat:

First of all, the characterization of the society in which we live as a

all workers, CIO and otherwise, must hands. The time to start is now. And one of the things which is crying for solution is the position of the Negro in American-society.

> Labor cannot and must not accommodely itself to the evils of American oppitalism. This society has had its day. It is now an obstacle in the path of human progress. Labor must set itself the task of cleaning up the mess, must say swiftly and clearly: "You have had 300 years to solve this question. You have used the Negroes against labor, and labor against the Negroes. You have made the term 'white man' hated over half

Fascism is a Product of Capitalism sary to dispense with the luxury of By ERNEST LUND democracy. Germany, Italy, Japan, Fascism is the ugly child of capi-France and smaller capitalist coun-

talist decay. Fascism is the last resort of the capitalist class everywhere - of the Thyssens and Krupps, of the Beaverbrooks and Hearsts, of the Mitsuis and Mitsubishis, of the du Ponts and Fords.

Fascism is the answer of capitalism to the working class, the answer of concentration camps and machine

Fascism becomes the political form of capitalist rule in the period of

tries have already done away with democracy. England and America, the richest capitalist nations on the earth, have until now still been able to afford this luxury.

The fight against fascism must be an offensive one. Not "defense of democracy," but "down with capitalism," must be the watchword. But the offensive must begin by fighting tooth and nail to DEFEND every democratic right-the right to strike, to speak freely, to write freely, to just as interested in the question of meet freely, to organize freely.

tria, scared Chamberlain into giving America. Sugar piled up in Puerto him the Sudetenland, grabbed up Czechoslovakia, took Memel, prepared to march into Poland. All the while the English capitalists were hoping he would become satisfied and stop, or direct his blows against Russia. Finally they had to overcome their fear of revolution and go

to war. Not to save democracy! Not to defeat fascism! But to save the British Empire!

To prevent the German capitalists from re-dividing the earth! And the American imperi

Rico and rationed in New York. Millions of strong men sent into the Army and women sent into heavy industry. Liars put on the radio and honest men in jail. Civilization "defended" in Lybia and Guadalcanal. and schools closed in Germany and America.

This is capitalism in its Death Agony. This is capitalism gone mad.

This is World War II-second ugly child of the social crisis of capitalism.

By W. F. CARLTON Sydney Alderman, counsel for agitate for the inclusion of all workrailroad companies, in testifying beers, black, white, yellow and brown, fore the recent hearings of the FEPC into all unions on terms of equality.

Negroes, Past and Present

First the Negroes were enslaved. Since that time the persecution of the Negroes has been one of the foulest blots on American society. This was true before the Civil War. which ended slavery; it is true since 1864. The Negroes have been promised their equal rights, now by the Republicans, now by the Democrats. Glib and noisy Negroes, hungry for jobs, have conspired with white politicians to deceive the Negroes elec-

the Death Agony of Capitalism. Fascism in Germany today is a picture of America tomorrow-if the

pitalists have their way about it! Fascism is born out of capitalist decay, out of unemployment, out of hunger, out of discontent, out of benkruptcy.

Fascism is the violent cough out of the tubercular lungs of capitalism. No cough drops will stop it. Only killing the disease itself will stop the cough.

Stopping the cough and leaving the ubercular germs at work is futile. And this is what a mere "defense of democracy" does. Because "democracy" today is also based on capitalism. It can only afford it in time of it "capitalist democracy." It has surwived in those countries rich enough to survive the epidemic of capitalist crises. It has survived in England because her vast Empire permitted the capitalists to skim off enough cream to keep the population at home satisfied. English "democracy" is based on slavery for millions of Indians, Africans, and Arabs. American democracy is based on the fat accumulated by capitalism in the past and economic exploitation of the world.

Democracy is a luxury for capitalism. It can only offord it in time of prosperity. When capitalism begins elashing wages in time of crisis or rationing food in time of war, and mass discontent. arises, it is neces-

NOW ON SALE!

