

## Workers Party Local Names Max Shachtman as Its Anti-War Candidate in the N.Y. Mayoralty Campaign

The Workers Party this week announced the candidacy of Max Shachtman, national secretary of the party, for Mayor of the city of New York.

The name of Max Shachtman is already widely known in labor and socialist circles as a result of his vigorous campaign last year for Bronx City Councilman which brought him and other Workers Party representatives before thousands of workers in that borough in a stumping drive conducted first and foremost as an uncompromising anti-war fight.

In the year before that, he had come to the fore as the leader of the 50,000-strong counter-demonstration which stormed Madison Square Garden while a Nazi rally was taking place inside with Mayor La Guardia's permission and sanction.

This year, Shachtman's campaign will bring into all the neighborhoods of New York City the one overshadowing issue: the fight against all the robber camps in the present war, the belligerent states now wading in the world-wide slaughter.

Comrade Shachtman will be the only candidate who yields no support to any of the participants in this imperialist war — Anglo-American-Russian on the one hand or the Nazi Axis on the other—and calls for the prosecution of the workers' struggle for socialist liberation from them all.

## Lynn Unions Will Run Labor Slate

Special to Labor Action

LYNN, Mass., Aug. 4.—The Lynn Chamber of Labor, a body composed of all AFL and CIO unions in this city, moved at its meeting held last Friday to run Independent Labor candidates in the fall municipal elections. The motion adopted was that every trade union in Lynn be contacted in an attempt to get 100 per cent labor support for a labor ticket running its own trade union candidates.

At this meeting it was also proposed that organized labor in Lynn hold a parade or mass meeting this year on Labor Day. This will be the first time in many years that labor in this city has taken such action.

The Chamber of Labor was formed two months ago to demand government housing for the workers of Lynn and to bring pressure to bear on the City Council to set up a Housing Authority. The City Council turned this proposal down, although the housing shortage in Lynn is one of the most acute in the country, as even the federal government admitted in a recent estimate of those American cities which were most in need of government housing projects. Housing is so scarce in Lynn and rents have been so bi-jacked that some workers of the General Electric plant here are forced to live in New Hampshire while working in Lynn.

In setting up a genuine united front of both the AFL and CIO, the Lynn labor movement recognizes that the bosses' councils will not act in the interests of labor. Therefore, labor here, as everywhere throughout the country, must organize for political action on an independent labor program.

The fight against the war begins at home. In June of this year, the New York City convention of the Workers Party decided upon the mayoralty campaign and nominated Comrade Shachtman as its candidate. There was special appreciation of the fact that here in New York the issue of the war is dramatized by the activities of the present Mayor, fire-breather La Guardia, who is seeking to shout himself into the position of Jingo No. 1. Fiorello is now running again, making little secret of the fact that his activities during another term would be mainly to plump the United States into a shooting war. He is already shouting, "On to Berlin." But, as in the rest of the country, the masses of New York City refuse to go along with the Judas-goats who would lead them into the charnel house.

In the election campaign, the Workers Party candidate will be the mouthpiece of the real interests and desires of the men who labor:

**Against both imperialist camps in this war! Mobilize the forces of labor for ending**

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## THE WORLD AT WAR

### Russian Army's Resistance Upsets Blitz Calculations of Nazi Military Machine

By MAX STERLING

For seven weeks now the Russian Army has successfully defended the approaches of Moscow, Leningrad and Kiev. Despite the loss of practically all the territory previously acquired by Stalin in his deal with Hitler, and despite the heavy losses in men and material, the Russian resistance to the greatest military machine in history has caused considerable surprise. It has even evoked wonderment. The "democracies" are beside themselves in speculations for the future. Roosevelt, for example, has expressed himself enthusiastically about the "magnificent" showing of the Red Army.

Nor is surprise over the Russian showing confined to the "democratic" camp. Hitler's newspaper, the Voelkischer Beobachter, was compelled to pay tribute to the Russian Army as an enemy "who battles with dogged tenacity, who surpasses all previous opponents in fighting temper." As the facts of the German blitzkrieg failure are too well known even in Germany, it is of course to be expected that this would not be laid to any weakness in German arms but rather to the unexpected strength of the enemy.

However, what is even more significant is the statement in the same paper that "many of us believed that after the first waning of the German sword the enemy in the east would collapse like Colossus on feet of clay." Here indeed is where the German high command bungled. So supremely overconfident of a swift victory in Russia, they refused to accept any concessions from Stalin, despite the fact that the latter was willing to go a long way toward appeasing Hitler.

It seems quite likely that regardless of the future course of the war the rejection of these concessions was a major strategic error on the part of Hitler. With these concessions, Hitler would have consolidated his position at the expense of Russia. Afterwards, if he chose to fight, Russia would have been in a much weaker position. Only overconfidence can explain the Nazi failure to follow those tactics so successfully applied by them in the case of Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Bulgaria.

As the Russians are certainly not conducting a revolutionary war against the Nazis, the Russian resistance must be laid to other factors. Nowhere is there any evidence of socialist propaganda directed toward the rank and file of the German armies or to the German people. Nor are there among the Russians any slogans that would drive them forward to fight for their own "socialism." On the contrary, the entire struggle is conducted in a Roosevelt-Churchill image for a new Versailles dominated by the "democratic" imperialists in collaboration with Stalin. That is revealed in all the utterances of Lozovsky and Stalin. That is the whole meaning of Stalin's agreement to the reestablishment of the Polish and Czechoslovak states in the spirit of Versailles and with the blessing of Churchill. Only this time it is harsher: "We will not," they say, "make the mistake of 1919."

If this were a war between Germany and Russia alone it is certain that with the slogans used by Stalin Russia would in the end go down to defeat. And this despite the fact that the Russians have been putting up a better fight than all the previous op-

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# LABOR ACTION

AUGUST 11, 1941

ORGAN OF THE WORKERS PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

THREE CENTS

# WE SAY: MAKE THE BOSSES PAY FOR THEIR OWN WAR!

## Labor Board Aids Tobin In Fight on Local 544-CIO

Mexican Stalinists Join Witch-Hunt Against Militants

Dan Tobin received another payment on Roosevelt's political debt to him when the State Labor Board refused to certify Local 544-CIO as bargaining agent for 300 truck drivers and inside workers employed by 14 Minneapolis furniture stores.

In any democratic election, these 300 men would, like the great majority of teamsters in the Twin Cities, vote solidly for Local 544. Tobin is therefore trying to block an election in which the workers would indicate their choice of a bargaining agent. And the Labor Board is obviously helping him on the phony pretext that the original negotiations with the furniture companies were begun by Local 544 when it was in the AFL, and that, having shifted to the CIO, the companies no longer know who represents their employees.

That is a patent and fraudulent dodge. If they want to know who represents the men, they need only ask them. The fact is that they know only too well which union the men want, and that's the union the bosses don't want!

Last Wednesday, Tobin's stooges in Minneapolis petitioned State Labor Conciliator Blair and Governor Stassen for certification as bargaining agent for Minneapolis teamsters without a democratic election. Local 544's executive board answered this shameless AFL move in a statement which appears in the current issue of the Industrial Organizer:

"Afraid to allow the truck drivers of Minneapolis to select their union bargaining agent in a free, democratic election AS DEMANDED BY THE STATE LABOR CONCILIATOR BY THE CIO SINCE JUNE 20, Tobin's carpetbaggers—Casey of San Francisco, Neal of Kansas City and Brady of Detroit—today brazenly asked the conciliator to certify the AFL, without giving the workers the chance to vote on this issue in a secret election. . . .

"Scores of employees—from the furniture, wholesale grocery, cement block, commercial gas, and many other industries—have flocked to the witness stand, and hundreds have signed petitions testifying that THEY WANT TO VOTE FOR THEIR CHOICE OF BARGAINING AGENT IN A FREE, DEMOCRATIC ELECTION. . . .

