

# ALL OUT FOR LABOR UNITY AS THE ROAD TO ORGANIZING AMERICA 100%!

By JACK WILSON

Business as Usual . . . for the Dollar-a-Year Men!



## They Run the War Show!

The entire war program is honeycombed with dollar-a-year men who help the companies with which they are associated make millions in war profits. Evidence as to who controls the U.S. government is given in these facts:

In the month of June, 1941, almost two billion dollars in war contracts were issued to corporations whose controlling officers were in the government supervising the issuance of these contracts. The following large corporations were directly represented in the OPM: General Motors, General Electric, Bethlehem Steel, Chrysler, United Aircraft & Transportation, Western Electric, Westinghouse Electric and others.

There are 886 dollar-a-year men in the various war bodies. Some of these 886 dollar-a-year men who run the war show are:

**Donald Nelson**, former executive of Sears, Roebuck & Co. and now chief of the entire war production program;

**William S. Knudsen**, president of General Motors and in charge of War Department production;

**Edward S. Stettinius**, former chairman of the board of United States Steel and director of priorities;

**W. Averill Harriman**, chairman of the board of Union Pacific Railroad and chief of the industrial materials section of the production division of the OPM.

Above all, the vision of having 10,000,000 organized workers in one central organization which would be the largest and most powerful body in America was a cheerful one to labor's ranks, and a nightmare to the editorial writers of the capitalist press.

The end of an epoch of a house divided against itself, the end of major jurisdictional disputes between the CIO and the AFL, the diminishing of the bitterness fomented in the years of internecine strife, the feeling of class solidarity in one united organization—all these loomed as benefits of labor unity.

For labor everywhere would feel its own might and power, if united. The handwriting on the wall can be seen already by the labor-baiting Congressmen, whose chief stock in trade was to play off one section of the labor movement against the other.

A united labor movement could stand as a powerful bloc against reactionary moves in Congress, as the temporary bloc of the CIO with powerful sections of the AFL against the Smith Slave Labor Act recently revealed.

The favorite scheme of the big industrialists, "divide and rule," by which they hoped to crush the CIO and AFL unions in wartime is receiving a shattering blow from the trend toward unity.

Unite on Closed Shop  
The first big jolt the industrialists and their allies received on this score was at the recent industry-labor conference held in Washington, where the CIO and the AFL united on the closed shop issue, and refused to freeze existing union-gains for the duration of the war. Government officials and the industrialists had hoped to win the AFL over against the CIO on this issue, but were sadly mistaken.

The basic issue which divided the CIO and the AFL has long been settled in favor of the CIO. The triumph of industrial unionism over craft unionism as the correct way to build effective unions in mass production industries is testified to not only by the existence of the great auto, steel, rubber, coal and other CIO unions, but also by the fact that even AFL leaders who opposed the CIO have been forced by living events to organize workers into industrial unions. The AFL machinists union, which is organizing aircraft workers, is a good example. They have over 70,000 aircraft workers organized on an industrial basis.

What Unity Means  
And the possibility of organizing America 100 per cent union grows much stronger as the trend toward unity reaches a culmination. For labor unity means that one of the biggest headaches in organization, the division and dispute between the CIO and the AFL, would largely be removed. It would be much more difficult to play off unions against each other.

The conversion of American economy into war production, with the hiring of millions of more workers in the mass production industries in the next boom period, assures that the hegemony of industrial unionism will be the decisive factor in the labor movement. For the industrial unions in auto, steel and elsewhere have already been tried and tested by events. They are capable of organizing the fresh stream of workers who will flood into the huge factories.

Likewise the squeezing out of consumption goods industries and other "non-essentials" will tend to relegate some AFL unions into a role

(Continued on page 2)

PHILADELPHIA—In the last two weeks an amazing tale of industrial dictatorship and oppression has been exposed in the NLRB trial of the E. G. Budd Mfg. Co.

The Budd company is the largest basic industry in this city. It employs more than 10,000 workers and is scheduled to employ 15,000 by spring. The company has just been awarded the Navy pennant for excellence in war production. All over the giant plant are huge signs proclaiming Budd's as "An Arsenal of Democracy." An "arsenal of democracy" . . . and yet every single worker in the plant, all 10,000 and all the thousands that have worked there before and have been fired for daring to raise their voices against the brutal practices of the company, know that nothing E. G. Budd does is for democracy.

The dictatorship that E. G. Budd has instituted in his plant is similar to the one that Hitler and Mussolini have set up in Germany and Italy. Low wages, the lowest in the auto industry, are found in the plant. Long hours, the equal of any sweat shop, are found in this "arsenal of democracy." This plant can boast of an appalling list of industrial accident victims. Lost fingers and hands and eyes and even lives due to the deliberate lack of safety devices in this "arsenal of democracy."

The plant abounds with spies and stool pigeons. Hundreds of workers have worked there faithfully for many years, and given their strength and health to the company and yet, when they attempt to assert their democratic right to form a union of their own choosing, they have been fired without hesitation by this mighty "arsenal of democracy."

(Continued on page 2)

## Joe Louis Meets Sergeant Jim Crow

The New York World-Telegram of January 14 carried a story on Joe Louis' induction into the Army. One paragraph read:

"Joe and the others were fingerprinted for the second time as an Army band played a variety of tunes. In 15 minutes he emerged and through some mixup he went to a line of white men alongside the road. That error was soon rectified. The champion was assigned to a group of Negroes on the other side of the road."

This story was headlined "Joe Louis Gets a Taste of Army Cooking." If the irony was intentional, the headline is a masterpiece.

## CIO President



PHILLIP MURRAY

## "Arsenal of Democracy"-- Budd Style

# Reveal Stranglehold of Dollar-A-Year Men on War Program

In a sensational report published last week by the Senate Committee Investigating Defense, headed by Senator Harry S. Truman of Missouri, details were revealed of inefficiency, waste, profiteering and the other methods by which big business and its dollar-a-year men have utilized the war production program for their own ends. The factual material presented by the report tended to substantiate many of the charges made in recent issues of LABOR ACTION to the effect that big business was meshing the gears of the war

out strategy to obtain the purposes of big business.  
**Hold Chief Posts**  
The chief posts in the OPM are held "by persons holding important positions with large companies who were willing, and anxious to serve on a dollar a year, or without compensation." (Why they were so "willing and anxious" will become clearer when we get to that section which details the amount of profits they got for their own companies.)  
These men reflected the views of

their corporations and provided their company "with very substantial benefits."  
Most of them retained their business connections and their companies continued to pay them, in some cases even increasing their pay.  
While the OPM had a rule that the dollar-a-year men could not pass on contracts with their own companies, the report comments, however, that "these men were dealing with matters involving the class of clients by whom they were formerly employed and by whom they natu-

rally expect to be employed in the future."  
The dollar-a-year men, the committee adds, are in a better position than anyone else to know exactly what type of contract is on the grid; "what shortages are imminent and to advise their companies on how best to proceed, either to build up inventories against future shortages, or to apply for early consideration for priorities."  
"Therefore, in a very real sense, the dollar-a-year and no compensation men can be termed 'lobbyists.'"

"In addition to the above benefits, the companies loaning the services of dollar a year men obtain other and less tangible, but perhaps even more important benefits. All important procurement contracts must be approved by these men, which means that contracts must conform to their theories of business. Since they represent the largest companies, this means that the defense program in all its ramifications must obtain the approval of the large companies."  
Here, in a nutshell, is confirmation (Continued on page 4)

Former OPM Chief



WILLIAM KNUDSEN

program because of its wild desire for profits, and that for the capitalist class patriotism during wartime means nothing else but an increased lunge for profits.

While the Truman committee did not come to these conclusions, the material presented by it so clearly pointed in this direction that most of the big capitalist papers, realizing the political dynamite involved, gave little publicity to the report.

The most sensational section of the report was that exposing the role of the 255 dollar-a-year men and 631 business executives in the war program who don't even get a dollar. It is evident from the report that these representatives of the American capitalist class—much more conscious of their class interests than the labor leaders in Washington—actually formed a caucus within the OPM, which held secret meetings to work

# What the Truman Report Revealed And What Should Be Done About It

By IRVING HOWE

The Truman Senate Investigating Committee report deserves the attention of every worker. It reveals much of the real character of the present war. Unfortunately, LABOR ACTION has been forced this week to cut out a lot of its material on this report because of the need for printing full comment on the labor unity situation. We shall return to this report in more detail next week. In the meantime, a few initial observations:

1) This is only the beginning. We'll bet our last dollar against a doughnut that the committee failed to reveal more than it did; that when the true story of capitalist inefficiency, waste, graft, nepotism, selfishness, routineism and sheer stupidity gets out, this report will appear mild by comparison. And the truth will out, sooner or later!