But everywhere under democratic capitalism the question must arise, to paraphrase Abraham Lincoln: "This house cannot remain divided against itself. Either it will be all slave or it will be all free. Either the capitalist dictators of industry will do away with political democracy and establish fascism, or the mass of the workers will do away with the dictators of industry and establish democracy everywhere."

tarized the Rhineland, occupied Aus-

Hitler did the bidding of Thyssen and Krupp, and struck down the German labor movement. The leaders of the working class parties and unions were arrested, many murdered, others exiled. German capitalism was then free to slash wages and regiment labor for its next job-

rearmament and war. The English and French capitalists feared war. They were still fat from the other. the spoils of the last war. They had Capitalism must expand - or die! little to gain compared to the risk. The risk was great. The war may end in revolution. Hitler feared a rialists. revolution, too. But German capital-

ism was up against the wall. It was placed in uniform and given guns to being slowly strangled by the capitalist crisis. It was willing to gamble. Hitler played a clever game. He knew that he could move ahead without fear of the English ruling class. They were more afraid of revolution than of Hitler. So he mili-

democracy or fascism. Witness the scandalous affair in North Africa with the French fascist, Darlan. And now with the arch-reactionary militarist, Giraud, and the monarchistturned - democratic politician, de Gaulle. Or the maneuvers with the Austrian pretender, Otto of Hapsburg. Or the paens of democratic praise for bloody dictators like Batista of Cuba and Vargas of Brazil. World War I was continued in World War II. The imperialist powers of the earth took a breathing period, raised more cannon fodder. prepared and maneuvered for position. Then they continued in 1939 essentially where they left off in

Again the big industrial giants wrestle for control of the earth. Germany with its allies on one side, England and America and their allies on

"The earth is divided? Then it must be redivided," say the hungry impe-Thirty or forty million men are

slaughter each other. Cities are bombed. Ships are sunk. . Crops laid waste. Oil wells blown up and oil made from coal. Gunpowder made from cotton and clothing from paper. Coffee allowed to rot in Brazil and substitutes used in

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War-mass slaughter-devastation. That is the "normal" life of capitalism today. That is the foul death stench of capitalism. That is the REAL enemy of civil-

Editor's Note --

ization.

The article in last week's issue of LABOR ACTION, entitled "Censorship Hides Truth About Europe," by Ria Stone, contained the views of the writer. The editorial board takes no responsibility for them.

India in Revolt

By Henry Judd

25 Cents Postpaid

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

society ridden with race prejudice is absolutely correct.

The "liberals," of course, raise their usual howl. If we accept what Mr. Alderman says, then we would have to accept the Hitlerite regime in Germany. This can't be true, say the liberals, because there is a war against Germany, and Hitler practices race discrimination and persecution. But it should be clear by now that the war is not being fought because Hitler persecutes Jews or to bring about race equality. Hitler could as well argue that he is fighting to liberate India and Africans from British race prejudice. His agents in Africa and India are saying both these things. They are stupid lies.

The Problem Before the Unions

This plain, blunt statement by Mr. Alderman is to be taken at its full value. American society persecutes Negroes. It is a problem which confronts the American people. But it is especially the problem of the labor movement. Labor must maintain its solidarity, and for this reason alone it must fight against discrimination within its own ranks. It must do that for its own self-defense.

The CIO has given a great lead here, has done and is doing a great work. In defense of labor's power to fight the bosses' anti-labor policies the CIO must unsparingly condemn the practice of railroad unions which discriminate on account of race and

tion after election. The Negroes are sick to death of it.

Now, with the war, "the great war for democracy," official segregation, persecution and hypocrisy have reached such a pitch, and in the armed forces, too, that the colored peoples of the world are aghast when they look toward us, and hundreds of millions of Asiatics listen to the propaganda of the Japanese warlords that the white man is the enemy of the colored races.

America is not Roosevelt and the small minority of capitalists (financiers, industrialists, rich farmers), who rule this country. The millions of workers who made this country what it is have far more right to the title, American, than the small minority of blood-sucking profiteers. Labor cannot continue to allow hundreds of millions of Asiatics and Negroes to brand all Americans with the crimes of imperialism. We are entering into a new world,

a world where, as the advertisements tell us, no country is more than sixty hours from an American airport, a world where the fate of one nation is inextricably intertwined with the fate of all. One World.