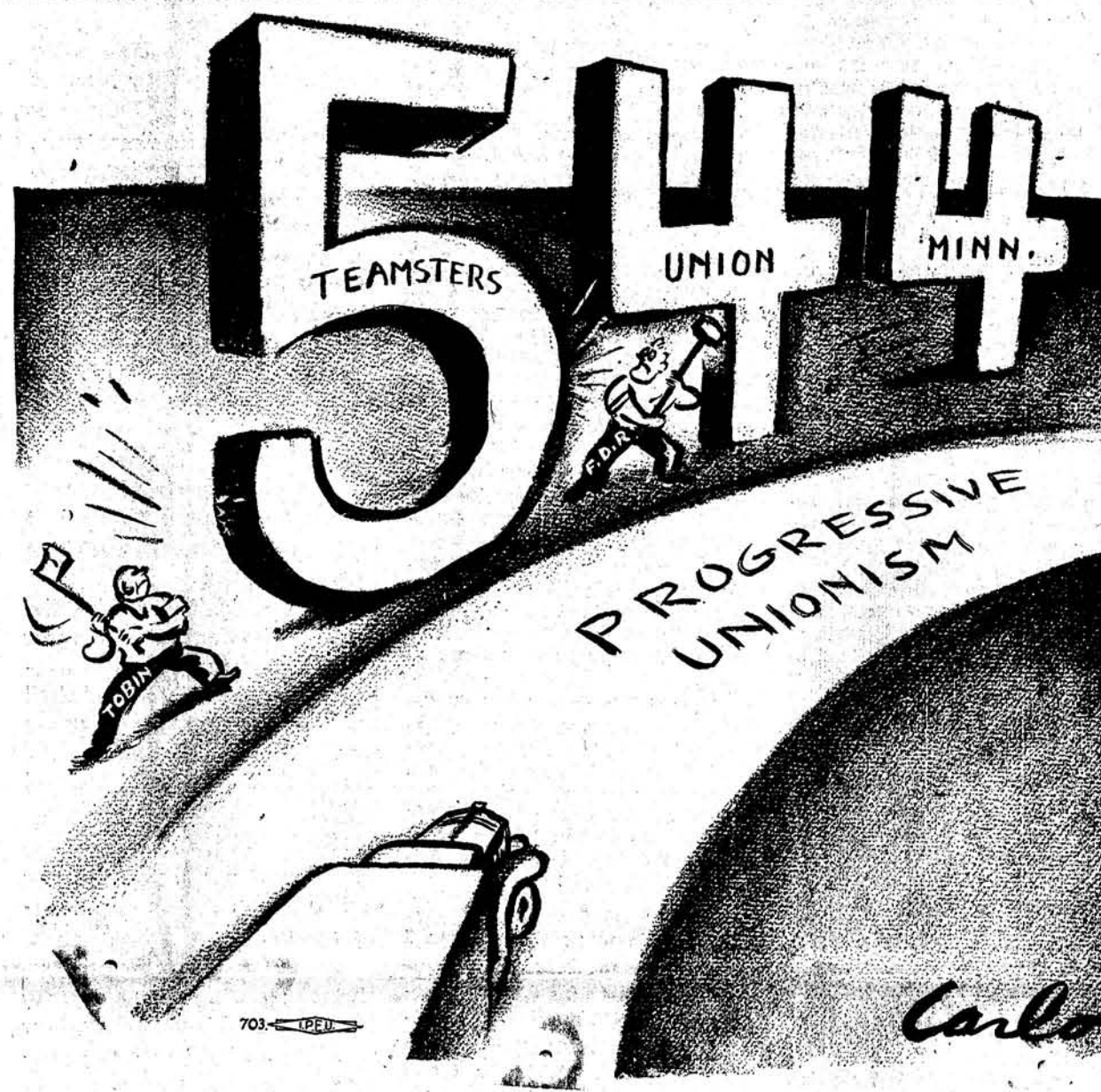
"Scores of employees have taken the witness stand to swear under oath how they have been forced to sign AFL authorizations. Many told how they had been threatened at the point of a gun. . . .

"It has also been made abundantly clear at the hearings that the workers demand elections."

While Tobin was busily engaged in trying to stall a democratic election in which he would undoubtedly be the loser, the county jury kept itself busy with additional harassing actions directed at the militant unionists of Minneapolis. With new indictments sworn out against Secre-

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## A Landmark That Won't Come Down!



## CIO Must Press Curtiss Organization Drive

Curtiss-Wright Workers Turn Back on Company Union—Look to UAW

Special to Labor Action

BUFFALO—Things are moving to a head in the CIO's drive to organize the giant Curtiss Airplane Division of the Curtiss-Wright Corp.

In the nine months since the UAW issued a charter to Curtiss Local 753, the federal government has built and generously handed over to Curtiss a new gold mine—a shiny new factory complete with big barred wire fences, blackout screens, bomb shelters and all the rest. It is expected that by this winter both plants will have a good 25,000 employees and will be grinding out 25 fighter planes a day. This makes Curtiss the largest single manufacturer of pursuit craft in the world. Obviously the CIO MUST organize Curtiss if it is to complete the organization of the aircraft industry.

### The Situation

To understand the situation today we must first go back to 1934. In that year, Curtiss workers, fed up with the miserable wage scale, went out on strike. The strikers and their wives (who fought just as hard as their men) had a tough time of it, what with mounted police, water hoses, and their own AFL misleaders. The strike was broken. At this point, the Aircraft, one of the slickest company unions ever built, made its appearance on the scene. The Aircraft was the brainchild of one Edward Hamilton, a wealthy old lawyer who has specialized for some years in company unions.

Meanwhile the company was doing its best to befuddle the workers by constructing an elaborate classification system and an even more elaborate "wage-incentive" (plain old bonus) plan. Few of the 1,500 workers who had been turning out planes since '34 were fooled by the Aircraft or the classification and bonus schemes, but the thousands of workers added since then have been for the most part young boys fresh from high school and older men long unemployed, who were happy to get any kind of work. There are now 15,000 men working at the two Curtiss plants, a majority of whom are actually under 25; thousands of them are under 21.

### How It Works

The classification system works like this. There are ten classes and about four brackets in each class. The new man starts out in the first bracket of the tenth class, that is, at 50 cents an hour. In a couple of months he is raised to the next bracket, 3 cents more, and so on. The highest the average man can reach is about 80 cents. The catch is that most of the men don't know what class or bracket they are in, or when they are entitled to raises. It is all on an individual basis—you have to play ball with your leadman or foreman. This vicious business has resulted in men cutting each other's throats for a three cent raise.

As for the bonus system, there isn't a man in either plant who has ever

been able to figure it out. There is a different bonus for each department, running from 0 to 30 per cent. Sometimes it fluctuates as much as four or five dollars a week.

The job of the Aircraft for six long years, until the CIO showed up, was to try to convince the workers that the bonus and classification systems were giving them the best break among aircraft workers in the U.S. In its spare time, Lawyer Hamilton's stooge outfit was busy dodging court cases and accusations of company unionism. At one point the courts were actually forced to order Curtiss to discontinue its practice of dumping money into the "union's" treasury.

### How It Got Members

How did the Aircraft get its 8,500 members? Again, it's the same old story. Many Curtiss workers are still under the impression that they can't quit the Aircraft without being fired. More of them know that they couldn't have held down their jobs without signing up and kicking in their 20 cents a week at the leadman's or even the foreman's request.

But the Aircraft was forced to put on a show for the boys when its own members began bellyaching at meetings, trying to force a decent program on it, and the CIO began peppering away, reminding the men about the great gains the UAW had been making elsewhere. Accordingly, the company announced last Jan-

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## For a Capital Levy on Accumulated Wealth!

SOAK THE RICH!

That's our recommendation to Congress.

And we mean it. Congress is all worked up trying to pass a tax bill that will pay the cost of the war. They are figuring on getting a little here, a lot there—a little from the bosses, a lot from the masses.

Before it are various proposals designed to widen the tax base—that is, widen its effect on the low income groups. And, at that, Roosevelt is dissatisfied. He wants it still wider—to include in the way of direct taxation all single persons who earn above \$750 a year (about \$15 a week!), and all married persons who earn above \$1,500.

With an eye on their constituencies, the congressmen have thus far rejected Roosevelt's proposal. But they are busy on others—excise taxes of various kinds that will dig deeper into the workers' pockets.

Oh yes, they are working on corporate taxes, and higher income taxes. When you read about it in the papers it sounds as though the rich are really being hit. But that's a lot of nonsense, as an article printed elsewhere in its issue demonstrates.

Think of it this way (and it's the only way a working man can think about it): the bosses, that is, the majority of them, want war. They want war because in war they hope to enrich themselves through imperialist conquest; and in the preparations for this war they hope to coin—and are coining right now—super-millions in profits.

All right. They want war. It's in their interests. OK. Let them have their war—but on two conditions: 1) They, NOT WE, must fight the war; and 2) THEY MUST PAY THE ENTIRE COST OF THE WAR.

Suppose Congress does raise taxes on the rich. What of it? Congress has guaranteed the profiteers a sizable profit. On this guaranteed profit, it may slap a tax which, taken by itself, sounds like a lot, but which, taken in the context of their

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## Sweatshops Yield to Pressure of ILG Pickets

21 Sportswear Manufacturers Sign Contract with Union—Dressmakers Win 15% Wage Increase After Brief Strike

By JACK WILSON

LOS ANGELES—The International Ladies Garment Workers Union here made big inroads into the sweatshops manufacturing sportswear through the militancy of its striking workers during the past week.

In addition, the dressmakers won a 15 per cent wage increase following

their brief strike which began simultaneously with the sportswear walk-out. Union contracts, of course, were signed again.

Over 21 shops were brought under union contract in the sportswear division during the week, when employers realized that the militant demonstrations, featuring mass picket lines, meant business.