2) The report proves to the hilt what we have been hammering away at in LABOR ACTION: **CAPITALISM IS THE REAL ENEMY OF PRODUCTION!** The report confirms the charges made last week in LABOR ACTION—that low production of copper, lead and zinc, all basic war materials, was caused by industry's refusal to produce more until prices were jacked up and taxes eased.

## PROFITS AS USUAL

The report gives facts and figures on how the automobile industry insisted on profits as usual, how it refused to convert to war production because it was coining tremendous profits in civilian auto production.

Each industrial group within the capitalist class, and each company within that group, is utilizing the war production program as a grand opportunity for profiteering. This results in a sit-

uation where—as in rubber—not only are there inadequate war supplies but civilian needs are cut into as well. And the only reason is the greed and inefficiency of the capitalists, concerned not with the needs of humanity but with profits for themselves.

And what more damning indictment of capitalism can there be when we see that privately built battleships cost \$8,000,000 to \$10,000,000 more than government built ships—and yet most of the war program's ships are to be privately built. (It is for this that workers are asked to cut their standard of living by increasing taxes.)

How much point these facts give to the demand LABOR ACTION has been raising: **CONSCRIPT THE WAR INDUSTRIES UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL!**

3) The report attempts, unsuccessfully, to absolve President Roosevelt of all responsibility in the fiasco it describes. As a matter of fact, the President is directly responsible. He knew what he was doing when he let the dollar-a-year men run the show. He knew what he was doing when he appointed Bill Knudsen.

For instance, the Truman committee attempts to save the President's political face by declaring that he could not be held responsible for the mirage of red tape, shifting responsibility and inadequate powers since the OPM never asked for an improvement of the situation. A lame excuse! The President appointed the dollar-a-year men; he presumably received reports on what was going on; he, too, is responsible.

4) The report has only one recommendation—that the dollar-a-year men sever their connections

with the companies they were formerly employed by. Coming after so much factual dynamite, this is sugary indeed. Because the Truman report itself indicates why this panacea is meaningless. Suppose the dollar-a-year men do resign their posts with the large corporations. They will still continue, in the words of the report, to deal "with matters involving the welfare of the class of clients by whom they were formerly employed and by whom they naturally expect to be employed in the future."

## SUPPOSE THEY DO QUIT?

Will the following description, offered by the Truman committee of the dollar-a-year men, be changed if they quit their company posts? "The dollar-a-year men and non-compensation men subconsciously reflect the opinions and conclusions which they formerly reached as managers of large interests with respect to government competition, with respect to taxation and amortization, with respect to the financing of new plant expansion, and with respect to the margin of profit which should be allowed on war contracts."

As a matter of fact, it may be expected that a number of dollar-a-year men will be cleared out. But that will change nothing fundamentally.

The only administration that could really end this profiteering, waste and inefficiency would be a workers' and farmers' government. Such an administration could really end all the scandals described in the Truman report, because it would abolish the root cause of these scandals—private ownership of the means of production for private profit—and substitute in its stead communal production for public use.



## Europe in Revolt

News from the Socialist Third Camp

### AN EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT OF NORWAY'S GENERAL STRIKE

In this issue we present a day-by-day diary of the greatest strike movement which has yet taken place in the Nazi-occupied countries. It was written by a man who escaped from Norway. We think that this diary in its simplicity gives a better picture of Europe than ever so many elaborate articles. It should be remembered, however, that events like this are as yet the exception and that in general the class struggle has not yet taken on such acute form.

**Monday, September 8**—The rationing of milk becomes effective. It provides that people will no longer get milk at offices or places of work. Only at retail stores. Result is workers feel they are cheated out of milk. There is little bread to be had, even less butter and sandwich spreads. Now suddenly you don't get milk either. The workers at Akers shipyards have started to walk out and it's still morning. The workers at Nylands shipyards, Christiania mill factory and Per Kure A/S are following suit. The strike is spontaneous and spreads as the day goes, and as word of it gets around. In the afternoon the affair is reported to the German authorities, who call in labor leaders for a conference. The German authorities offer the prospect that workers will get their milk tomorrow.

**Tuesday, September 9**—Yesterday's strikes are known about throughout Oslo and sentiment for a mass strike spreads quickly when it develops that there will be no milk for workers today either. From the shipyards and the iron and metal mills the strike spreads to breweries, tobacco factories and construction projects. They telephone from plant to plant: "We're going out now. Are you with us?" In this way the strikers increase by the thousands. By afternoon the printers, textile workers and many others have joined. Of the 95,000 workers of the Oslo trade unions it is estimated that 30,000 to 40,000 are striking. By mid-afternoon many union representatives have been called to the Reich commissioner's headquarters. In the evening the iron workers hold a big meeting where it is decided (with only four negative votes) to resume work tomorrow morning, even though there is no milk. This occurred after the union's president had spoken strongly in favor of resuming work. A few scattered arrests took place outside the Akers shipyard after the afternoon shift had gone off. The Reich commissioner's office had sent a representative to speak to the workers. The workers listened to him, but quietly followed in the footsteps of their striking comrades.

### STRIKE LEADERS ARE EXECUTED

**Wednesday, September 10**—A state of civil emergency has been in effect since five o'clock this morning. Last night orders were issued that all radios must be handed in. Extensive arrests began at 5:00 a.m. and the first union president arrested was the president of the iron workers who had spoken for a resumption of work. Those arrested were brought to Gestapo headquarters for brief questioning, and the court martial went into action. The number of persons arrested today was between 250 and 300. From outlying districts came reports that union officials there have met with the same fate. At noon the Nazis stormed into the headquarters of the Oslo trade unions, dismissing the president and secretary. A Nazi took charge.

Early in the morning Gestapo agents gathered in the offices of the National Labor Federation. They questioned and arrested several officials. All clerks and assistants were requested to remain on the job. A little later all union treasurers were summoned to a meeting at which the German authorities ordered them to continue to accept dues but prohibited them from paying out any money for the time being.

At 2:00 p.m. all employees of the National Labor Federation were summoned to a meeting where the new Nazi appointed officials were introduced to them. The employees were brought before a court martial on charges of having illegally quit work. In the face of threats all pleaded guilty.

At 1:15 p.m. the union attorney, Viggo Hansteen, was seen at the headquarters. At 5:00 p.m. he was executed along with... At 7:00 p.m. the clothes of the two dead men were delivered to their widows. At 8:15 p.m. the two death sentences were announced on the radio. By that time the streets were deserted since the curfew went into effect at 8:00 p.m.

**Thursday, September 11**—The same drama that occurred at the National Labor Federation was today gradually repeated in each of the individual unions. The remaining union representatives were forced to continue at their posts under the threat of court martial. Commissioners took charge of many unions. The death sentences of last night made a terrible impression in all union headquarters. Employees of the National Labor Federation wept as they set about at their compulsory work and the same was the case in all union offices where the president had been arrested. New sentences are also announced over the radio tonight.

### LESSONS OF THE GENERAL STRIKE

This report gives evidence of a number of facts which seem to be of great importance to the European class struggle:

- 1) The workers act spontaneously, without regard for their conservative union officials.
- 2) The actual cause for an outbreak of revolt may be of comparatively slight importance, but it is just such a little spark which liberates energies not seen before.
- 3) The Nazis are powerless against the striking workers themselves; they attack the union officials, notwithstanding the fact that they had not been in favor of the strike, because the Nazis must have somebody against whom to direct their blows.

This shows that large unions are for the time being no longer possible in the occupied countries; the period in which they could play a role is past; spontaneous revolts, on the other hand, are not enough because there has to be an organizing force in all such actions. So what is most urgently needed is an underground organization, growing out of the spontaneous struggle, which has enough influence with the masses to act as their leading spirit and to widen the scope and aims of the movement. A spontaneous strike movement like the one in Oslo is of tremendous importance; it shows that the working class is not dead and that it gathers its forces again; but it also demonstrates that the urgent need of the situation is for crystallization out of this anonymous mass of a group of workers able to lay the organizational and theoretical foundations for the new movement which will grow out of these first spontaneous uprisings.

## Ohio Hits High In Priorities Unemployment

By M. BELL

The 29,487 unemployment benefit payments made in December for the state of Ohio set a new peak for 1941, according to the report of the Bureau of Unemployment Compensation. As against November payments of \$714,564, the December payments ran to \$1,122,967.

The 60 per cent rise in Cleveland of \$71,368 was the highest in the state. This has been mostly in the auto industry, where priorities and conversion have shut down some shops completely. In Akron, another drastic increase of 49 per cent was reflected in a rise of \$11,866 unemployment benefits paid.