Labor Has a Job to Do

Labor faces the choice: to be the servant, the tool of imperialism, bearing the burden and shame of its crimes; or going forward boldly to reconstruct society and open out the new possibilities which lie in our

the world. You have even poisoned some of us with your vile prejudices. We have had enough. We are not going into the post-war world carrying the burden you have imposed on American society for so long. We shall clean the country of this filthy plague of race discrimination and prejudice."

All of labor will say this one day. The thing is not to wait but to begin to say it now.

At the Crossroads

The world is at a stage when men all the world over are looking for leadership in all fields, to show them a way out of the hell which capitalist society has plunged us in. A clear statement by American labor that it intends to take the Negro question into its own hands and put an end to one of the most vicious of capitalist abuses will not only lift the forces of real democracy in this country, the working class, to a height of power and enthusiasm never known before.

It will also call forth a response from the workers in Britain, who hate and are ashamed of British imperialism. It will bring new hope to the underground fighters in Europe, and the hundreds of millions of colonial peoples will turn to a new America, the America of the greatest labor movement history has ever known, the only architect capable of building the new world at home and the powerful ally of those who must build it abroad.

Now, If Only We Didn't Have To Pay Wages

Big business is still on its antilabor warpath. Such a sentence sounds strange. There never was a time when it wasn't on this warpath. This time, however, we are given another, but old, slant on the anti-labor campaign and it concerns post-war economic prospects.

One Samuel O. Dunn, chairman of the Simmons - Boardman Publishing Corporation, speaking at a Midwest conference on industrial relations, stated that post-war prospects were pretty good if one obstacle could be removed: labor's demand for increased earnings.

The head of the company which published Railway Age, mouthpiece for the railroad corporations, believes

that business can prosper if high taxes on corporations and individuals are removed. This would give the big monopolies enough capital to expand and continue business. The same old lie is advanced that taxes are eating away at business "reserves."

But that isn't all. What is really wrong is that "every substantial increase in the profits of any business or industry starts a movement for an advance in wages."

The facts, however, prove that the current high taxes on business, which are not nearly high enough, have not halted the greatest profits in history. For the past couple of years LABOR ACTION has presented proof that

big business has been the great gainer from war production, that war profits have surpassed anything in the past and that a new class of war millionaires is growing up.

Not only are high profits "earned" by the big monopolies, but they put aside huge reserves of capital "contingency funds," "rethrough "future improvements," serves," "post-war conversion funds" and other devices to keep from paying proper taxes on their true incomes. But, as we have pointed out before, the business interests are on a wagecutting campaign, not only for the present, but especially for any postwar period. They are gathering their forces for this fight.

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Plenty for All How the Owners of the Machine Have Mismanaged Why the Capitalist System Won't Work The Death Agony of Capitalism The Way Out Why Russia Turned Sour How It Can Be Done

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EDITORIAL PAGE

the board may NOT act on its own

motion to change working conditions

during government operation but

must wait for a request from the

complication of the law, the execu-

Page 4

How Roosevelt Interpreted and Supported the Smith-Connally Bill

By WALTER WEISS

It is the Connally-Smith-Roosevelt Act now. That's the right name for the anti-strike law.

The top leaderships of the unions have called the law everything imaginable, from the worst anti-labor legislation in a hundred years to "a fascist measure pointed like a revolver at the heart of labor."

But they have purposely concealed Roosevelt's responsibility, first, for its original passage, then for an executive order adding to it extraordinarily severe penalties which, as the United Mine Workers Journal states, "heretofore no one interpreting the Smith-Connally Act breathed into its provisions."

Roosevelt's men in the House of Representatives, Ramspeck and Mc-Cormack, didn't oppose anti-strike action but pleaded against making it too harsh. In fact, Ramspeck warned the House to be careful or nothing would be passed, since the Senate would be unwilling to accept some of the House provisions (New York Times, June 4). We shall show more fully, in a future article, that other Administration leaders behaved as as badly or worse.

Why the President Vetoed

The President vetoed the bill that was finally passed only because he thought it would not be effective enough in preventing strikes. As Ernest Lindley said in Newsweek, July 5:

"The President's veto ... involved no principle, no fundamental question of public policy. The President's veto message was based entirely on the pragmatic argument that Section 8 (providing for strike ballots and a cooling-off period-W.W.) . . . would promote strikes instead of discouraging them.... (Congress) has been led to believe that the President would sign this bill."