Skirmishes on the picket lines brought six false arrests as cops interfered in an effort to intimidate the strikers. Rose Pesotta, international vice-president of the ILGWU, was ar-

rested twice in one day, along with five workers, including Edith Mann, special union organizer.

The union contract includes a 5 per cent wage increase and other regular union provisions. It is the first time that this section of the clothing industry here has been organized and put under union control.

Hundreds of workers are in the union and under contract conditions now, where previously unorganized and in open shops.

The issuance of strike benefits over the week-end brought new courage to the strikers and increased the de-

termination to win in as many of the remaining shops as possible.

Since there are around 40 shops scattered through the city which still remain unorganized or have only a few workers on strike, a big job lies ahead for the union.

Consolidating the newly-organized workers into the union and putting teeth into the contracts looms as a vital task for the union.

However, a solid foundation now exists for full union victory over a period of time because of the tremendous steps forward resulting from the present strike.

## The UAW Convention

will be thoroughly reported and analyzed in the coming issue of LABOR ACTION. Those who saw the special UAW issue of LABOR ACTION last week will not want to miss next week's issue. Be sure to order your copy now!

NO GOVERNMENT CONTRACT WITHOUT A UNION CONTRACT!



## Pre-Convention Discussion Articles

In preparation for the coming national convention of the Workers Party, the Political Committee of the WP has opened the columns of LABOR ACTION to discussion articles contributed by party members on the political problems confronting the party. Because of the limited amount of space available, all contributions must be as short as possible in order that we may be able to publish a maximum number of articles. In no case may they be over 1,200 words; in all cases contributors should try to keep their articles below the word maximum allowed.

### No Basis For Defense

By BEN L.

Baldly stated, arguments for defense run along the following lines: The state property closes off the Soviet Union to capitalist investment. This weakens capitalism and anything that weakens capitalism should be defended. Furthermore, the nationalized property represents a higher stage of economic development than private property. The workers' state must base itself on nationalized property. Therefore nationalized property is progressive and to be defended when attacked. Defensists accept this line of reasoning in toto, or in part, depending on how conditional their defense is. Let us examine this argumentation.

That the nationalized economy has closed off the Soviet Union from capitalist investment is a fact. This has undoubtedly tended to weaken capitalist imperialism as a whole and there is, therefore, a contradiction between the Soviet Union, its state property and the capitalist world. Few deny this. But the conclusion that Trotsky and our movement have drawn about this state of affairs is not that this is a contradiction, one of a number existing in our epoch, but rather that this is the CHIEF contradiction of our time. This conclusion was wrong.

The fact that nationalized property shuts off Russia from capitalist investment is not, of itself, decisive, because each capitalist imperialism strives to do just this very same thing to its competitors. At any given moment, therefore, any particular capitalist imperialism can find itself far more hemmed in in its search for markets by another capitalist imperialism than by the Soviet Union. And the decisive contradiction can be (and under Stalin almost always, if not always, has been) between capitalist imperialisms, rather than between the Soviet Union and the capitalist world.

#### Wrong Prophecies

This doctrine, stressing the enormous contradiction between the Soviet Union and the capitalist world, led us to prophecy for years, even as late as Munich, a certain kind of war. The war that came simply did not follow the book. The real war finds England and the United States quite willing to tolerate the nationalized property of their Russian ally. In case of an allied victory, it is not impossible that Russia will even be granted some new territories as its share of the spoils, to which new territories the nationalized property will be extended. For England, Germany is the main enemy; and Hitler acts one day as the friend, next day as the enemy of Stalin only as a means of getting at England and the U.S. Russia is a pawn in the imperialist game and the property forms play no independent role in the struggle.

It is of interest to consider the following point: Should Hitler defeat Russia in Europe, one variant of possible events to come is for an appeasement group to seize the government and set up a kind of Vichy regime friendly to Hitler in unoccupied Russia. Hitler probably doesn't wish to lose himself in the Siberian wilds and for a time at least he might prefer such an arrangement. Even if one doesn't grant the probability of such a turn of events, almost everyone agrees that it is a possibility. But therein lies the point. For to grant such a possibility is to admit that it is possible for Nazi imperialism (and therefore any other imperialism) to live side by side with a nationalized economy in peaceful collaboration, a collaboration, moreover, in which the nationalized economy is used to serve Nazi ends. The contradiction between capitalism and the nationalized economy can, indeed, come to a sorry pass under certain conditions.

To deny that the underlying contradiction of the epoch is between the Soviet Union and the capitalist world is not to say that this was never true in the past, or that it never can be true in the future. In the early days of the revolution when the theory was first developed, it was highly tenable. But the workers had state power then and this made all the difference in the world.

For under those conditions the Soviet Union was a menace, in the most positive sense, to the capitalist nations individually and collectively, a menace with which there could be no compromise. Under Stalin, this threat is reduced to a minimum and with him, despite the nationalized economy, one can make war alliances.

It is this that inclines me to the conclusion that the theory of the mixed war was fallacious. It is extremely doubtful that any capitalist state could ever ally itself to a true workers' state, that is a state controlled by the workers. It is doubtful that Russia under Lenin could ever have found itself an actual ally of one capitalist imperialism against another. Under such conditions the contradictions between the prospective capitalist ally and the Soviet Union would have been overwhelming and the alliance too risky for the capitalist ally.

#### In Its Social Context

Too much has been taken for granted as flowing from the fact that nationalized property comes later in the scale of evolutionary development than private property; for what has been taken for granted is that nationalized property is, in and of itself, progressive and good. Frankly, I confess a certain weariness with the mumbo-jumbo built around nationalized property, a mumbo-jumbo which, taking the nationalized property out of its social context, reduces it to a point where one is just talking words, and relating these words to other words instead of to reality. The fearful thing about some words (for example, 'democracy, freedom, nationalized economy') is that they tend to develop in a world of their own, that after a while they tend to cease having specific meanings for the individual. Instead they evoke emotional responses which are mistakenly identified as rational thought processes. The use of words as a means of auto-intoxication is unfortunately a common phenomenon in our movement.

Not theory but life itself has shown us that nationalized property guarantees a worker nothing and that under it he can be more exploited than under capitalism. It does not follow from this that therefore one is for capitalism as against state property under Stalin, for the problem is not one to be solved by a choice of lesser evils. If only the worker could see this latter point. But if he doesn't see this point, it has been partially our own fault, for that is the real choice we always gave the worker. Always we said to him that in a war between Stalinist Russia and a capitalist state, his duty lay in defending Russia. And the worker, given such a choice, and thinking in terms of his everyday life, instead of in the complicated word patterns of Brahmin Bolsheviks, answered us quite sensibly: "If I have to choose between a Roosevelt U.S.A. and a Stalin Russia, give me Roosevelt any day. If I have to choose between a Hitler Germany and a Stalin Russia—well, it's like asking whether I prefer to be shot or hung." No, the choice between capitalism and nationalized economy under Stalinism is no choice at all. For us, there can only be the Third Camp.

I recall once discussing the matter with a worker who fortunately was not too "developed." "Look," he said, "you don't get better conditions. You say there are no unions. You can't be agin' the government. All they got in Russia is misery. Why should I defend it?" Patiently I explained about the nationalized economy's virtues. But this particular worker was not too impressed. Ruefully he concluded: "Well, maybe it's a good thing, this state property, if I've got my mitts on it. But if the other fellow has his hands on it and is choking me to death with it, why should I holler hurra?"

There's the thing in a nutshell. This worker, quite rightly, refused to divorce the nationalized property from the social context. For him, to talk of a nationalized economy separate and apart from who controls it was to talk in abstractions. For him, a nationalized economy in the hands of a Stalin could serve him better by staying, like Ol' Man River, away from his door.

Class Analysis  
Trotsky insisted that those who do not hold Russia a workers' state have abandoned a class analysis. Trotsky said: nationalized property equals workers state—as if that is all there is to a class analysis. What is left out in this unfortunate schema is nothing less than the relations of the various social groupings in Russia to each other and to the economy. The reckoning leaves out of the picture the status of the worker in Soviet society and his relation to production and distribution. The relation of the bureaucrat to the worker is that of the exploiter to the exploited, and the worker has no say as to what should be done with the surplus value he creates.

tuting empiricism for Marxism; one is told that what the group benefits from the nationalized economy is a momentary consideration, that it is the "historic role" of the economy rather than control of the state that is important, that in Germany capitalism exists, but capitalists are controlled.

To this one can only say that in Germany, even if a Thyssen suffers, his class, as a whole, gets a little something out of the regime, if only a profit on its investments and some insurance against the total liquidation of the class. But what does the worker get out of his so-called state or the nationalized economy, and just why should the historic possibilities of the economy weigh so heavily against the very real actualities of this same economy under Stalin?