Great secrecy shrouds the lay-offs caused by priorities or rubber curtailment due to the war with Japan. Not a figure on lay-offs due to these causes has appeared in the Akron press, only the above-cited on unemployment benefits. However, the logical effect of abandoning civilian production of rubber has been the immediate lay-off of many salesmen throughout the country. According to the United Rubber Workers (CIO) the effects have not been severely felt as yet in the production end.

The union has been largely responsible for effecting transfers of

laid-off members into other war production industries. Also, due to URWA and management protests, enough rubber will be released to keep workers in the heavy truck tire divisions on a 30-hour week basis for the remainder of January. Thus, expected drastic lay-offs have been averted for a month.

It is reported that some departments in Akron rubber plants are working on curtailed schedules, but the conspiracy of silence of the OPM, companies and the press prevents and accurate knowledge at the present time.

### Fred Beal Is Freed

Fred Beal, leader of the famous Gastonia strike, was released from a North Carolina prison last week. He had been sent to jail on a violence charge, but it was the opinion of labor circles that his real crime was that of militant leadership of the strike.

When his case first came up, Beal was advised to skip bail by the leaders of the Communist Party. He did so and fled to Soviet Russia. Several years ago he returned to America, disillusioned with Stalinism, and decided to serve his sentence.

Large sections of the labor movement rallied to his support, but the Stalinists constantly sabotaged his defense, refusing to join in the common defense of a class war prisoner because of Beal's opposition to Stalinism.

# ALL OUT FOR LABOR UNITY

(Continued from page 1)  
of lesser influence in the coming period.

So the reunification of the labor movement upon the basis of joining the millions of CIO militants, with the additional workers organized into the AFL in the last few years, as well as the old craft unions, would give the American working class an economic drive and power, and a political consciousness of its importance, such as was never before experienced in the history of labor in America.

### Organize the Unorganized

The crucial question of uniting the American working class, the organized and the unorganized, will receive great impetus by a unification of the present divided organizations,

### PULLED A QUICKIE



JOHN L. LEWIS

because the attracting power of a great single body of organized labor will be magnetic. Organizing the unorganized will not be stopped. Quite the contrary, organization campaigns will receive spurts and achieve far greater successes when the labor movement is united.

Labor unity brings these prospects, possibilities and advances, irrespective of the dirty, behind-the-scenes politics of the various bureaucratic cliques in the top leadership of the AFL and the CIO.

The contempt and hatred which the ranks of labor have for the machinations of the whole breed of union bureaucrats in their mad scramble to take advantage of the trend toward unity should not blind workers to the tremendous advantages of labor unity. (The condemnation of the bureaucratic

## "All Men Are Created Free and Equal . . ."

Those who believed that the entry of the United States into the war would lead to greater participation of the Negro in American life—on an equal basis—are being rudely awakened to the fact that the government is "not interested in any sociological experimentation" which would upset the methods of the Southern bourgeois.

That was the bitter pill which editors of the Negro press throughout the country were forced to swallow at a conference called by the War Department in Washington several weeks ago. There would be no change in the national policy of discrimination and Jim Crow against Negroes. THAT was the answer of Washington to the protests of the Negroes demanding equal rights.

The Chicago Defender, a pro-Roosevelt and pro-war Negro newspaper, had this to say about the conference:

"It is an obvious attempt to appease belligerent Negro editors who have taken a critical view of the whole panorama of national defense. This kind of appeasement will not work. We want the major evils about which the Negroes are complaining corrected or at least attenuated before we are called upon to shed our blood for America. We want the non-discrimination clause in industrial contracts upheld. We want the Fair Employment Committee to be given legal authority to prosecute, not merely investigate, all those found guilty of the Executive Order against discrimination in industrial plants. We want segregation in the armed forces of the nation abolished. These represent a minimum of concessions that will appease America's black masses."

The Pittsburgh Courier recently carried a dispatch from London written by George Padmore, which gives the lie to its assertions that Negroes will be benefited by a victory of the British Empire. Padmore describes in detail how the British are attempting to disarm the native Ethiopian patriots who aided them in fighting the Italians. He declares that it is the British plan to sign a treaty with Ethiopia similar to that recently signed with Iraq. This treaty, while giving Ethiopia nominal right to choose its own government, puts the real governmental powers in the

hands of British advisors. All the British talk about freeing Ethiopia was just so much bait used to get the support of the natives for the war against Italy. If the British have their way about it, they will merely substitute one form of imperialist domination, British, for another, Italian.

As long as the labor bureaucracy exists, all its actions, whether around the unity question, control of unions, or any other issues, will be bureaucratic in nature, and the problem of the ranks is always to utilize every situation to fight for democracy inside the labor movement, without thereby opposing necessary actions, even if they are carried out in bureaucratic fashion.

### Lewis' Reckless Action

The reckless actions of John L. Lewis, a bold, capable and unscrupulous union bureaucrat, are a case in point. Whether he calls a good mine strike, like the captive coal mine strike, by bureaucratic action, or whether he calls for labor unity, again by individualistic bureaucratic action, the problem of the militants is to judge the basic issue first. And in both cases (the strike and the call for unity) support should be given to this great mass movement, without thereby renouncing one bit the sharpest criticism of Lewis' dictatorial methods.

The sudden proposals of the president of the United Mine Workers for unity with the AFL, in which he showed a lack of ordinary trade union loyalty to his associates in the CIO, reveal his bureaucratic approach to union problems and, it must be said in passing, the fact that he is much more skillful and has more foresight in getting on the bandwagon than most other union leaders.

But his case is no different than that of William Hutcheson, William Green, Sidney Hillman, Phillip Murray or other top leaders involved in this problem. All of them are of the same stripe, fundamentally.

### Green a Scapgoat

The fulminations of William Green, AFL president, against Lewis do not flow from any interest in the ranks of labor, but rather from the fact that Green knows he has been picked as one of the scapgoats among the bureaucrats to take the blame for disunity. His retirement is foredoomed.

Nor do Phillip Murray's pretensions against Lewis' maneuvers merit any special consideration for him and his role as CIO president. Murray for 20 years was right-hand man of John L. Lewis in precisely these kinds of maneuvers and deals. Murray's "benevolent" dictatorship over the 500,000 steel workers in the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, who have never been able to elect their own international officers or hold their

own convention, hardly qualifies him to complain about lack of democracy on the part of Lewis. What motivates him, rather, and those who support him, is their own role and future in a united labor movement, just as Lewis and others view the questions primarily from that angle.

Everyone in the labor movement knows that the Stalinists, since their line changed, have shifted from kicking Lewis' boots to Murray's shoes and that today they are kicking faster than ever in the hope that this will offer them some protection in the deals around the question of labor unity.

### Stalinists to Be Purged

Their lip service to labor unity will be exposed exactly for what it is, a cynical ritual to deceive workers and their own followers. For the Stalinists know that they also are going to be placed on the altar and be purged ruthlessly by Lewis and others in a unified labor movement.

### ALSO INVOLVED



SIDNEY HILLMAN

All their top posts are a cinch to be lost, and only in so far as they remain ranks behind them will they be able to keep within the labor movement.

But while workers should have no sympathy for this "rule or ruin" clique, when its own methods are applied against it by its own "leader," be it Lewis or even Murray, labor does have a stake in trade union democracy, and must oppose the bureaucratic methods of any purge.

In the ruthless and cruel game of power politics, against which labor ranks should continually blast and fight, but which at present will dominate the negotiations between the various CIO and AFL cliques, the key figures will be Lewis, dictator of the 600,000 coal miners; Dan Tobin,

## "Arsenal of Democracy"—Budd Style

(Continued from page 1)

tion of minorities, the lowering of the standard of living of workers, the secret police, and the abolition of free speech and free press. Yet for two weeks the great liberal newspapers of the city of Philadelphia have not opened their columns even an inch to acquaint the people with Mr. Budd's home-made fascism. As if by mutual consent they have clamped an ironclad censorship on news about Budd.

Last week the Budd workers saw the papers carry pictures of Mr. Budd receiving the Navy award for his share in the race of war production. All the pictures were prominently displayed, no one could miss them. For this there was plenty of space and coverage. War profits are lauded to the sky. For the struggle of the Budd workers for better wages and working conditions and a little democracy in the plant, the great crusaders of the press have another answer—deliberate and self-imposed censorship.

(Next week . . . more news on the NLRB trials.)

### Appeal Case of Union Organizer

Richard Klugherz, Workers Defense League attorney, argued before the Appellate Division, Fourth Department, at Rochester, N. Y., on January 13 for the freedom of Christ Popoff, labor organizer, convicted of attempted arson and serving a 15 to 25-year sentence in Attica State Prison.