The veto message also stated that Section 6 (providing jail sentences and heavy fines for those who in any way encouraged a strike in plants taken. over by the government) would result only in punishment of a few leaders. Roosevelt asked Congress to allow him to induct men up to the age of sixty-five. In this way he could control all the strikers, as well as the leaders, and "insure the continuity of war work."

Labor Leaders Mislead

On June 25, the very day that the President vetoed the bill and Congress repassed it, Louis Stark, the noted labor reporter of the New York Times, wrote that Roosevelt's handpicked War Labor Board was going to ask the President to punish the miners by cancelling the checkoff of dues, seizing their six million dollar treasury, and taking civil and criminal action against Lewis.

In spite of all this, Philip Murray

called the veto "statesmanlike" - so did Bill Green-and ended a letter to the President, which he filled with thanks and pledges of loyalty, by signing himself "Gratefully, Philip

Murray." The CIO executive board passed a special resolution, expressing "our deep gratitude to President Roosevelt our Commander-in-Chief," and renewed their no-strike pledge.

Hardly any of the union newspapers told the workers what Roosevelt really said in his veto message but instead praised him extravagantly and condemned Congress. Nor did they point out, as did LABOR AC-TION and a few other papers, that Roosevelt sent the veto to Congress when many congressmen from large labor districts were absent. Since the President is no amateur at politics, this indicated that he did not really

want the veto to stick.

Sanctions Against Labor The President's executive order of August 18 provides, so far as labor is concerned, for withholding from a union as an organization "any benefits, privileges or rights" that it may have under a contract until the union proves that it will and CAN obey orders of the War Labor Board.

Obviously this means that a union could be deprived of closed shop or maintenance of membership rights. Roosevelt specifically says that checked-off dues are to be held by the government until the union

obeys The words quoted above are so broad that they could mean much more-for example, the elimination of a system of union stewards for handling grievances, so that workers would have to deal with the employer as individuals and the very backbone of the union's strength in

the shop would be broken. It is worth observing that all these provisions are calculated to put a maximum of pressure on union officials, on whom Roosevelt has always depended to control the rank and file. Observe that the check-off is not abolished, but the dues are collected and held. This is a bait to the leaders, who are thereby induced to work harder to control the workers. If the check-off were abolished, the union could at least try to collect its own dues. Observe too that the union must not only be willing, but also be ABLE, to obey the WLB. Statements of good intentions by the leaders will not do; they must show that they can control their members.

As for individual members of the ports. unions who disobey the WLB, they may lose their draft deferments or employment privileges (that is, they may lose their jobs and also be blacklisted by the government through the War Manpower Commission - W. W.). Union leaders who wish to prove that they have their .

men under control are in this way any way it deems appropriate to entempted to report militant workers sure compliance." to the government. The Connally-Smith Act states that

In fact, the Communist Party's yellow Daily Worker (August 20) suggests that this is exactly what ought to be done. "The President's order," says this scabby sheet, "does ... make it very important for the union to dissociate itself from the acts of irresponsible groups or lead-

More Aspects of the Bill

Workers should note that the above picture, for the most part, does not apply merely to plants that the government has seized. In a letter to the War Labor Board, which accompanied the executive order, Roosevelt

said: "The board may, of course, on its own motion, except during government operation, modify its orders in

tive order states that the WLB shall report cases of disobedience to Economic Stabiliation Director Vinson. He is then DIRECTED (not permitted) to DIRECT (not request) the

union. In other words, the WLB tells Vinson that it wishes to punish a union. He then orders the government operating agency to request the WLB

comedy!

That is what the Mine Workers Journal means when it says that the "original design of the law is stretched to make the straight-jacket labor curb complete in every detail."

majority of workers or their repre-Why all the rigmarole? Evidently because Roosevelt didn't trust Ickes, sentatives or from the government who had quarrelled with the WLB operating agency. To get around this about the mine situation. Ickes might, following the clear wording of the law, on his own hook ask the WLB to IMPROVE the miners' conditions. This would be very embarrassing. Now the WLB can, in effect, government operating agency to ask ask ITSELF to punish the miners, the WLB to punish the offending when it sees fit to do so.