It is all very well to say that due to state property we will only have to make a political instead of a social revolution in Russia. But when this so-called political revolution involves mass, probably armed, uprisings to dispossess a many millioned stratum of the population (bureaucracy) one is justified in becoming a bit hazy over the distinction and concluding: "Social revolution, political revolution—it amounts to the same thing in the end. Give us the power and we can always manage about the nationalized property."

There's the rub. For the worker it's the power that is decisive. This is so by the very nature of the class itself. Other classes come to power as exploiters, property owners. But the worker comes to power empty-handed. Before he makes his revolution he has nothing but his labor power, and after he makes his revolution he still has nothing but his labor power. When everybody owns, in reality nobody owns; or, put another way, ownership and control become indistinguishable.

Under conditions of state ownership, what therefore counts is who controls, and who controls determines the kind of state it is.

If the workers control the state property it is a workers' state and defense is incumbent upon the class. If another group controls the state property there is nothing there to defend.

It is as simple as that and all the rest is mumbo-jumbo and mystification. There is nothing especially progressive about state property as such because state property, as such, is a figment of the imagination. State property exists in a certain social milieu and it is this milieu that determines the defense.

This article was written before I had a chance to hear the petition of the PC on the subject. After hearing it at the N.Y. membership meeting, I find myself in agreement with Carter's position. Shachtman I find ambiguous and hope to consider his position at a later opportunity.

### When Defend Soviet Union?

By F. KOWAL

I am for the defense of Soviet Russia. But, since there are no Soviets in Russia, I have nothing to defend there, except to call on the workers of the world, including Russian workers, to overthrow the ruling cliques throughout the world and to organize the Soviet form of government: a government of workers, peasants and soldiers' deputies.

The present ruling clique in Russia broke the Soviets, broke the Third International, annihilated the international solidarity of the proletariat, murdered all revolutionary representatives of the old Bolsheviks, led international imperialistic intrigues, first with one group of imperialists, then with another, until it got itself involved in the imperialist war.

As an internationalist-socialist, I call the world proletarians to oppose the whole rignarole in order to establish socialism. I will join the defense forces of the present Russia when those in control of it will admit their criminal mistakes of the past, if they will issue a call to organize Soviets in Russia, when they will issue an appeal to the world proletariat for united front in order to bring world socialist revolution, and to organize Soviets everywhere. Then, and only then, will I be a defencist, and not one minute before.

There are other articles and book reviews, and the discussion of the Russian question is continued.

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## Soak the Rich - -

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great wealth, is but a drop in the bucket.

Sure, if a man or a corporation pays a hundred thousand dollars in taxes, that seems to be ever so much more than the man who pays, let us say, \$10. But the first man is paying the hundred thousand out of many hundreds of thousands in income, and out of the many more MILLIONS he has salted away in accumulated wealth.

It's simple: a man with a million dollars in his pocket can give away one-tenth, or a hundred thousand dollars, and still have plenty left over to buy his wife a new mink coat; a working man giving away one-tenth of ten dollars is going to have to worry about how he's going to get his food, or pay his rent bill.

While the basis for direct taxes, state and federal, has been widened so as to include a great many workers who can ill afford to pay them, they do not account for all of the real tax burden on the poor. A sales tax on this, a tax on that—a penny here, a penny there—add them all together, and they take a healthy slice out of a mighty skinny income. The few cents tax on cigarettes is a far heavier burden on the poor than is the larger mink coat tax on the rich.

No, we don't see why the workers who don't want the war and who have nothing but misery to gain from it, should shell out so much as a penny for the war. SOAK THE RICH! LET THEM PAY FOR THEIR OWN WAR!

How?

First, put a 100 per cent, yes a 100 per cent, tax on all excess profits.

Then slap a steeply progressive tax on the incomes they have sweated out of workers who have to fight for every penny of additional wages.

Then impose a capital levy on accumulated wealth.

What does this last one mean? Simple.

Consider the millions the Rockefellers have accumulated in generations of exploiting labor (helped along on occasion

### Have You Read The July N.I.?

In it are a host of unusually interesting articles, among them:

A detailed analysis of the Russo-German war, including in it an estimate of the domestic repercussions as well as its relation to the World Imperialist War, by A. G.

A review of the past period in the American labor movement, defining trends within it, and analyzing its present position, by David Coolidge. The discussion of the Russian question is continued with two articles.

A review of James Burnham's "Managerial Revolution." In this first section of a lengthy review which will be completed in the August issue, Albert Gates discusses the nature of capitalism and fascism in the light of the problems raised by the war.

There are other articles and book reviews, and the discussion of the Russian question is continued.

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by the massacre of workers' wives and children as in Ludlow, Colo., in 1913). That fortune runs into the hundreds of millions, or more.

Now, the Rockefellers, Du Ponts, Morgan, etc., are hot for the war. They want it fast, and "total." All right, if money for the war can't be raised by REALLY taxing profits, let the Rockefellers and the others be forced to cough up as many millions out of their accumulated fortunes as are necessary to finance the war and its preparation.

We suspect that once you really dig into the profits of war production, and once you soak the rich they may be a LITTLE LESS EAGER for war. But that's their business.

Our business is to oppose the war that can bring us nothing but evil, and to oppose any compulsion to contribute even a cent for that war.

And our proposals aren't new. At various times in the past, workers' groups, as for example in England, have considered them and championed them. Well, let the American labor unions take them up: press for a capital levy on accumulated wealth, a 100 per cent excess profits tax, a steeply progressive tax on all profits.

NO INDIRECT OR DIRECT TAXES ON THE PEOPLE!  
MAKE THE RICH PAY FOR THEIR OWN WAR!

## War Taxes Mount

By FRANK DEMBY

After three months of consideration the House Ways and Means Committee brought in a proposal to raise \$3,529,200,000 in new taxes. It is expected that the federal government will raise between nine and ten billion dollars from existing taxes. The additional revenue, provided there is no increase in expenditures, will be covered by taxes. The remainder will be raised through borrowing. It also means that this is the largest tax bill in the history of the country. Just a reminder that war costs money.

The bill is really a case of the mountain laboring and bringing forth a mouse. None of the basic issues are tackled. Recognizing that this is decidedly a compromise measure, Representative Doughton, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, following the lead of President Roosevelt, announced, in pleading for a "gag" rule to speed the debate, that the committee would have to consider a new tax bill for next year which would probably broaden the income tax base and levy a federal sales tax. These have been the basic demands of the bosses, who, as usual, try to throw the main burden of taxation onto the backs of the masses. On the other hand, the bill sidesteps the issue of imposing a genuine excess profits tax by merely increasing the excess profits rates a piddling 10 per cent.

#### Joint Returns

The most highly publicized feature of the new tax bill—the only part of the bill open to debate in the House of Representatives—is the proposal to compel married couples to file a joint tax return. A storm of protest has risen from press and pulpit against this measure on the ground that it penalizes marriage, will encourage divorce and immorality, and breaks down the sanctity of the home. At this writing it appears that the joint return, designed to raise more than \$300 million, will be eliminated.

However, the joint return doesn't mean higher taxes for the wealthy, for the wives of the rich don't work. It is true that they may have separate incomes in the form of inheritance or property gifts from their husbands; but the main burden of the joint return would fall on those middle class and working class families where both husband and wife work, with combined incomes ranging from \$4,000 to \$10,000. Since the greatest number of working women come from the ranks of the working class, a broadening of the income tax base and a lowering of exemptions—as is proposed for next year—would result in the joint return affecting the upper strata of the workers more than any other group. This is one of the main dangers inherent in the proposal. On this practical ground alone, leaving aside the fundamental questions of the family and the institution of marriage, the joint return should be opposed.

The bulk of the new tax revenue is to be raised from corporate and individual taxpayers—nearly two and a half billion dollars. In com-

## Old Boss Doesn't Mean Any Good To Either Negro or White Worker

By a Missouri Sharecropper

He will say, Listen, Mr. John, you had better watch those old "Niggers" out there; they are pretty smart, especially old Sam. He thinks that he is as much as you are. You must now allow him around your place at your absence. He is dangerous. But if he gets too smart around your family just let me know and we will try a new rope around his damn neck and there won't be anything to it, only a "Nigger" gone.

#### TO THE NEGRO:

Say, Sam. Have you got very many chickens and watermelons? Yes sir. Well, you had better watch them pecker woods out there because they will steal your hat from your head. Have you missed anything yet? No sir. Well, they ain't had a chance yet. Now, listen, Sam. Don't you fool around them pecker woods at all. I am going to discard every damn one of them after this crop. I am going to put all colored men out there. Then I can get something done. Them pecker woods ain't worth a damn.

#### TO THE WORKING WHITE MAN

As long as old Boss can keep you thinking that a Negro man can swallow your wife or daughter or both, or keep you thinking that you are something other than flesh and blood you will always be playing catch up.

Old Boss don't mind you eating that old "Niggers" pea hay because he slips over and gets a mouthful every chance he gets.

But "Nigger," don't you look at my alfalfa hay. I'll hang you up by your thumb, your toe, your neck or anything.