The bulk of the testimony against Popoff had been given by an alleged accomplice, a confessed firebug serving a two to five-year sentence on the same charge.

The labor attorney argued that the code of criminal procedure held that confession of defendant was not enough to warrant conviction of an alleged accomplice without "added proof that the crime has been committed." The Workers Defense League, which charges Popoff was framed because of his labor views, expects a favorable decision will be given by the judges in early March.

czar of the 600,000 AFL teamsters; Bill Hutcheson, head of the rich and powerful carpenters union; George Meany of the building trades, and the Sidney Hillman machine in the clothing workers' union.

These men control the vast purse strings, the huge roll of jobs, and have the power. Lewis' open knifing of Murray, his long-time associate, was significant not because it afforded Lewis some personal satisfaction in punishing an ex-colleague but because it showed that Murray, not having control of a large union, or his own machine, outside of Stalinist support at present, is doomed to second place in the game of power politics.

### Lewis' Threat

Even if Lewis does not appear this week before the CIO executive board, the ill-concealed threat he has of pulling the miners, and other unions he influences, out of the CIO into a unified labor movement is sufficient to speak more eloquently at the CIO executive board than all the wind-bag speeches of two-by-four bureaucrats representing small or paper unions in the CIO, especially those controlled by the Stalinists. It is entirely possible that the Hillman machine, under Roosevelt's thumb, will join in exerting what amounts to threats against the hesitant Murray, who was caught short in the maneuvers and spoke of them bitterly as another "Pearl Harbor."

In the dynamics of the development of the trend toward unity, and the negotiations which will reflect the developments, there will be many ebbs and flows. Some more surprises—and more deals.

Labor's ranks can learn tremendous lessons from a close study of these events. They can utilize the cracks and splits among the clique politicians on top to fight for the

### THE WORLD AT WAR

## Chinese Lackeys of Allied Imperialism Enter A Strong Dissent on War Strategy

By SENTINEL

When Secretary of the Navy Knox said that the Allies must defeat Hitler first and that full scale action by the United States fleet against Japan could not be expected in the near future, he threw a bombshell into Chinese bourgeois circles. Sixteen leading Chinese bourgeois organizations in the United States immediately telegraphed a protest to Roosevelt begging him not to commit "disastrous blunders" by committing the government to such a policy. They warned that "there was a limit to Chinese patience."

"A spirit of deep dissatisfaction is growing in China," they said. "Nothing will so destroy the spirit of unity of America and China as to say on America's part that our great enemy is not Japan but Hitler. Either we are fighting a common war or we are not. To discriminate between enemies is to bring disunity in the ranks of the Allies."

### Criticism from China

Nor was this sharp criticism limited to Chinese merchant organizations in the United States. Actually, disappointment and criticism arose originally in China itself. The influential Chinese newspaper, "Ta Kung Pao," expressed the fear that the Japanese capture of the Netherlands Indies not only would isolate Singapore strategically but would completely nullify the Allied blockade of Japan and permit her to carry on a vigorous offensive indefinitely as well as to cut communications between India and Australia.

"Going even further than this, the newspaper Hsin Hua Jih Pao listed the two "vital" Allied mistakes: "First, failure to carry out a true scorched earth policy, and second, failure to accomplish the mobilization of native populations, resulting in most effective fifth column activity."

A government spokesman was even more "radical" in his criticism. He said:

"The battle of the Southwest Pacific is a battle for the freedom of the Asiatic peoples and not merely strategy and raw materials. This war can decide whether Chinese, Indians, Malaysians, Filipinos and other Asiatic peoples will have a future of free, independent development or become segments of a huge military, totalitarian Japanese Empire."

These outbursts are truly revealing. Nowhere do we see in these criticisms a single sign of independence from "democratic" imperialism on the part of the Chinese leaders. They take for granted the leadership of Allied imperialism in the war against Japan. They are only dissatisfied that this leadership is more concerned with Hitler than with Japan.

### Allied Role Exposed

Moreover, the Allied role in the Far East is inadvertently exposed. Is there any doubt that for the Allies the war in the Southwest Pacific is indeed a battle "for strategy and raw materials" and not "for the freedom of the Asiatic peoples"? Does anyone believe that "this war will decide whether the Chinese, Indians, Malaysians, Filipinos and other Asi-

atic people will have a future of free, independent development or become segments of a huge military, totalitarian Japanese Empire?" If Japan wins, the colonial peoples will indeed "become segments of a huge military, totalitarian Japanese Empire."

But will an Allied victory give the colonial peoples their freedom? Will Britain free the Malaysians or the Indians? Will the Dutch free the 70,000,000 native toilers of the Dutch East Indies? Will the United States genuinely free the Filipinos? See how Great Britain rejects out of hand the merest suggestion for Dominion status for India and Burma. For Dominion status the nationalist leaders of Burma and India are willing to support Great Britain in the war but the British ruling class will not give them even an inch of freedom.

Since the Allies are fighting to maintain their own imperialist rule in the Far East, is it so strange that they have failed "to accomplish the mobilization of native populations"? To arm and mobilize the 90,000,000 colonial peoples in the Southwest Pacific—what could be more dangerous to all imperialist rule? That is why the Allies prefer to fight against Japan with their own relatively meager garrisons. It is also not difficult to understand the imperialist overlords' reluctance to apply a "true scorched earth policy." Destroy their own fabulous properties, the rich spoils of exploitation and conquest over the native peoples? That is not so easy for the masters!

Effect of Hitler Victory  
It also follows from the Allied inability to arm and mobilize the native populations that they have a problem regarding the disposal of their limited forces in what is for them a planetary war. There is no question but that Hitler even more than the Mikado threatens their world imperialist domination. They know that a Hitler victory is, for them, a permanent one. If Hitler is defeated, Japan's victory can only be temporary. This is the broad and all important consideration that guides Allied strategy.

In this there is not an iota of Allied indifference to the Far East. They will never yield their imperialist interests in that region if they can help it. Notwithstanding the Chinese critics, the Allies are giving the maximum of attention that they are capable of to the Far East. This attention is governed by their determination to maintain their imperialist positions not only in the Far East but on the entire planet.

That is just the trouble. The war is an imperialist one. If the Chinese leaders were not the satraps of imperialism they would burst through the imperialist circle. They would then resort not to impotent "criticism," but would issue a ringing call to the millions of exploited natives to throw out the imperialists of every variety.

But the miserable Chinese lackeys of imperialism are incapable of this. This remains the task of the people themselves.

FOR LABOR UNITY!  
FOR TRADE UNION DEMOCRACY!  
FOR ORGANIZING AMERICA 100 PER CENT UNION!  
FOR A STRUGGLE TO MAKE THE RICH PAY FOR THEIR WAR!



# Of Special Interest To Women

By Susan Green

Lots of buncombe is being dished out regarding women in war industries. We are, of course, assured that little strength is required to run big machines. To convince us, many pictures are spread over the pages of the press. Women are shown operating lathes—with a smile; or, begoggled and serious, concentrating on welding torches.

According to S. F. Porter of the New York Post, we are even supposed to believe that women are better able to man the machines than men. He tells us that while women's strength is about 57 per cent that of men and their physical stamina only about 68 per cent—whatever that means—still we have more of what it takes to run machines.

**"The modern industrial plant demands patience and willingness to accept monotony and,"** writes Mr. Porter, **"women often are better able to accept those conditions than men."**

There is no need to heap insult on injury by pretending that women are designed by nature for long hours of monotonous drudgery at machines.

LABOR ACTION takes for granted that masses of women will be doing the work of men during the war. LABOR ACTION is concerned with the problem **OF WHAT THESE WOMEN ARE GOING TO GET OUT OF THEIR LONG HOURS OF SWEAT AND TOIL.**

A survey made by the United States Women's Bureau covering 465,000 women in twenty-two large manufacturing industries, shows that women's earnings are less than men's in every industry reporting.

The New York State Labor Department found that in SELECTED industries where the weekly wage paid to men in 1941 was the unusually high average of \$36, women averaged only \$19.75.

These and other recent surveys make it clear that while men's wages far from keep pace with the rising cost of living, the wages of women lag much further behind.

If women replace men in industry and do not get equal pay, the bosses will be tickled silly. It means that for certain fixed war contracts, their labor bill will be much smaller. It means that their war profits—already hair-raising—will be even greater.

End all wage disparities! They benefit only the bosses. Equal pay for equal work! This is in the interest of men and women workers alike.

And wage scales to keep pace with the rising cost of living. At least this much women should get out of their labor. Never mind the buncombe!