If space permitted we would prove here in far greater detail (we shall, however, do so on another occasion) that Roosevelt was not in the least interested in the actual provisions of

to punish the union. A rare legal the law. He simply rewrote it to union papers simply say nothing at suit himself, and in the process made it far harsher.

> Despite the lies of the Daily Worker (August 20) and The Nation (August 28) there is nothing in the law that required the President to issue any executive order at all. The law, in fact, provides for its own penalties, which are by no means trifling. This does not mean that Congress will necessarily criticize the President for what he has done. Their law was relatively (but only relatively) mild, merely because they feared the possible effects of severer action. They said as much during

debate. Labor Officials Hide Roosevelt Role How have the union leaders reacted to the executive order? Almost without exception they have ignored it, acting as if it did not exist. The

all. Fearing beyond all else an independent party of labor, the union officialdoms had already determined on a big political campaign to defeat or to "reform" congressional reactionaries (especially those who voted for the Connally-Smith Act) and to support Roosevelt for a fourth term.

Nothing that he does will alienate their affections from "the best friend that labor ever had in the White House"-provided they can successfully conceal the facts from the rank and file workers. Of this we can be sure: they will not fail for lack of effort. Labor leaders will continue to sit on the WLB and even (as they did in the recent Chrysler case) vote to punish unions, unless the workers stage an internal revolt and find new leaders

Problems Facing the Union Conventions --

(Continued from page 1)

Each convention will be faced with the problem of what to do about the War Labor Board, that monstrosity composed of labor, employers and "the public." This is the mongrel group of bosses and their cringing stooges, the "public" group, among whom is one Wayne Morse, so-called "liberal," the board's "compliance officer" and, in plain language, its chief cop. This is the board that clutches at the throat of labor in full arrogance and malice, aided and abetted by the "protesting labor group" of

WLB, Taxes and Profiteers

the AFE and CIO.

Labor has one important question to decide in connection with this War Labor Board: should its elected officers continue to sit as members of the WLB? Members of the unions cannot fully control and influence the acts of the employer and "public" members of the board, but labor does have the right and the power to control its own elected officials. It has been demonstrated that the labor group on the board has little or no influence to swing the board to the side of labor in any important way. Labor's officials can only support the reactionary acts of the employer members and their lieutenants of the "public" group, as they did in the case of the coal miners, or hand in protests and unavailing minority re-

Taxes have become a burden too heavy for the workers to bear. What position will the conventions take on this matter? How can labor continue to bear the heavy burden of income taxes and at the same time provide the families of the working class with a decent standard of living?

There is the problem of the OPA and its daily and weekly misrepre-Sparks in the News sentations about controlling and rolling back prices. What does it mean to roll back prices a few cents on

anything effective in connection with price control? The only effective means of price control is to send the food profiteers to jail. These include the big meat packers, the canners, the big dairy monopolies, the chain stores and other huge food distributing combines. What worker is so stupid or naive as to believe that the government will fill the jails with the profiteers? The profiteers don't go to jail. They go to Washington and take over the

Roosevelt government boards - the WPB, OPA, WLB, etc.

government agency will really do union demonstrates its willingness and capacity to abide by the obligations thereof."

Further, the decree directs that "in the case of non-complying individuals" with decisions of the WLB, the War Manpower Commission may modify or cancel "draft deferments or employment privileges, or both." That is, any worker who refuses to permit himself to be shackled by the boss-ridden WLB may be put into the Army immediately, or he may be denied employment! Labor's Political Tasks

And this from Roosevelt, the "friend

United States Circuit Court of Appeals Affirms "Minneapolis Trial" Verdict

At the time of going to press, it was reported from St. Louis that the United States Circuit Court of Appeals in that district has upheld the conviction of eighteen leading members of the Socialist Workers Party on the charge of sedition and with "conspiring to undermine the loyalty and discipline of American soldiers and sailors."

This is the case more popularly known as the "Minneapolis Trial." and it was the outcome of the struggle between the militant Teamsters Union, Local 544, and Daniel Tobin, international president.