Old Boss's biggest job is to keep the Negro and the working white man against each other. He knows that neither one can harm him as long as they are watching and fighting each other. He knows that he can sit easy. Because there is nothing that the Negro can do by himself. And there is nothing that the white man can do by himself. Well, why not get together and get the job done?

#### LET'S GET TOGETHER

Because wherever there is unity there is strength. United we stand, divided we fall.

If the working class, both white and black, would get together, work together, pull together, think together, plan together, old Boss can't stand. His easy chair will get too hot, he will have to get up and cool off. And if the working class, both white and black, don't get together, neither one will ever amount to a damn. So let's get together and demand something, or stay divided and be worthless to our loved ones.

Let's consider, my working friends. A woman ain't but a woman, may she be white or black. And we can't charge her mind neither way. We can't make them think white and we can't make them think black. And we can't keep them from thinking either way or both ways.

So let's forget about how precious our white wife is and how good our black wife is, and try to get something done that we all may be happy. Because when God made the white woman he didn't change the mold to make the black one. He intended that all women go through life in the same motion. That itself tells us that there is no difference, only in color.

Now, dear working friend, let's forget that little color and try to live instead of existing. Old Boss is all right but he just don't mean either of us no good.

J.

paring the additional amounts to be raised from corporations and individuals, we see the manner in which the refusal to levy a 100 per cent excess profits tax and substantially higher corporation taxes, is allowing the big bosses to escape at the expense of the middle and working classes. New taxes from corporations are expected to raise \$935,000,000. New taxes from individuals will raise an expected \$1,521,000,000 (the big increase in the surtax rates falling on those making from \$2,000 net income to \$10,000 net income). This means an increase of 72.7 per cent in the taxes paid by individuals as against an increase of only 35.8 per cent in the taxes paid by corporations. In the words of Godfrey N. Nelson, tax expert of the New York Times: "Charging themselves with the duty of raising an enormous additional amount of revenue, the Congress has made the burden of such load to fall disproportionately upon the individual taxpayer. It has been said that we shall pay the additional taxes even if we have to borrow on our life insurance policies in order to do so." To enable the middle class to pay these new taxes, the Treasury is obligingly selling "tax anticipation" notes.

Some of the increases in existing excise taxes as well as some of the new excise taxes are as follows: distilled spirits, an increase of \$1.00 a gallon to yield \$122,300,000; wines, increased rates to yield \$5,000,000; automobiles, tax increased from 3½ to 7 per cent, to yield \$74,900,000; tires and tubes, increased rates to yield \$44,600,000; matches, a tax of 2 cents per 1,000, to yield \$21,000,000; playing cards, rate increased from 11 to 13 cents, to yield \$10,000,000; radios and receiving sets, rate increased from 5½ to 10 per cent, to yield \$9,400,000; telephone bills, a tax of 5 per cent, to yield \$43,600,000; transportation of persons, which excludes tickets for 30 days or less, a tax of 5 per cent, to yield \$36,500,000; a "use" tax on automobiles, yachts and airplanes of \$5.00 each per year, to yield \$160,200,000 (imagine placing yachts and airplanes in the same class as second-hand automobiles!); bowling alley, pool or billiard table tax, \$15 each, to yield \$3,400,000; soft drinks, a tax of one-sixth cent per bottle or its equivalent, to yield \$22,600,000; also a 10 per cent tax on the following items: phonographs and records, musical instruments, sporting goods, luggage, electrical appliances, photographic apparatus, electric signs, business and store machines, rubber articles, washing machines for commercial laundries, jewelry, furs and toilet preparations.

#### Power to Destroy

"The power to tax," goes the well known saying, "is the power to destroy." In this case, what is involved is the beginning of the destruction of the middle class, the traditional bulwark of American capitalism. The far-reaching social implication of this tremendous increase in the tax burden of the middle class will only be seen in the years to come, but in its own way it is already an indication of the approaching revolutionary crisis in the United States. One of the most penetrating predictions of Marx was that in which he predicted the gradual disappearance of the middle class as capitalism matured and began to decay. This prediction has often been attacked as incorrect, and the United States, with its vast middle class, cited as proof of Marx's error. But, even if somewhat belated, the middle class IS being wiped out (by the big capitalists). The process, which began with the onset of the great depression of 1929, is continuing on all economic fronts—particularly on the tax front.

The impression has been carefully cultivated by the boss press that the workers have escaped "paying their share of the new taxes." The Republican minority of the Ways and Means Committee, while it couldn't agree on any specific measures, submitted a minority report attacking the New Deal spending and calling virtually for the elimination of WPA, NYA and CCC appropriations. To them, of course, the existence of 5,000,000 and more unemployed is of no importance. But the workers have not escaped. They will not be taxed directly, rather they will be made to suffer the most vicious forms of taxation—excise or indirect taxes. An additional \$900,000,000 is to be raised in excise taxes. These taxes on various commodities and serv-

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**Conscript the War Industries Under Workers' Control!**



Economic Notes

by Frank Demby

Dividends on stocks listed on the New York Stock Exchange were 8.2 per cent HIGHER in the first half of 1941 than in the first half of 1940.

All told, 543 listed common stocks yielded approximately \$956,705,000 in dividends in the first six months of 1941.

The excess profits tax proposed by the House Ways and Means Committee remains a fraud in spite of the additional levy of 10 per cent.

Ten days after American exporters charged the British with re-selling American Lend-Lease materials to Latin America, the British agreed to restrict their trade competition with the United States.

The Americans claimed that the British were either re-exporting these American-made products or were using the American products and shipping an equivalent amount of British products.

The crowning blow in the succession of incidents, according to exporters, came three weeks ago when a company in Buenos Aires which was on the British blacklist entered the market for quantities of paper.

General Robert E. Wood, chairman of the board of Sears, Roebuck & Co. and national chairman of the America First Committee, has resigned as chairman of the Economic Policy Committee of the National Association of Manufacturers.

The chairman of the most important committee of all American industry thus sees as the only alternatives for the consumer goods industries—either stopping production, or shifting to instruments of war.

Mayorality Campaign--

(Continued from page 1) the war by a socialist victory! Defend labor's rights against the encroachments of the war jingoes and strikebreakers!

Make the rich pay for their war! Conscription of their industries and a capital levy on wealth, not indirect or direct taxes on the people!

End Jim-Crowism and discrimination against the Negroes, especially in the war industries and armed forces!

Electrical Strike Weakened by Union Concession

NEW YORK CITY—Yielding to pressure from Washington and especially from Sidney Hillman, whose chief occupation is putting the screws on strikers, the officers of Local 3, Electrical Workers Union, have allowed serious inroads to be made in the general strike of 8,000 skilled electricians called to compete the Consolidated Edison Co. to give 600 installation jobs to members of Local 3 instead of to the members of the company union.

In the first place, 286 striking electricians employed in the Brooklyn Navy Yard were ordered back to work. And, to heap insult on injury, they have been put on an eight-hour shift instead of a six-hour shift, to make up for lost time.

A few days later, the executive committee of the union ordered 70 men employed at the Ford Instrument Co.'s plant in Long Island City to abandon the strike.

The New York Electrical Contractors Assn. now requests that 300 more strikers be ordered to quit and return to their jobs, all presumably related to the war preparations of the Roosevelt Administration.

Thus what started as a general strike is no longer general, but is weakened to the extent of these compromises that the union leaders have made.

Van Arsdale stated that "by complying with Mr. Hillman's request we feel that we have given practical proof of this union's willingness to assist at all times in the national defense effort."

By way of a public demonstration, a blackout of Times Square took place on August 5. For half an hour all the large advertising signs and theater marquees were darkened from 42nd to 49th Streets.

Of the estimated 20,000 construc-

Senator Wheeler: False Crusader

By SUSAN GREEN

Senator Wheeler, leader of the so-called isolationist group in Congress, has mounted a white charger and is crusading against the warmongers in Washington.

He storms against the Administration for getting into the war behind the backs of the people. He accuses the newspapers and Hollywood of becoming war propaganda mediums.

All very fine staging and, except for the accusations against the warmongers, which are true, a lot of political buncombe.

Being a boss politician of long experience, Wheeler knows darned well that the capitalist system—which he staunchly supports—must have foreign markets, that foreign markets are fought for, that wars are not carried on by democratic means.

Thus, when Iceland was occupied by United States forces, he reacted in harmony with his basic capitalistic convictions: His opposition to this dictatorial administrative war measure, taken without the consent of his dear people and without the sanction of his sacred Congress, was of the yes-and-no variety.

"I would have no objection to the occupation of Iceland purely as a defense measure," said Wheeler—plainly a distinction without a difference. Mussolini occupied Albania as a "defense" measure; Hitler occupied the Low Countries as a "defense" measure; Stalin occupied parts of Finland as a "defense" measure.