The New York Dress Institute spends many thousands of dollars for full-page "ads" in the important papers of the metropolis, just to tell women to be lovely.

Yes, you must kiss your husband good-bye in the morning, send your children to school with a smile, be calm and steadfast, and give "your time and service to organized war work."

But your main job is just to be lovely—so that "men may take courage from that loveliness."

But wait a minute! Don't think you can go about being lovely in your own sweet way! You must be "lovely in the clothes you wear"—or how will the high-priced dress manufacturers constituting the disinterested New York Dress Institute make profits commensurate with wartime profit standards!

In its full-page "ads" this boss outfit finds no room to tell the factory woman whose long working hours take all her time and energy, just when she will be lovely in lovely clothes which she can't afford to buy anyway.

Neither is the working class housewife whose money is being cut in half between the pincers of rising prices and rising war taxes of every kind, informed on what to use for money to buy the lovely clothes in which to be lovely—and at the same time feed her family.

On Sunday, January 11, a pageant and revue was given in New York "as a tribute to Negroes serving with the armed forces," as the newspapers put it. The main speaker was—you know who.

According to the press, Mrs. Roosevelt "expressed the hope that after this war minorities in this country will enjoy the same liberties that all other groups have."

I wonder if there was an intelligent Negro in the hall or on the air listening to the democratic First Lady whose mind and heart did not shout:

**"WHY NOT NOW?"**

I wonder if there was any Negro survivor of the last war listening to Mrs. Roosevelt's speech who did not remember the unfulfilled promises for a better world made to his race DURING THAT WAR ALSO.

There is a saying—not originating with the Greeks—"He gives away ice in the winter." That graphic linguistic idiom must today be applied to the great Borden and Sheffield milk companies—the givers of phony gifts.

It was announced far and wide that Borden's and Sheffield's milk will be reduced three cents a quart in the stores. Maybe you thought that you would pay 11 cents for a container instead of 14 cents, or two quarts for 21 cents instead of two for 27 cents. But you went to the store the next day and paid the same unwarranted high price for your milk as before.

There was, however, a difference—in the name on the container. In the place of trade names, Interstate, Reid's or Daily Sealed used on its own milk, was printed the mighty name of Borden's. THE MILK IS THE SAME—THE PRICE IS THE SAME.

The price of milk—which has gone up 14 per cent since the war began—has to come down. But it will not be by the voluntary action of the food profiteers!

**Odds and Ends on the War**

The Kiplinger Washington Service devotes its December 27th letter to its business clients to explaining about the nebulous plans for a post-war paradise on earth being hatched in Washington.

These specious plans require detailed analysis and exposure. The purpose of this short item is merely to point out, as especially noteworthy, the way in which Kiplinger refers to this post-war paradise.

With all the plans for the post-war period, it is still called the transition "FROM FIGHTING TO ECONOMIC WAR."

While production of automobiles for civilian use in this country is being practically stopped, many automobiles will continue to be shipped to Latin America out of the reserve stocks to be maintained.

# When Race Discrimination Hits Whites In Manila and Negroes in Georgia

By DAVID COOLIDGE

American Negroes must have been amused about one piece of news that was carried in the daily press recently. This was the report that American whites in Manila were terribly shocked and indignant over rumored or actual race discrimination against them by the Japanese. When Negroes in the United States read the press accounts of how good American white folk (some of them from Georgia and Mississippi) were being kicked around and discriminated against and "Jim Crowed" because they were white, the blood of these Negro Americans must have boiled. How dare these "Japs" bring race prejudice, discrimination and segregation into the United States or its "possessions."

Why, everybody knows that these American whites have a spotless record with regard to race prejudice and Jim Crow! Everyone knows that Negroes aren't discriminated against in Frank Knox's Navy—they're even allowed to advance to the lordly posts of messboys, where they can wash the officers' dishes, and valets, where they can shine the officers' shoes. Could anyone ask for more?

And everybody knows that America is a country where there are NEVER any lynchings. Negroes in the South live a life of complete

equality and freedom. Ask that well known friend of freedom, Georgia's Governor Gene Talmadge, about that. He'll tell you how the South "takes care" of its Negro people! And if once in a while—say, every day—there is a report like the one from Fort Bragg, where white military police assault Negro soldiers, or from Arkansas, where white police drive Negro troops in military formation off the road—nobody would hold that against the Southern white folks, would they? Why, it would be rank ingratitude if they did!

And everyone knows about how Negroes are permitted to work on an equal footing with white workers. Why, just look at the Glenn Martin factory in Baltimore, for example, where there are about a half dozen Negroes employed as porters in the factory of thousands of men. There's American equality and fair play for you!

Truly, it must have been an awful shock to these American white people when they discovered that there is such a thing in the world, as race prejudice and discrimination! Why, the word "Jim Crow" isn't even in American dictionaries; no one ever heard of it (in this country until those Japs started it in Manila!

Negroes who claim that such evils exist in the United States must cer-

tainly have distorted minds and most vivid imaginations. They must know that this is a war for democracy. Just look at the 13th, 14 and 15th amendments. Yes, look at them!

Yes, we say, Negroes have a right to laugh. They also have the right to get mad when they read of such brazen "indignation" on the part of American white people who run into race prejudice against them. Perfidy and hypocrisy can reach no lower depths. Negroes read of the great indignation of the white people in Manila against the Japanese because the Japanese are resorting to race prejudice and discrimination.

On another page they read that the Red Cross will not take Negro blood. On still another page they read that the white officers of a Negro regiment near Philadelphia have posted a notice on the regimental bulletin board that cohabitation between Negro soldiers and white women, even with the consent of the women, is considered "rape" and that in time of war is punishable by death.

Negroes are Jim Crowed, pushed to the bottom of the heap, mobbed and lynched all over the United States. They have no more share in democracy now than before the great and holy crusade for "democracy" began.

Think of it! The Red Cross an-

nounces that there is no difference in the blood of the various groups of humankind but still they will not permit Negroes to give their blood to a blood bank. Negroes will only be permitted to feed their blood to the earth after being run through by a Japanese or German bayonet. Negroes will only be permitted to give their blood to the mob and the lynchers. They will only be allowed to give their blood under the lash of the plantation overseer in the cotton fields.

Negro soldiers can guard the factories, bridges, highways and homes of white people but they must not accept any courtesies from white people. They are treated like a faithful dog, praised for their "loyalty and courage" but never permitted to do more than serve the master.

These white Americans who perpetrate these savage acts against the Negro, even the Negro soldier in uniform, are the same white people who grow indignant over Japanese race prejudice against the white people in Manila.

We don't pretend to know what all the Negroes think about all this; we don't know what kind of stomachs they have; but as for us, our stomachs are not strong enough to hold this brew of lies, deceit, hypocrisy and Hitlerism.

# "Soldiers Get Free Graves..."

Below we reprint a chapter of a pamphlet called "Soldiers Get Free Graves," written by Jim Walden. This pamphlet was published in 1940 by the Wayne County (Detroit) Educational Committee of the United Automobile Workers Union (CIO). Though LABOR ACTION does not necessarily agree with all the ideas in this pamphlet, we believe it to be an interesting expression of how one worker looks at imperialist war; and we shall therefore reprint, from time to time, sections of this pamphlet.—Editor.

### CHAPTER II Rockets in the World War

When the Germans marched into Belgium in 1914 they were met by German-made guns; they fought against German guns in the hands of Russians, Italians, and British. The Russians had German-made ships and artillery. Great Britain supplied arms to Austria-Hungary, built and trained the Turkish Navy, and supplied the Turkish mines that sank British ships. Italy, Bulgaria and Rumania used French 75's. Austria-Hungary helped arm Russia.

Krupp armor plate was on the battlements of Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Germany and the United States in 1914. By 1912 Krupp had sold 28,000 cannon to Germany, 27,000 to various foreign countries. This was the situation when the war started. Some nations are better at making certain types of killing machinery than others and there is a difference in the supplies of raw materials so this trade goes on. We expect it to stop when war breaks out—it doesn't.

Fats used by Germany to make glycerine for explosives were supplied by British capitalists through Denmark from 1914 to 1917. Copper was supplied to Germany by the United States and Britain through the same years by way of Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Switzerland. The French Rothschilds supplied Germany with enough nickel in 1914 and 1915 to last through the war. A Norwegian shipload of this nickel was captured by the French Navy (which took the war too seriously) but was ordered released by the French government and allowed to go to Hamburg, Germany.