The trial itself, which was fully reported by LABOR ACTION, demonstrated how weak and groundless was the government case. This was verified by the court's sentence of a year and a day to sixteen months. Yet Judge Kimbrough Stone, of the Appeals Court, wrote in his opinion that: "A thorough examination of the record leaves no doubt as to the justice of the verdict."

The tip-off on the case is that it is the first peacetime "sedition trial" in the history of the country. The case will undoubtedly go to the Supreme Court.

Next week's issue of LABOR ACTION will carry full details of the case and of the verdict of the Circuit Court of Appeals.

of labor." the "author" of the New The Labor Draft and Sanctions What will labor leaders and the Deal, that great experiment in the conventions do about the semi-fascist "four freedoms." Austin - Wadsworth bill, calling for

The United Mine Workers Journal labor conscription? This is a forcedcorrectly says that government "buabor bill that can be used to estabreaucrats have the power to make a

This brings us to another problem conventions. Will the delegates inthat will face the conventions. This sist on adequate, open and democratic is the question of political action by discussion of these questions? Or labor. What will the conventions will they permit a leadership already say on this important matter? The committed to the support of Roose-CIO has already spoken. Murray, velt or Willkie, already promised to other CIO leaders and the Stalinist one or the other of the two boss par-"Communist" Party are for the reties, to sidetrack the discussion and election of Roosevelt; for Roosevelt, lead it into "safe" channels? with his WLB, his OPA and his

Will the delegates permit the leadership to woo them away from their desire to rescind the no-strike pledge which was given by the trade union leaders without consultation with the membership of the unions which they claim to represent?

If the conventions give adequate attention to the problems before the labor movement that are raised here, there will be ne place on the convention agendas for speeches by government officials, telegrams from Roosevelt, replies thereto and other types of sugar-coated but anti-labor ballyhoo, so highly esteemed by the trade union leadership. And these are the problems which are crucial for the

labor movement.

Lackawanna Housing Moguls **Cause Race Dissension**

Courts" in Lackawanna is one of the few defense housing projects that has been open to both white and Negro people. The tenants of this project have made no complaints about each other.

Yet a notice was sent to these tenants from the manager of the project, saving, in effect: (1) that the project will be turned into an all-Negro project; (2) that the moving of white families is not compulsory. Some buildings would be set aside for whites who wish to stay; (3) that

LACKAWANNA, N. Y.- "Allright expenditure, burden and discomfort. It involves living three miles further away from the plant. It means paying ten dollars extra a month for rent, heat, gas, coal, ice, etc. It means moving into a less roomy home, which isn't even constructed as well as "Allright."

These unnecessary, provocative and prejudicial moves have created a terrible tension between white and black workers. A meeting of white workers was already held in the presence of the mayor, who disclaims all knowledge of the actions but says

will be quick to suppress any

Such measures cannot be carried

out without creating a just anger

against them. However, the workers

of Lackawanna must realized that

they cannot blame each other for the

situation. They must not play into

the hands of all the reactionary

forces in the city that have tried for

years to disunite them by fostering

Fight against segregation in All-

right and Jim Crow in Ridgewood.

White and Negro workers together!

trouble that might arise.

discrimination.

A Program of Equality

are thinking, rather vaguely, it is true, that labor should form its own Independent Labor Party, and break away from the Democratic and Republican Parties. These workers begin to understand that neither the Democratic nor the Republican Party is the party of labor.

ishing their enemies.

All of these are most important questions that will come before the

WMC. Bill Green and the AFL have

not changed a bit. They are still for

supporting their "friends" and pun-

But there is a rising tide in the

ranks of labor, among the rank and

file, for genuine independent politi-

cal action by labor. Some workers

By JOHN BERNE

It is reported that the United States Steel Corporation agreed to operate for the governemnt-WITH-OUT FEE OR OTHER COMPEN-SATION-the new giant steel mill worth \$180,000 now being erected in Utah?

Why not? Chances are good that United States Steel will get this very same \$180.000.000 steel mill as a postwar present.