Gypsum Workers Set for Long Strike Struggle

The gas, coke and chemical division of the United Mine Workers, CIO, is conducting a strike in nineteen plants of the U.S. Gypsum Co. Though the men have been out for several weeks, the company still refuses to confer with the men and the efforts of the federal conciliation service have completely failed to impress the boss.

This strike is an initial move on the part of the gas, coke and chemical division of the UMW to organize and improve the conditions of some 600,000 workers in these lines. President Lewis has recently organized the division, placing Ora E. Gasaway in the office of president of the division.

For this reason the UMW is putting its resources behind the striking workers of the Gypsum Co. and is preparing for a long struggle to win.

tion workers affected by the strike of the electricians, many have joined the strikers. It remains for the rank and file not to permit their officers to further weaken their fighting power.

Always (who has any doubt?) imperialist military maneuvers are purely "defensive" actions.

Again, when Stimson lambasted Wheeler for sending anti-war postcards to men in the army, on what basis did the fiery Senator defend himself? "I would not write to men in the army to urge them to write to the President," explained this limping crusader.

Why shouldn't this loud defender of "democratic" rights send his anti-war cards to men in the army? Why shouldn't he urge those most vitally concerned by war to express their views to the President?

More than a week ago, Senator Clark, also an isolationist, came out with the blunt proposal that the United States simply take over the whole western hemisphere.

To date, Senator Wheeler, who is quite vociferous on all subjects, has made no public disclaimer of sharing Senator Clark's "aggressive approach" to Canada, Central and South America.

After the series of moves taken by Roosevelt in the Far Eastern situation, which unquestionably brought the United States nearer to a war with Japan and which just as unquestionably were made without the consent of the people or of Congress, Wheeler gave his complete approval.

This "anti-war, isolationist" leader is not against war with Japan nor against intervention in Asia. Over the rich markets of Asia, he gets so excited that he forgets to put on his anti-war, isolationist mask.

What distinguishes Wheeler & Co. from the pro-Roosevelt politicians is simply this: The "isolationists" are willing to fight for American imperialist interests in the western hemisphere and in the Far East.

On the other hand, Roosevelt is willing to take a chance. By going the whole hog he hopes that, as senator victor in the European war American imperialism will sit on top of the whole world.

On the other hand, Roosevelt is willing to take a chance. By going the whole hog he hopes that, as senator victor in the European war American imperialism will sit on top of the whole world.

The fine "democratic" ideals that Wheeler shouts as he brandishes his rubber sword, are just politics—meant for consumption by a predominantly anti-war public.

Curtiss Drive--

(Continued from page 1) The fine "democratic" ideals that Wheeler shouts as he brandishes his rubber sword, are just politics—meant for consumption by a predominantly anti-war public.

The next Curtiss-Aircraft scheme was a proposal for a 7 1/2-hour, 6-day week to replace the 8-hour, 5-day week. The company graciously allowed the workers to vote on this fraud; they rejected it so overwhelmingly that the actual count of the vote wasn't even announced.

All these months Local 753 has been gradually picking up strength inside the shop. Curtiss and its Aircraft puppet had to do something big. So they decided to "arbitrate."

The arbitration award was so complicated that nobody could figure it out. All the workers could see was that they had been promised a 14-cent raise plus two months' retroactive pay—which they didn't get.

Present New York Standing: Queens 2, Yorkville 6, Bronx 1, Harlem 4, Central 9, Brownsville 0, YPSL 3.

Branches Obtaining No Subs: Chicago South Side 10, Streator 3, Baltimore 3, Rochester 2, North Philadelphia 10, South Philadelphia 10, Washington, D. C. 10.

Total 25. The Drive is Not Over: Although this campaign for new subscriptions is officially over August 15, we should not relax our efforts to continue to obtain this special introductory sub.

Let's all go "over the top" in the final week of the drive!

After months and months of organizing, it wasn't until a few weeks ago that the first sound truck made its appearance at the new plant. Sound trucks, leaflets, radio broadcasts—this is what the Curtiss boys need in the way of outside help, and there is no reason why they should have to beg for them.

UAW men: Demand that your union give all-out aid to Curtiss Local 753! The 25,000 Curtiss workers must and will be organized!

UAW men: Demand that your union give all-out aid to Curtiss Local 753! The 25,000 Curtiss workers must and will be organized!



25¢ SUB DRIVE: New York City is now in the final week of its drive to obtain its quota of 75 new 25 cent subscriptions to LABOR ACTION.

Present New York Standing: Queens 2, Yorkville 6, Bronx 1, Harlem 4, Central 9, Brownsville 0, YPSL 3.

Branches Obtaining No Subs: Chicago South Side 10, Streator 3, Baltimore 3, Rochester 2, North Philadelphia 10, South Philadelphia 10, Washington, D. C. 10.

Total 25. The Drive is Not Over: Although this campaign for new subscriptions is officially over August 15, we should not relax our efforts to continue to obtain this special introductory sub.

Let's all go "over the top" in the final week of the drive!

The Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

ENGLEWOOD WORKERS RESTLESS AND READY

Dear Editor: On September 1 the contract between Local 1478, SWOC-CIO, and the Englewood plant of the American Can Co. expires.

American Can is experiencing the biggest year in its profit-fat history. Can customers, frightened by government priorities and aware of the future rationing of tin plate, are frantically laying in tremendous overstocks of cans.

Yes, American Can is doing a tidy bit of business these days. And the employees? What is our share in this boom? Production has been stepped up and we are always asked to put out more.

making bets with some of the body makers: "I'll bet you can't put out so many cans this week."

Yes, this is higher than the minimum of a year ago (thanks to our union) but not more in proportion to the increased cost of living.

Our new contract demands? 1. Union shop. 2. Improved seniority plan. 3. Higher wages—75 cent mini-

mum and other increases. 4. A more liberal vacation clause. 5. Hospitalization plan. 6. Draffee pay. 7. A better safety program.

The workers at Englewood are restless and ready. Only a few workers of the 1,800 employed have not been organized. Our local, the largest (1,600 dues-paying local in the SWOC of the Chicago area, is united and strong.

STEPCHILDREN IN THE CITY OF BROTHERLY LOVE To the Editor: "Philadelphia, the City of Brotherly Love."

Anyone wishing to find the meaning of Brotherly Love should go to Philadelphia and especially to Rittenhouse Square. It is really a lovely place. A park with smoothly paved walks, large trees shading grassy lanes on which a flock of pigeons and tame squirrels play.

chatting and some just aimlessly, gloomily glancing into space. There might be a few children, a very old person, even one or two poor people, but no "bums."

Surrounding the square, the buildings alone depict our society. For they represent our capitalist class. We can see towers 25 stories high in between two and three story residential palaces, which bespeak luxury and wealth.

These palaces are abandoned for the summer. Their owners are spending summer vacations somewhere in the mountains or perhaps Bermuda. All you can see which shows that these buildings belong to living persons, that they are not tombs, like ancient pyramids, are the watchmen, who, uniformed from head to foot, pace back and forth in front of the entrance telling its tale: this is private property.

Another evidence of life in these palaces is when in the late evening the personal servants lead the various breeds of dogs for a walk to this beautiful park. There no children are allowed to stamp the grass but if the dog desires to relieve himself on this

beautiful grassy lane, the attendant will not object. He'll simply follow the dog who, in this instance, is his master.

And there you can see and feel the real brotherly love. Even dogs, pigeons and squirrels are well fed and gently attended.

Now just take a walk two blocks northwest and you come to Lombard Street. This is a borderline between the City of Brotherly Love and Brotherly Hate. This is a street in the Negro residential district.

Their living quarters often consist of one room, which years ago was a store. Now it serves for kitchen, dining room, front room and bedroom. Furniture: perhaps one or two broken chairs. No beds. They sleep on the display rack, right in the window.

They are Americans too. They too live in the City of Brotherly Love. They too had helped to build the

Rittenhouse Square and all that surrounds it. Yes, they are really the ones who had made America what it is, but they are proletarians and black in addition. They are the stepchildren of America, for they are dispossessed.

O Christian civilization! O "democracy"! O "Americanism"! All in one, they mean capitalism. When will we be blessed by a new society? When, oh when, will we have democracy? S. D.

We Demand: Higher Wages and Workers' Rights for Conscripts!

Table with 3 columns: Branch, Quota, Subs Obtained. Lists various branches like San Francisco, Boston, Lynn, St. Louis, etc.



# Editorials

## OUR PROGRAM AGAINST THE WAR

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

# Labor Board Aids AFL's Tobin In Fight on Local 544-CIO

(Continued from page 1)  
 tary-Treasurer Kelly Postal and Organizer Moe Horck on charges of "first degree grand larceny," the total number of indictments, each one more fraudulent than the last, is now 87. Local 544, confident of victory, and with the national CIO solidly behind it, dismissed the latest indictments as being "as idiotic and meaningless as the earlier 'embezzlement' action" against Kelly Postal and Miles Dunne, who are guilty of nothing more than protecting the union's funds.