The German Senator Possel al-

ways went to the railway station to cheer the boys leaving for the front but his factories in Sweden and Russia supplied the Russian armies. He was tried for treason and freed because he was protecting his property by selling to the Russians. Spanish lead owned by Rothschild, Krupp and the Kaiser was shipped to Germany through Switzerland, while the French waited for lead; when they did get it the price had doubled.

The French got steel and barbed wire from Germany through Switzerland, as high as 250,000 tons a month. Germans handling this trade were accused of treason but freed when they proved an international bargain had been made between the two countries to supply each other with vital materials. The French Société Commerciale des Carburés delivered raw materials for gunpowder to Germany through Switzerland. The owners were tried and freed, supposedly through the help of Poincaré, a close friend. You can't hang a million dollars.

French bauxite to make aluminum for German submarines went through Switzerland, 20,000 tons a year. Enough saltpeter for gunpowder

went through Switzerland annually during the war for \$6 billion rifle cartridges. The Swiss built power plants to supply electricity to Germany, France and Italy. The British Vickers factory got German Zeiss lenses for gun sights while the war was on. At Verdun the Germans were stopped by barbed wire that was shipped only two months before from Germany through Switzerland.

The American Remington Arms factory sold rifles, ammunition, bayonets and shells to England, France, Russia and Serbia. The United States Cartridge Co. sold more than two billion cartridges to British, Russian, Dutch, Italian, French and United States governments from 1915 to 1919.

In 1914 the French government loaned money to the Turkish government to buy guns from Creusot, but the order was placed in July and couldn't be filled so the Turkish Minister of the Navy used the money to buy guns at Essen and Pilsen in Germany and they were later used against French and Allied troops.

The motto of business in wartime is "Business as Usual." Workers should try to understand business.

### "Model Imperialism" in Action:

# The Quezon Regime in the Philippines

The Philippine Islands, now a center of the Far East struggle, have often been held up as a model of colonial rule, of the sort of relations which "should prevail between a colonial land and the mother country."

The facts of the matter are that the conditions of the rule are so bad, the resentment of the natives against the whites due to the unending oppression to which the former are subjected, so strong—that MacArthur couldn't even think of arming the masses of Philippine people (as distinct from the mercenary Philippine Army) because of an unholly fear that no sooner would it be done than U.S. imperialism would become the equal victim with the Japanese of the wrath of the Philippine people.

We are told that the island regime is a model of democratic government. Actually the Quezon rule is a near-fascist, corrupt tyranny, the policies of which are directed to one end alone—the retention of power. The control of the great economic combinations which run the islands are in the hands of Quezon's relatives and political henchmen—that is, those that are not owned directly by American or other foreign interests. The whole administration is a sort of grafter's paradise for these same relatives and friends.

In fact, corruption in the administration of public funds has gone so far that many of the foreign interests themselves oppose the Quezon regime. They feel that their ability to exploit the resources and markets of the islands is hindered by the fact that funds intended to develop these resources and open these markets flow instead into the coffers of the Quezon family.

One example: A stiff gasoline tax was recently imposed, the proceeds of which were intended to be used for the improvement of existing roads and the construction of new ones.

The representatives of the great American, British, Dutch oil interests hailed this as a great step forward in Philippine civilization. This tax, however, has become a national scandal as well as a source of

constant sorrow to the above-mentioned foreign representatives. The results of the tax in road construction have been exactly zero, gasoline consumption has gone down due to the increase in prices, and the wealth of the Quezons has gone up as a result of this new source of family revenue.

The only thing which has held the Quezon administration in power in the face of overwhelming popular opposition has been the support of the pro-Franco great Spanish landlords, and the American Army. Even many of the foreign business interests have opposed the Quezon administration

as they feel that its corruption is "bad for business," and are also convinced that if the United States withdraws from the Philippines, as promised, Quezon would at once turn to the Japanese for support, as his regime could not stand up for a day without foreign bayonets to prop it up.

Though the present American commissioner, Francis B. Sayre, has proved something of a relief to these big foreign business interests (he has taken vigorous action against some of the open pro-fascist and pro-Axis agitators and spies, as well as made embarrassing investigations into the gasoline and other scandals), the \$50,000-a-year General McArthur has stood shoulder to shoulder with Quezon and has used his military post to bolster further the shaky regime. In this conflict between the New Deal appointed commissioner and the New Deal appointed general may well be seen in miniature the conflict between the two tendencies in the New Deal which will rage in intensified form throughout the war. The promotion of General McArthur to a full generalship, an exceptional distinction in the U.S. Army, clearly indicates which tendency is now in ascendancy.

This is only the briefest sketch of the situation in the Philippines prior to the outbreak of the war. Of course, the really basic question for the Philippine masses, that of land reforms and the essentially feudal structure of Philippine society, can only be solved not by a "clean-up" of the administration or the appointment of more or less liberal American officials, but by the Philippine people themselves.

### No Schooling for Kentucky Children

Ninety per cent of the Kentucky mountain children never get to school, according to a statement made by Dr. William Jesse Baird, dean of the Foundation School, Berea (Ky.) College, at a conference of the Save the Children Federation held this week in New York.

# Behind the South America Conference

By Henry Judd

Last week, in Rio de Janeiro, the capital of Brazil, the diplomatic representatives of the United States and 20 Latin American nations gathered in conference.

Curiously enough—while supposedly meeting to cooperate in a war for "democracy"—the gathering took place in the Palace of Tiradentes where the FORMER Brazilian Chamber of Deputies used to meet. FORMER Chamber of Deputies, because Julio Vargas, military dictator of Brazil and the gentleman who twice re-wrote the Constitution of his own country to suit his totalitarian tastes, no longer permits the Chamber to exist, let alone meet!

The purposes of the conference, which is dominated by the United States, are clear. They have been repeatedly stated in cajoling, threatening or matter-of-fact terms by its leading representative, Sumner Welles. They are as follows:

(1) The complete breaking off of all relations (economic, political, financial and commercial) between the Latin American countries and the Axis powers. Sumner Welles in his opening speech demanded the ending of all neutrality and "non-belligerence." The American objective is to weld a solid front behind the "democratic" nations in the war.

(2) The lending and leasing of South American naval bases and airfields for use by the United States forces. In addition, the pooling of all sorts of military aid in the interests of America's war. The Latin American countries are militarily very weak. It is doubtful if the 20 of them combined have 1,000 military airplanes! But whatever it is they have, Uncle Sam wants it for his own purposes.

(3) The lining up of South America on the economic front. This means that the superior American capitalism wants the countries of the south to turn over all their raw materials and resources for use by America. Latin America has lost all its markets in Europe and Asia since the war began. It is completely dependent upon the mercies of the United States for its economic existence. And Roosevelt wants the nitrates of Chile; the manganese of Brazil; the tin, tungsten, zinc, bismuth, aluminum ore, beef, copper, oil etc. of the other countries to flow into the war machine of American imperialism.

### UNDER THE U.S. THUMB

Furthermore, he wants the "Good Neighbor" republics to break all economic ties not only with the Axis competitors (Japan, Germany and Italy), but also—although not as drastically—with England. American business wants total domination of the economic life of these countries. On the same day that Welles spoke at Rio it was announced in Washington that Latin America was being placed on rations for various materials (steel, soda, chlorine, rare metals, copper, etc.) that it so badly needs. This rationing system will further place the Latin American nations under the U.S. thumb.

(4) America likewise wants Latin America organized in a political set-up that will help its prosecution of the war. One of the points of the agenda is the creation of an Inter-America defense committee sitting in Washington to regulate shipping, supplies and foreign policy of the member nations. All of this, naturally, is to be done in the name of "Good Will and Solidarity." The fact that the leaders of the South American nations are mostly petty thieves and military dictators—modeled after Vargas of Brazil and Batista of Cuba—has little to do with it.

But there are plenty of rough spots and points of conflict in this conference. The United States, the Central American nations, the Caribbean island nations are already formally at war with the Axis. But three nations (Mexico, Colombia and Venezuela) have only broken off relations while eight (including the most powerful nations of Argentina, Brazil and Chile) are still completely neutral.

Argentina, particularly, is on the spot and is fighting to retain her position of "non-belligerence." Undoubtedly, the Argentine capitalist ruling class is fearful of reprisals from the Axis powers and is somewhat skeptical about the friendly advances of the big imperialist brother from up North. It is this effort to get Argentina to break with the Axis that constitutes the main fighting point at the conference. Welles is attempting to win this point at various private conferences and with numerous promises.

In addition, there is a long standing boundary dispute between Ecuador and Peru that must be settled if any air of harmony and solidarity is to emerge from the gathering.

Most important of all, the Latin Americans are asking themselves a few questions: Does America guarantee to protect us from air and naval attack? How? Will America buy up all our surplus products? At what price? Will America be able to supply us with the machinery and material needed to keep our economy going? In a word, what price American domination?