-LA-

The Russian magazine, The War and the Working Class, which has very little to do with the Russian working class but is merely a mouthpiece for the Kremlin, doesn't like Amgot, in these words: "Amgot is not undertaking the necessary measures for the actual destruction of fascism.... The administration itself is of a military government based on principles which have nothing in common with the principles of democracy."

Agreed! But what has Stalin's government to do with the principles of democracy?

-LA-

To make the fall of the Mussolini regime look altogether kosher, the Italian Royal Commission was set up to investigate the illegal acquisition ot wealth by former fascist officials. An incomplete report published by the commission listed many "personalities of the former regime who have accumulated enormous fortunes," including former Cabinet ministers, secretaries of state, ambassadors, etc.

"Particularly fruitful were the findings of the commission in the case of Galeazzo Ciano, whose fortune, as well as that of his wife, Edda Mussolini, has been ordered by the commission to be seized," according to a Rome broadcast.

Remember the gag about fascism benefitting the common man!

And how about the fortunes of the Badoglio bunch of fascists? Now, that would make an interesting investigation today.

-LA-

John L. Lewis, writing in the United Mine Workers Journal, truthfully said that "Until such time as American labor leadership cuts the political tow rope which relegates them to mere political followers, labor will continue to come out on the abort end of the deal."

But how did Lewis help the cause of independent labor politics when he came out in support of Willkie? A tow rope is a tow rope!

-LA-

In an editorial supporting the May universal compulsory military training bill, the New York Times wrote: "Until it is demonstrated beyond all doubt that the new peace rests on a solid basis we shall need all the insurance we can provide against the outbreak of another war. Post-war military training and service is one necessary form of such insurance." That's what they all say-and it

finally adds up to another warl -LA-

Some days after the event, the Portuguese censorship released the news of widespread strikes. Demonstrations and three days of strikes by tens of thousands of Portuguese workers were announced as ended. The workers had been demanding food

In Portugal-as everywhere elsewar shortages are suffered primarily by the working people.

-LA-

Victor Riesel, in the New York Post, writes that the CIO is going to town on an organizational campaign. Many organizational wizards of the CIO are on a six-week tour to establish regional headquarters. There is even talk of the union buying up some radio stations to establish "labor's voice" on the air. Doesn't that sound good? Only-

All this commotion is not to organize the unorganized workers. And it is not to start an Independent Labor Party to meet the greatest need of the day. No; it is to have capitalist politician Roosevelt re-elected for a fourth term.

-LA-

Frederick C. Crawford, president of the National Association of Manufacturers-you know the bunch-was on the air the other night filling the air waves with anti-labor propaganda. Among the gems he uttered was a condemnation of the worker who shifts from job to job looking for "AN EXTRA DOLLAR."

He didn't mention that it is the exclusive privilege of only Mr. Crawford's class to have billions of extra war profits brought to them in their swivel chairs.

articles of food, like peanut butter, after prices have advanced from 25 to 100 per cent? . And what worker believes that the OPA or any other

South Africans **Reject Equal Pay** For Negro Soldiers CAPETOWN, South Africa-The na-

tive African soldiers serving under the British flag once again have lost their fight to receive a wage increase that would bring their pay equal to the white soldiers in the British army.

The leading argument of the opposition in the House of Assembly was that if the Negroes were paid more money, the planters would have trouble with them after the war was over, for the Negroes would become accustomed to a higher standard of living.

This is significant. If a soldier's pay (even with an increase) would raise the standard of living of a native above what the planters paid him before the war and expect to pay him after this war, you can imagine what plantation owners have been paying native labor!

In the September New International---'The UAW-CIO

Through the War'

By WALTER WEISS PRICE, 20 CENTS

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THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

114 West 14th Street New York 11, N. K. lish peonage all over the United States, similar to the practices indulged in by some of the Southern states.