### NPLD Backs 544

Following the lead of the CIO, Labor's Non-Partisan League, of which John L. Lewis is chairman, branded the federal indictment of 29 members of Local 544 and the Socialist Workers Party as a "menace to fundamental civil liberties and to labor's basic rights."

The NPLD statement compares the indictments with the infamous "witch hunting tactics of the Department of Justice under A. Mitchell Palmer in World War I."

"In St. Paul a few days ago," says the statement, "a large number of CIO union members of Minneapolis were indicted for holding allegedly subversive opinions. The indictment went back to 1938 in strained efforts to find some incident on which to base its action. Not what these men did but what they thought formed the real crime against them."

"In this particular case, the Justice Department did not act against these allegedly subversive persons until three years after the deed committed and only after they had transferred their membership from the AFL Teamsters Union to the CIO."

"To many observers here, both in and outside the labor movement, this is a clear case of Justice Department interference in trade union matters. By its actions, the Justice Department seeks to discourage teamsters from joining the CIO."

"The incident is regarded generally here as an attempt by the Justice Department to establish a precedent. If it is successful, many informed persons are expecting other indictments of labor figures who do not toe the mark in the way some bureaucrat would prefer that they do. "If Minneapolis teamsters can be jailed for their opinions, so can anybody. That is why the case is of

national importance to civil liberties."

The NPLD charge that the men are being tried for their alleged opinions, and not for any overt acts, was proved by a correspondent for the liberal weekly, The Nation, who interviewed Justice Department officials. Though Attorney General Biddle and his assistant, Mr. Berge, approved the indictments, they each tried to pass the buck when asked to state specific charges, claiming ignorance of the facts. The correspondent, I. F. Stone, concluded that the Department of Justice could not attribute a single subversive act against the 29 indicted men, that it was resting its case on the OPINIONS these men are supposed to hold. This in "democratic" United States, not in Hitler Germany!

### Stalinists Join Hunt

If the attorneys for the defense do not succeed in getting a postponement, all 29 will be arraigned on August 11. Bail has been provided for all. Carl Skogland, who last week was ordered to show cause why he should not be deported as an undesirable alien (to Nazi-governed Sweden!) and held in \$25,000 bail, has also been released on bail lowered to \$3,500.

# World at War--

(Continued from page 1)

ponents to the German war machine. For the renunciation by Stalin of revolutionary ways in the conduct of the war means in the last analysis that victory can only be achieved on the purely military plane. On this plane, despite the vastness of Russia and the tremendous reserves of her manpower, superiority in equipment will be decisive. And it is precisely here that the arsenal of industrial Germany assures her the greater flow of equipment.

As a matter of fact, the strong resistance of the Russians up to now is due primarily to the fact that for years, and especially of late, they have stocked up with tremendous amounts of tanks, airplanes, cannon and all kinds of mechanized equipment. The Germans have admitted that they greatly underestimated both the amount and the quality of this material. They thought that in the first surprise they could destroy the major part of the Russian mechanized equipment, after which there would be easy sailing.

For the moment, the German blitzkrieg has been more or less successfully blocked by the Russian counterwar has demonstrated that the blitzkrieg can only be countered by the blitzkrieg. Militarily, two years of blitzkrieg. One must credit the Russians with having understood this for a long time and having trained their army accordingly. However, as a blitzkrieg army cannot exist without tanks, airplanes and other mechanized equipment, the answer to how long the Russians can continue to resist is contained in what remains and what can be brought forward in the sphere of equipment.

Of course there are other factors about Russian resistance that must be considered. One of these is morale. There is no question that the Russians have it. The Germans have admitted that the Russians fight like "fanatics." There is also abundant testimony of guerrilla fighting behind the lines. It would be easy for one to say that because of the sufferings of the Russian masses under the terror of Stalinism that the Russian masses lack the heart to fight the German invader. However, such an estimation would be false. Even on purely national grounds, the Russian soldier has in the past fought bravely against an invading foe. On those grounds also one can point to the high morale that existed among the Greeks—despite the bloody Metaxas dictatorship—in the face of the Italian and German invaders.

Even in the First World War, under the corrupt Czarist regime, knout and all, the Russian soldier fought with great courage for over three long years. However, to refer to Russian nationalism as a source of morale does not exhaust this question. Among the Russian people a large section of the youth is undoubtedly loyal to Stalinism. More so than in the Germany, the youth, knowing no other life than under Stalinist and ignorant of the traditions of the Revolution, adheres to the shibboleths of the regime. In the cadre or permanent Russian army some 4,000,000 soldiers, who have been treated comparatively well, no doubt feel that they have something to fight for.

Nor must we overlook that privileged section of the population, the bureaucrats and administrators of all kinds, the police and the GPU, the Stakhanovists and the technicians of all kinds, the so-called Soviet intelligentsia, who would fight to the death to preserve their privileges. TROTSKY ESTIMATED THIS PRIVILEGED STRATUM AT NO LESS THAN 25,000,000 PERSONS!

When one considers what a tremendous conscious force this represents in the prosecution of the war against Hitler, is it any wonder that Russian public opinion is seemingly unanimous in the fight against Hit-

By way of completing the picture of reaction united against militant unionists, the Mexican Stalinists have applauded the indictment. The Militant, weekly newspaper of the SWP, reports that the Mexican Stalinists have raised a trial balloon for the line of the Stalinists in this country. The U.S. Stalinists have not YET joined the Tobin-Roosevelt conspiracy against the Minneapolis unionists. Nor have they protested it. Trying out the line first in Mexico, they may soon apply it in this country.

The Militant's correspondent reports that the Stalinist newspaper, El Popular, headlined its Minneapolis story as follows: "Plot of Trotskyist Provocateurs in the U.S." A typical sentence from the article is: "They (the Trotskyists) wanted to sabotage in all forms the defense program of the United States" and, worst of all, they wanted to "overthrow the government of President Roosevelt."

Thus Roosevelt pays off a political debt to Tobin and Stalin pays off a debt to Roosevelt.

Against all the witch-hunters, labor must back the CIO in its defense of Local 544. That is the way to defend militant unionism!

# "In That Promised Land..."

By TED LYONS

President Roosevelt is both a man of letters and promises. This is an excellent combination for a capitalist politician. As a man of letters Roosevelt is well equipped to put over, in a finely polished and skillful manner, any and all of his "pie in the sky" promises.

Roosevelt has promised a lot of things to a lot of people... the Negro, for one. If the government has ever given the Negroes anything besides misery—it has been an over-abundant supply of promises. No jobs. No decent housing. No equality. But promises? Enough to float a battleship! After all, promises cost little and are worth less.

Especially on the abolition of Jim-Crow has the Roosevelt regime waxed eloquent. Hillman, the Quisling of labor, has thrown all the power of his position as office boy for the OPM behind the Roosevelt promise of ending Jim-Crow. Knudsen, Knox and Stinson have also added their opposition to Jim-Crow with their fiery and furious statements to the big Jim-Crow capitalists. They shook their little fingers at the bosses and said: "Tsk! Tsk!"

The Anti-Lynch Bill is still collecting dust instead of the needed signatures for its passage. You can bet your life (not mine) that Roosevelt is for the Negro people. But it seems that the fish seem to be biting better off the coast of Florida every time the Anti-Lynch Bill has to be signed. Either the fish story or the one about Roosevelt being completely worn out from writing his strenuous retorts to the scandalous treatment of the oppressed people—in Europe.

### "PENALTY" FOR SHOOTING A NEGRO

A fresh example of lynch-law rule was furnished last week from Alabama. Down in Birmingham, Hubert Alexander, a white cop, was walking down the street when he thought he saw a Negro by the name of John Jackson laughing at him. So in true police fashion, the copper promptly beat up Jackson with his gun. Jackson was then arrested, placed in a police car and on the way to the station the cop shot Jackson four times. It was murder. The cop was fired—but that does not mean that Jim-Crow is gone. Not by a long shot.

Hitler is denounced as an enemy of mankind—and rightly so. But what about Georgia's Governor Talmadge? Although Talmadge wears a white nightgown (Ku Klux Klan model) he isn't exactly an angel masquerading in a southern drawl. Talmadge is a vicious and active zealot in the cause of Jim-Crow, reaction and stupidity. What about denouncing Talmadge? Nothing doing. What's better: Denounce the Negro's rights in Georgia or play ball with the Talmadge boys and keep a whole state of good, solid, Democratic, poll-tax votes? It's much easier to denounce Hitler. After all, Roosevelt isn't planning to run for Reichsfuehrer of Germany... not yet, anyway.