### Out of Churchill's Mouth

Here are a few statements made by Winston Churchill in recent years which give a revealing picture of what this man is really like. Recently hailed as a "great democrat" during his visit to America, these self-portraying statements give a truer picture of the man:

"If I had been an Italian, I am sure that I would have been wholeheartedly with you fascists from start to finish in your triumphant struggle against the bestial appetites and passions of Leninism." "I will say a word on an international aspect of fascism. Externally, your movement has rendered a service to the whole world. She (Italy) has rendered the necessary antidote to the Russian poison. Hereafter, no great nation will be unprovided with an ultimate means of protection against cancerous growths."

From a public statement on his return from Italy, January 21, 1927.

"I have always said that if Great Britain were defeated in war, I hoped we should find a Hitler to lead us back to our rightful position among the nations."

Speech on return from trip to Germany, November 11, 1938.

"Hitler's success and indeed his survival as a political force would not have been possible but for the lethargy and folly of the French and British governments since the war and especially in the last three years" (1932-1935).

From his book, "Great Contemporaries."

"Why at this moment should we force upon the untutored races of India that very system, the inconveniences of which are now felt even in the most highly developed nations, United States, Germany, France and in England itself?"

### 'Lieutenant' Harry Bridges Reporting for Duty, Sir!

The bosses and the government have decided that Harry Bridges is not a member of the Communist Party. Judge Sears, after weeks of testimony, decided that Bridges was a member of the CP and liable to deportation under "the law." But after war was declared and after the Russians began to drive the Germans back, the Board of Immigration Appeals discovers that the testimony that Bridges is a member of the Communist Party was "not worthy of belief." Bridges is safe now unless the Attorney General overrules the Immigration Appeals Board. This is unlikely.

It is unlikely for the reason that the government and the shipping bosses have discovered that right now Harry Bridges is their best lieutenant. They know that he can be depended on to keep the West Coast marine workers in line. He will be against strikes, he will not make any wage demands, he will not put up a fight for better working conditions.

Bridges has given his word. He has made speeches to his union telling them just what to do: They must keep at it, forget their grievances "for the time being." These can be settled after the workers have saved the bosses' profits, their huge

salaries and all their land, factories, mines, mills, yachts, banks and country estates. The bosses would be fools to insist on Bridges being deported now, even if they had caught him with a Communist Party card in his pocket with his name on it. He can be of far greater benefit to the imperialist war here than in Australia. There are far more workers here for Bridges to betray than in Australia.

The bosses and the government are probably convinced that Bridges is a member of the Communist Party or under its control and direction. THAT is the reason they will not deport him. They know that the Stalinist Communist Party today is the nation's leading and most active war shouter. They know that the Stalinists can be depended on to drive the workers into anything the bosses want. They will be stool pigeons or strike breakers or whatever is necessary to help keep Stalin alive and in the Kremlin. They don't have any other interest and this is the meaning of their present flag-waving. But for the present this is what the bosses need; they are not interested in motives but in getting objective support. This they have from the Stalinists and from "Lieutenant" Bridges.



# Editorials

## LABOR ACTION'S PLATFORM

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

### LABOR MUST DEFEND ITSELF!

1. Hands off the right to strike! For the defense of civil rights and all workers' rights! Against any wartime dictatorship measures!
2. Thirty hours a week; thirty dollars the minimum wage; time and a half for overtime! Rehire the jobless millions by a six-hour shift!
3. Wage increases which meet rising costs! No sales tax on consumer goods; no taxes on wages! Freeze rents and food and clothing prices at the 1940 level to stop the rise in the cost of living!
4. No government contract without a union contract! The closed shop in all war industries!
5. Maintain and increase all government social services!

### SOAK THE RICH—LET THEM PAY FOR THEIR WAR!

6. A government levy on capital to cover the costs of the imperialist war! Confiscate all war profits!
7. Conscript all war industries under workers' control!
8. Expropriate the "Sixty Families"—the 3 per cent of the people who own 96 per cent of the national wealth!

### DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS TO THE DRAFTEES!

9. The right of free speech, free press and free assembly for the men in the armed forces!
10. \$60 a month minimum for draftees.

### SMASH JIM CROW!

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

### BE PREPARED!

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

when a labor leader is allowed to cross the fence and get a comfortable job as part of the capitalist government's bureaucracy. Invariably, he betrays the interests of his class.

And now the ACWA is forced to humiliate itself by pleading for union contracts from that very board of which its own president is one of the leading lights!

How much more in the interests of labor would it have been if the ACWA had said: See here, Sidney Hillman! You've been fooling around long enough with those brass hats and dollar a year men! You've got to choose—either the labor movement or the government of the rich!

How much more in the interests of labor would it have been if, instead of this cringing letter, the ACWA had shouted out with all its power:

**No Government Contracts Without Union Contracts! All clothing contracts in union shops!**

## The Little Flower Withers

It appears that one of the most popular indoor sports at present is tanning the political hide of Fiorella LaGuardia. It is a sport in which we join with considerable gusto.

LaGuardia has wrecked in two months a promising political career which took 20 years to build up. He has wrecked it because of universal recognition of his bungling of the crucial post of Civilian Defense Director. People got a bit sick of seeing him treat the job as if it were a fire to which he had to run in order to get his face into the papers.

It was all right when he was Mayor of New York—after all, then he was only mayor of a city of 7,000,000 people. But when he started running after fires all over the country...

You see, we always thought that the Little Flower didn't smell so good. We didn't mind the idea of his not being in New York half the time, but we did object to his pushing through a vicious sales tax that hit the poor straight in the solar plexus. We didn't mind his antics while making a campaign speech, but we did object to his cutting the education budget and cutting relief.

We didn't even mind his trying to conduct an orchestra (though we preferred to be far away) but we did get pretty sore when he pulled a fink on the subway workers and tried to deprive them of their right to collective bargaining.

The Little Flower always appeared to us as if he were just another politician trying to get out the vote by playing liberal. That's why every time he talked big about how he was against fascism, we remembered how he spoke at Italian fascist rallies in Columbus Circle in 1935 and 1937.

Now the Little Flower is beginning to wither. He screams hysterically and denounces his critics as "Japs or Jap agents." That sort of nonsensical bravado will get him nowhere. The Little Flower is being shown up for what he really is—an opportunistic, run of the mill, two-bit politician who is faithful only to himself and the capitalist class he represents.

And we venture to predict that under the heat generated by the war, a lot of other capitalist politicians will show themselves up for what they really are.

## Life, Time And Fortune

Life, Time and Fortune magazines proudly present themselves as champions of a great freedom of the press tradition, besides being foremost advocates of "progressive, alert and intelligent" democracy. No tricks of the journalistic trade are overlooked by the worthy owners of these publications to make their enterprises appear as noble American institutions and bulwarks of freedom.

But the truth is getting out. And soon these enterprises will be recognized for what they really are. These magazines are printed in a scab print shop, the biggest in America.

And now the American Newspaper Guild, a CIO union, is taking its case against these enterprises to the public. For, while Time, Inc., made over \$8,000,000 profit (before taxes), the company refused to grant any wage increases and also fired a union leader!

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People thereupon wrote to the Navy Department for information. It received the following reply from Rear Admiral Ross T. McIntire:

"So far as the Navy is concerned, I wish to tell you that it has never requested the American Red Cross not to take blood from Negro donors."

It is obvious, therefore, that the Red Cross was deliberately hiding behind the Jim Crow skirts of the Navy to hide its own Jim Crow policy. But this time the Navy—which has plenty of Jim Crow acts to its discredit—left the Red Cross holding the bag.

There are millions of workers in the shops and factories of America who are now contributing considerable amounts "voluntarily" to the Red Cross. They will be very much interested in hearing an explanation of this Jim Crow policy of the Red Cross.

The Red Cross had better start talking fast.

## Sidney Hillman Is on the Spot

No more damning indictment of the role of labor leaders who serve as flunkies for the capitalist war machine has occurred recently than the demand made of the War Production Board by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers that henceforth war clothing contracts be given to union shops, instead of unorganized sweatshops in the South, as has been done in the past.

What the ACWA letter "neglected" to mention was that one of the two co-directors of the war production program, up until the appointment of Donald Nelson, was Sidney Hillman, president of this very same union!

Nobody expects Nelson to defend labor's interests; nobody expects Knudsen to defend labor's interests; but the workers do expect Hillman to defend them. Why didn't the ACWA ask Hillman why "almost no (clothing) orders have gone to union plants"?