Will Roosevelt's vicious decree of August 16, ordering sanctions against labor, come up for free and frank discussion in the various conventions? Or will the union leadership attempt to stifle discussion of this labor-enslaving decree? Is labor prepared and willing to continue voting for a fourth term for Roosevelt after it understands what this man is doing to the unions and the working

class? What does Roosevelt's decree mean? It says that, in cases where a union refuses to comply with the decisions of the WLB the plant may be taken over, union dues may be impounded by the government where there is a check-off, and other "benefits, privileges or rights accruing to it as such under the agreement or proposed agreement with the employer" may be withheld by the WLB "until the

man work on the job they choose for him. They can keep him from getting the job he wants. They can determine his rights as a union man. They tell him what kind of union he can join. They tell him what part of the country he can work in. They tell him what kind of food he can eat.

strikes he can be indicted for it." All of these things are being done to labor by the Democratic Party, the party of the New Deal, the "New Order" in the United States which seeks to become the "World New Order" under the guidance of Roosevelt. The Republican Party claims to be all heated up about the "bureaucracy in Washington." They have some freedoms, too, that they want to spread over the earth. Willkie, the

titular head of this band of outs trying to get to the trough after twelve lean years, is all ready for his second start. He too loves labor.

project called Ridgewood would be open to white families if they wished to transfer.

The purpose of the letter is clearly stated in the first sentence, which says "Allright" will be a segregated project. The reason for such action seems to be the necessity of providing more homes for Negro steel workers. However, since the Ridgewood project has just been built and is twice as large as "Allright Courts," an easy solution would be to have those Negro families who need homes

get them at Ridgewood. But-the Ridgewood homes are closed to Negroes.

This Is Jim Crow Again

The Jim Crowing of Negroes is an insult that must be fought against. The plan for a segregated all-Negro project to be made at "Allright Courts" is an added provocation. It is a method of stirring up anti-Negro feeling.

Scores of white families have been asked to move. This entails added

Insist upon the right of all people, regardless of race, color or creed, to live in both Allright and Ridgewood homes. Fight for rent reduction at Ridge-

wood so that the costs in both projects will be the same.

Both Negro and white workers want the same thing. If they stick together, they'll get it.

Man Power and the Labor Draft --

(Continued from page 1)

"This statement of Mr. Baruch's committee summarized what I have found to be true, and I have every reason to believe that the statement by the manpower utilization section of the War Manpower Commission to a press conference is true to the effect that if a maximum use were obtained from manpower in the Pacific Coast area it would be 25 per cent above what it is now.... The cure for this evil is the abolition of cost-plus-fixed-fee contracts."

What these gentlemen fail to point out, however, is that one of the reasons for the "shortage" in the West Coast aircraft industries is the miserable wages paid by those monopolies whose high profits are guaranteed by their cost-plus contracts with the government.

It is only in relation to this question of manpower that one can consider the present dispute over the drafting of fathers. As a matter of fact, fathers have been drafted all along. The estimate of the War Department is that there are 700,000 fathers in the armed forces at the present time.

But if selective service has been drafting father's all along, why the special hullabaloo about it now? Why did selective service suddenly make a national public issue over it?

One paper revealed that the purpose of the "draft fathers" issue is to compel the entrance into industry of thousands and thousands of fathers in other occupations, not at all attracted

either by conditions of work in war plants, wages or hours, to take such jobs. Thus the "draft fathers" issue is an indirect means of obtaining the objective of a labor draft.

Senator Truman, for example, charged that the Army itself was hoarding manpower.

What stands out in this whole discussion is how the Administration, its big business appointees in charge of war production, the politicians carrying out the manpower program, and the policies themselves, have proved to be highly inefficient, giving rise to the worst kind of bungling.

Industry hoards labor because it doesn't have to pay for it. Cost-plus-fixed-fee takes care of that. The big agricultural interests hoard farm labor and keep large sections of such labor in a state of "peonage," working at low wages. And even the armed forces, according to New Deal Senator Truman, are "wasting men."

In the face of this, the labor draft becomes an even more dangerous threat to the security and freedom of the working class. It makes no difference what name it goes under, whether the Austin-Wadsworth Bill, or any other designation, a labor draft, aside from being unconstitutional, is labor slavery.

It will freeze all workers, decide when and where they shall work, under what conditions "and what their wages will be. There will be all kinds of penalties employed to force labor to subordinate itself to any such bill. It will threaten

the very existence of the union movement. But in the end the administrators will make as horrible a mess of manpower under any system of compulsion as they have up to now.

Labor must now organize the fight against a labor draft!



They can and do regulate what he can spend his money for and how far he can travel in his car. If he