### AND THE ARMED FORCES...

What about Jim-Crow in the armed forces? Those democratic forces that are going to fight the fascist enslavers? Roosevelt, being only the commander in chief of all the armed forces, has nothing to say on this question. He sounds like he never even heard of the existence of an army and navy when Jim-Crow is mentioned. He lets his stooges do his dirty work. And look what they say:

Admiral Nimitz, chief of the Bureau of Navigation, when questioned as to the reason for the U.S. Navy's Jim-Crow policy, said: "Negroes are extremely brilliant and in the very short space of a year are able to rise to the rank of chief petty officer and that is very much resented by the white sailors, causing much discord within the ranks." So that's it? Too brilliant, eh? A number of people have often wondered how Frank Knox worked his way up to being Secretary of the Navy. Now they need no longer guess—the admiral has supplied the answer.

JIM-CROW IS AS MUCH A PART OF THE U.S. ARMY AS THE MANUAL OF ARMS! Approximately 90 per cent of the draftee camps are in Southern States. The Negro draftees sent down to these camps are turned into social outcasts—in and out of camp. They are restricted, completely ostracized from any social life and pushed about like cattle. Complaints to the bigshot army potbellies asking that they get these Southern towns to grant the Negro conscripts a few measly rights have gone unheeded and have even resulted in Negro draftees being put in the brig for raising too much of a beef. The Army is working hand in hand with the Southern Jim-Crowers to subjugate and oppress the Negro soldier in "democracy's" army.

From Fort Meade, Md., comes the latest bit of news on the anti-Negro policy of the army. Two Negro draftees were kicked out of the camp theater and one of them was thrown into the guard house and later sent to another camp because they refused to sit in the Jim-Crow section of the camp theater.

In accordance with the Army's Jim-Crow policy, Negro soldiers are forced to sit in the first six rows of the movie house, "almost on top of the screen." At a movie last week, the Negro soldiers seated themselves in the center of the theater. The white MP's ordered them to move up to the Jim-Crow seats. The Negroes refused, claiming that their money was "as good as the next soldier's." They were then thrown out and one of them was put into jail and transferred to another camp the next day.

The Negro conscripts complained, but to no avail. They hit the nail on the head when they bitterly commented that this was "just another example of the sort of Hitler race policy adopted toward us by the Army, a policy which is certainly not conducive to building morale among soldiers, who are being asked to fight for democracy, something which we do not have."

And what about FDR and his promises? What about condemning the Jim-Crow policies of the Army and Navy? What about it? Well, you see the President is very busy right now. He's working hard preparing a statement about the discrimination of the natives in Outer Mongolia—or is it Tibet? No matter—FDR PROMISES to take up your Jim-Crow problems some time next month... or next Christmas... or next year... or maybe after the duration. But, remember, it's a PROMISE!

many others in hospitals, no one knows! And with every prospect of both numbers increasing as the draft extension goes into effect!

An investigation is plainly needed. Not, however, an investigation conducted by a congressional whitewash committee, but an investigation demanded and carried out by trade union representatives, seeking to help fellow-workers who are serving in the bosses army through no fault of their own. The brass-hats won't like it; but labor must demand it.

Before that investigation is made, there are nevertheless certain demands which are obvious on the very face of things: **Higher wages**—a minimum of \$60 a month, plus ALL expenses!

**Workers' rights**—the right to select committees of their own choosing to champion their grievances; the right to speak freely and write freely; the right to organized action!

## Prices and Wages

Labor should not allow the threat of unemployment to hundreds of thousands of workers in the auto, textile and other consumer goods industries to become a red herring in their path to higher wages. The profit-bloated bosses must not be allowed to get away with the inadequate wages they are now paying.

Recent figures from the office of the Secretary of Labor in Washington once more emphasize the urgency of the workers' demanding more and more of the product of their labor.

For the month of May-June, 1941, out of 27,155 manufacturing plants making reports to the Secretary of Labor, only 1,097 of them—or less than 4 per cent—granted pay increases to their workers. These "fortunate" workers constitute a mere 7 per cent of all those employed in the 27,155 factories—or 478,242 workers out of 5,562,954. These figures are supposed to represent a cross section of the entire country.

THE COST OF LIVING DURING THAT MONTH ALONE ROSE BY 2 PER CENT TO 4 PER CENT ABOVE THE PREVIOUS MONTH. ALL THE WORKERS HAD TO PAY THAT INCREASE!

What about the workers in the 90 per cent of the factories where the tight-fisted bosses paid no higher wages that month? **How did 93 per cent of the workers, who got no increases, meet the higher prices? THEY JUST DIDN'T!**

This is corroborated in the Kiplinger Business Letter of July 19 which states—very conservatively—that while many employers have raised wages, "MANY HAVE NOT."

**Where do the workers employed by this group of die-hard bosses stand with relation to the cost of living!**

And how do the more "fortunate" workers get along? Could those who got an increase in June keep abreast of prices as they steadily mounted during July? Could those who got a raise in May keep up with the price boosts of 2 to 4 per cent in June? **THEY JUST COULDN'T!**

The wages of even the best paid workers are lagging far behind the cost of living. The average wage of that part of labor which received increases is only 10 per cent higher—against a 15 per cent rise in prices.

This disproportion is becoming greater day by day, week by week, month by month. At the beginning of the year, the estimated rise in prices since the war was 10 per cent. **At the end of July it is put at 15 per cent.** The housewife knows that for many items she is actually paying 20 and 25 per cent more. At the end of August, costs will be on a still higher rung of the ladder.

W. H. Lawrence, writing from Washington, says in the New York Times of August 2: **"Food prices may advance considerably before they are subject to federal controls."**

LABOR'S STANDARD OF LIVING IS DEFINITELY ON THE ESCALATOR MARKED "DOWN."

**The basic need of the day is for higher wages for all workers—and for upward sliding wage scales to keep pace with the mounting cost of living!**

NOTHING—AND NOBODY—SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO STAND IN THE WAY!

**For Labor Action--  
Join the Workers Party**

## SWOC Strikes Timken Co.

Special to Labor Action

COLUMBUS, Ohio—Columbus this week was the scene of the biggest CIO strike since the CIO was organized here. The employees of the Timken Roller Bearing Co. went out on strike in protest against the firing of five women members of SWOC Local 2173.

The company, which employs about 2,600 in the shops, discharged the five on charges that they had mixed roller bearings of different sizes in their baskets. The union claims that this is an unavoidable error because of the speedup and because of the minute differences in the size of the bearings. The real reason for the discharge is that the women employees are just beginning to join the SWOC, and the company wishes to prevent any further gains for the union. The company, however, is not discouraging membership in the "independent" union.

Since the start of the strike, the SWOC local has signed up over 200 additional members. The SWOC already has well over 85 per cent of the shop employees, and is increasing that figure daily.

The union insists that the girls be reinstated with back pay. The company has offered to reemploy the five as they see fit, but refused them back pay. The union has refused to accept this offer. This is the main issue of the strike. The union has a signed agreement with the company and is not reopening the wage issue.

By a campaign of newspaper advertisements, the company is implying that the union is carrying on an underhanded, subversive attack upon the "national defense" effort. The latest ad claims that even the few days' time already lost may mean the delay in the construction of battle-ships badly needed by Britain. Thus, runs the vicious charge, the workers are really aiding Hitler to conquer the world and enslave "free" labor.

Columbus is on its way to becoming a CIO town. With the Transport Workers organizing the street car and bus drivers, and the United Auto Workers starting in on the Curtiss-Wright plant, it won't be long now.

Just a week ago the employees of the Felber Biscuit Co., mostly women, members of the United Bakery Workers (CIO), went out on strike in protest over the fact that foremen and foreladies were intimidating and bribing CIO members to join a rival organization. The strikers put on a militant show of force. Four women union members had to be sent to a hospital because three men rushed the picket line to get to work. The strikers have gone back to work, pending an NLRB election.

## Investigate The Camps!

The Monday (August 4) newspapers carried stories of a riot at Fort Dix in which one soldier, a prisoner, was killed by camp guards.

There is a lot here that needs investigation. But while the shooting of a soldier-prisoner is shocking enough, there is another fact which is even more shocking.

**The newspapers report that 350 soldiers were in the guardhouse, that these prisoners boiled over when the guards opened fire on a prisoner who was presumably trying to escape, and that the guards then fired ("in the air") on all 350.**

But how is it that in one camp 350 soldiers are in the guardhouse? That's the question that the brass hats must answer.

We suspect the answer: **the men are fed up with the army and with the totalitarians who run it.** Many of them, if not most of them, didn't want to join in the first place. They were forced to. They don't want to serve. They don't want to lose their lives in boss war. They are dissatisfied with camp "wages" and camp conditions.

It is a known fact that never before in the history of the army has AWOL been so frequent. Where an occasional individual used to go "over the hill" before, whole barracks do so now. These are the men who have not been broken physically or mentally—and risk the penalties involved. Others, unable to stand the strain and the conditions, fill the hospitals; either as patients who have succumbed physically or as patients driven to insanity, or near it.

Three hundred and fifty men in the guardhouse at one time in one camp! How

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