Was it because it feared that doing so would expose the role of those labor flunkies in the capitalist war machine, like Hillman, who have become so subservient to the bosses that not only do they not defend the general interests of the workers but do not even defend the interests of those workers in their own union, from which they draw salaries?

Here is an example of what happens

### New York Lecture:

## LABOR AND THE WAR

Speaker: MAX SHACHTMAN

SUNDAY, JANUARY 25, 8:15 P. M.

Irving Plaza, Irving Place and 15th Street

Auspices: Workers Party, Local New York

## St. Louis Hotel Workers Still On Picket Line

Special to LABOR ACTION

ST. LOUIS, Jan. 17—Hundreds of St. Louis hotel workers are still on strike against the Hotel Association and against the dictatorial policies of their former AFL union. Since New Year's the strikers, many of them colored, have solidly maintained their picket lines through all kinds of weather, setting an inspiring example for their white fellow workers.

The fact that they have not yet won is not the fault of the militant strikers. They are firm and determined fighters battling for their rights.

There are two main reasons why they have not yet won: (1) they are fighting against the bosses AND a section of the labor movement—that is, the AFL, which is actively running scabs in and crossing the picket line. (2) The CIO regional office is not doing an efficient job of organizing the strike.

The CIO leaders don't seem to understand the elementary facts that have lifted the CIO to power as a leader of the working people in most other parts of the country: that it is the workers themselves who must come out en masse and do the fighting. That is what won the General Motors strike, the Bethlehem Steel strike, the Ford strike and the other great CIO victories.

The only way to win a strike, is to get all the workers out on the picket line. All the organizers in the entire CIO are not enough—they can't do the picketing, they can't win the strike.

### Still Not Too Late

It is still not too late to win this strike, but the strikers must take matters into their own hands and INSIST that the following be done: (1) strike headquarters set up for every hotel. (2) Regular strike meetings at every hotel, where the strikers get together, make lists of people inside, set up committees and visit these people to get them on the picket line. (3) The organization of effective mass picket lines at every hotel.

This is where the organizers come in: every CIO union in this town must mobilize its members to build up those picket lines and win this strike. There are enough auto workers, gas workers, steel workers, warehouse workers, electrical workers in this town to knock that bankrupt old AFL union off its tottering props. One thing is sure: if they can't run the hotels, the bosses will sign.

There are no "magic strings" to be pulled at the top. What happens at the top—in the negotiations—depends directly on what happens at the bottom—to the picket line, and to the scabs.

The same wonderful fighting spirit that kept the colored Park Plaza strikers on the picket line at zero weather must be turned to mobilizing the local CIO unions to winning this strike. The CIO is built and grew strong on the principle of "fight together or we'll hang separately," and every CIO member in this town has a stake in winning this strike. This is especially true of the colored CIO workers—these strikers are fighting your battle and you should support them. It is the colored members who have been and are the backbone of this strike—they deserve plenty of glory and plenty of support.

### NOTICE

Any strikers who are interested in reading this paper, which is always in the front line fighting for the working people and against Jim Crow should send a one-cent post card to the address below, writing on it your name and address, and we will send you the paper.

LABOR ACTION, 114 W. 14th St., New York City.

## Vast Corporation Profits Exposed By Committee

(Continued from page 1)

of what LABOR ACTION has consistently contended: the war production program, as well as the conduct of the war itself, is in the hands of big business and is utilized by big business for its own ends—profits and more profits.

A secondary, but as interesting, section of the Truman committee report is concerned with the vast profits coined by the big companies. For lack of space we can here list only three instances:

1) **AUTOMOBILE**—The profits of Ford, Chrysler and General Motors for nine months only in 1941 totalled \$430,604,778, as compared with \$408,212,589 in the whole of 1940 and \$296,075,775 in 1939.

"When it is considered," the report adds, "that directly or indirectly the capital expenditures for plant improvements for defense purposes will ultimately provide them with some of the newest and finest machine tools and factory buildings,

## Life on a Dollar a Year



## Lest We Forget

by Tom Gilbert

### FREE SPEECH

Legend has it that during the fight of the IWW for the right to speak in public during the last war, the branch of one Midwestern city finally resorted to opening the meeting and merely reading the Bill of Rights, with the following ensuing:

Police Sergeant: "You're under arrest."  
Speaker: "You can't pull me in for this. Jefferson wrote it."  
Police Sergeant: "Come along. Squealing won't help you. We'll get that Jefferson guy later."

### WISDOM OF GOD

Said an Englishman in Bombay one day to his native taxi driver: "The British Empire is so great that the sun never sets upon it."  
Asked the sly native: "Could that be because God doesn't trust the British in the dark?"

### LOWEST DEPTHS

The brutal treatment accorded Norwegians and Poles by the Nazis is said to be so terrible that some are even comparing their fate with that of Negroes in British South Africa or in Georgia, U.S.A.

### WHILE REMEMBERING

Remember the massacre of the "Little Steel" strikers in Chicago!

## WHO SAW U. SAW?

The English authorities have discovered, so they say, that U. Saw, Premier of their Burma colony, is a "Japanese agent" and that he was in communication with the Japanese while he was visiting in America. LABOR ACTION has no "inside dope" as to who saw U. Saw, or if he is really a Japanese agent, but the whole incident raises some pertinent questions.

First, if the charges are true, why do the British hesitate about giving out the facts? Why do they just announce his arrest and stop at that?

Secondly, might it not be that the British are seeking—for the tenth thousandth time—to find another victim and scapegoat for their blunders? The entire defense of the Far East (including Burma) has been a complete fiasco up until now, as all authorities recognize.

Nor is it unprecedented for the British to indulge in off-color actions against "obnoxious" colonials who are insistent on national independence for their country.

Thirdly, what about the question—the REAL question—of Burma? There are 12 million Burmese who don't particularly care for British rule. They would like their independence (which means INDEPENDENCE, and not becoming a Japanese colony)—as "guaranteed" to them in the Atlantic Charter.

U. Saw, a conservative nationalist, came to London to get a promise of Dominion status for Burma in exchange for his supporting England's war effort. Churchill refused to give him any such promise and told him bluntly that the Atlantic Charter didn't apply to Burma—or any other part of the British Empire.

Now, then, the question of U. Saw as an individual is entirely secondary. If he is really a Japanese agent or if he really negotiated to sell his country to them, then he must be marked down as a traitor to his people, for bartering them from one imperialism to another. And if he is not guilty of the British charges, then he is but another of the many victims of the vicious British colonial policy.

In either case, the British are obligated to prove their charge—or drop it—and to allow U. Saw a defense. And most important in the entire incident, what about independence for Burma?

practically free of charge, it is clear that their competitive position in the economy of the nation is being vastly improved by the war."

2) **STEEL**—William S. Knudsen, king of the dollar-a-year men, approved a contract with Bethlehem Steel whereby that corporation would get a new plant built for it, costing \$55,000,000, which the government would build on Bethlehem's land and have to tear it down once its contract with Bethlehem ended. Thus, Bethlehem would enjoy the facilities of a tremendous modern plant during the war boom and would not have to worry about its upkeep after the war!

3) **SHIPYARDS**—Admiral S. Robinson, chief of the Bureau of Ships, told the committee that 70 per cent of the Navy's new tonnage was being built in private yards and only 30 per cent in public yards, although privately built ships cost from \$5,000,000 to \$10,000,000 more than those built by the government.

The Cramp Shipbuilding Co. estimated its own worth at \$4,442,837 when the war program started. The

Navy provided \$12,000,000 for new facilities and then gave the concern cost-plus-fixed-fee contracts on which it makes a profit of \$7,442,280. James E. Barnes, Washington representative of the Todd Shipbuilding Corp., told the committee that the Navy "gave us a profit of \$1.80 a day on every man we had, and I think we had about 35,000."

The Bethlehem Steel Co., as of July 16, 1941, had ship construction and repair contracts totaling \$1,080,000,000. The company estimated that it would make a \$65,533,000 profit on an \$897,507,000 slice of this total. Nine out of the thirteen companies studied by the committee had contracts last year from which they expected to make profits amounting to more than their properties were worth in 1939. One company is now making 800 times its average earnings in the year 1936 to 1940.

**READ, SUBSCRIBE TO NEW INTERNATIONAL**

**LABOR ACTION**  
A Paper in the Interests of Labor  
Published Weekly by the  
Labor Action Publishing Company  
114 WEST 14th STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y.  
(3rd Floor)  
Vol. 6, No. 4 January 26, 1942  
Managing Editor: Irving Howe  
Subscription Rate: 60 Cents a year  
75 Cents for Canada, New York and Foreign  
Re-entered as second class matter May 24, 1939,  
at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the  
Act of March 3, 1879.