

W. L. Willkie Reports on His Tour of World

AN EDITORIAL

Wendell L. Willkie has made his widely-publicized speech to the American people, reporting on his recent world tour. Although given in the nature of a report and a statement of the facts, the speech revealed many things—particularly about the almost universal distrust and fear there exists among the colonial peoples of Asia and the Middle East with respect to America and the United Nations. "Now I found this dread of imperialism everywhere."

Willkie says that "now we are in this war, we are not fighting for profit, or loot, or territory, or mandatory power over the lives or the governments of other people." But then, how account for all the holes he mentions that have been punched in the "reservoirs of the good feeling" that supposedly exists?

Willkie speaks about American failure to define war aims; American failure to push for the writing of a Pacific Charter ("Is there to be a charter only for the millions of the Western Hemisphere? they asked. Is there to be no charter of freedom for the billions of the East?"); American failure to intervene against British imperialism and its actions in India; American stupidity in sending abroad reactionary spokesmen and representatives. He draws up a damning indictment against American imperialism and American war policy! What then is all this good will to the United States that he speaks of based upon? Mr. Willkie's personality?

The truth is that everything Willkie says by implication against the British Empire (and his speech is filled with anti-Churchill statements and jibes at British colonial rule) could be said with equal truth against the very same American imperialism for which he, Willkie, speaks.

The colonial peoples of Africa and Asia have no reason to feel any more friendly toward Willkie's broad hints that American

'India Calm Only on Surface'

"More than once I saw riots by undisciplined mobs, invariably followed by police lathi charges.

"Practically all the large towns and thousands of small ones have demonstrations of some kind—many small and inconsequential, others bloody and prolonged.

"Great numbers of police and troops are engaged in guarding railways, post offices, bridges, factories, government buildings and other targets against attacks and disturbances."

(A. T. Steel, New York Post, October 21.)

rule should replace British rule in Asia than they have to accept Willkie's professions of friendship and love for them. What, concretely, has Willkie ever done or proposed beyond American "intervention" in the British Empire? Nothing. He speaks as a rival imperialist; anxious to strip British imperialism of whatever remains of it.

The only section of his speech that breathes the truth is where he remarks gravely that "our Western world and our presumed supremacy are now on trial. Our boasting and our big talk leave Asia cold," and adds that the peoples of the world "are coming to know that many of the decisions about the future of the world lie in their hands. And they intend that these decisions shall leave the peoples of each nation free from foreign domination, free for economic, social and spiritual growth." He might have mentioned, in this connection, but did not, the people of India, who are paving the way for the winning of these freedoms.

We will return to Willkie's speech next week.

Read Our Big Exposure!

HOW THE RICH ARE SACRIFICING AND SUFFERING IN THE WAR!

SENSATIONAL! HEART-RENDING! UNBELIEVABLE! YET SUPPORTED BY ALL THE FACTS AND FIGURES!

ON PAGE THREE OF THIS ISSUE

Shipyard Local 9 Railroaded Into Crass Sell-Out

SAN PEDRO—Until this week Local 9 of the Shipyard Workers boasted of being the only shipyard local in the country controlling hiring through its own hall. This week Local 9 surrendered its hall to the Los Angeles Shipyard without a fight. Thereby hangs a tale of the rottenest of bureaucratic railroading maneuvers and general labor fakery of the first order.

More dangerous to the future of the union than the sell-out contract itself was the utterly disgraceful method by which it was crammed down the throats of the membership. Bureaucratic dictatorship and railroading are things from which Local 9 has been fairly free up until now. But after this week's membership meeting, the fate of democracy in the local hangs in the balance.

At this last meeting the combination of pie cards, Stalinists and a government phony got away with one raw deal after another.

He Meant It!

"A high American government official, who has more than once displayed a peculiar faculty for not being able to open his mouth without putting his foot in it, is reliably reported to have consoled Dr. Hu Shih, the Chinese Ambassador, for some reverse by tactfully remarking:

"Never mind, Dr. Hu. We'll beat those yellow blankety-blanks yet."
(William H. Chamberlain in Common Sense, Nov., 1942)

To start with—the calling of the meeting. Without the faintest authorization, the pie cards suddenly and illegally called the meeting for 5:30 instead of the regular time of 7:00. The men in the LA yard were not notified until the day of the meeting. The 1,000-odd men not working that day because of the staggered shift were therefore not notified at all. The rest of the union membership

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LABOR ACTION

NOVEMBER 2, 1942

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

WASHINGTON EXPERTS PLAN HARDER TAX BLOW AT POOR

Bill for Next Year Worse Than One Just Passed

By GERTRUDE SHAW

The working people of this country are still pop-eyed over the tax bill just passed by Congress—pop-eyed and wondering how they will pay regular taxes, victory taxes, war bond purchases, taxes on a long list of commodities, and still be able to buy AT WAR PRICES what they need to live on.

But in the nation's capital the theory is that THAT'S your worry.

For no sooner was the ink dry on this iniquitous tax bill than the tax experts got busy on a "BIGGER AND BETTER" one for next year.

Morgenthau has already submitted his ideas for the new bill to the Congressional committees—and we are assured by Washington reporters that it will make this year's tax bill look like a chapter out of Paradise Lost.

And that's only taxes—WHICH IS NOT EVERYTHING BY A LONG SHOT!

The President goes further and nonchalantly tells his press conference that "officials are seriously considering a compulsory savings plan to drain off an estimated \$5,000,000 in EXCESS purchasing power."

"Excess" purchasing power—and every worker worrying how to keep his standard of living from collapsing altogether!

Undoubtedly now is the time for labor to get busy. To wait until next year—is to wait too long. Washington is hell-bent to take the shirt off labor's back to pay for the war—AND IT MUST BE STOPPED.

We ask every worker to consider carefully what LABOR ACTION proposes as labor's tax program. It is either our program or Washington's plans for lifting more and more money out of labor's already half-empty pockets.

LABOR ACTION comes out for a 100 per cent tax on war profits. Is there anything fairer than this demand!

The Department of Commerce reported that last year, 1941, AFTER ALL CORPORATION TAXES WERE PAID, corporation profits were 30 per cent more than in 1940—and 75 per cent more than in 1939.

In April, 1942, representatives of the Bendix Aviation Co. themselves admitted before the Vinson Committee to making as much as 122 per cent profit on government contracts. This gives a rough idea of the drift.

Maybe you think the new tax bill will fix this. You are mistaken—and how! According to figures given by Standard Statistics, known as the largest organization advising the rich on their investments, profits AFTER THE NEW TAXES ARE DEDUCTED will be MORE than they were last year.

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Navy Breaks Strike with Threat of Black-List

Special to LABOR ACTION

CLEVELAND, Oct. 22—Using one of the most hated and reactionary of anti-labor weapons, the black-list, the Navy recently broke the strike at the Steel Improvement & Forge Co. in this city.

Though the government has threatened to cancel draft exemptions of striking workers in previous strikes, the Forge company strike is the first where the government has threatened to "bar the strikers from any future war work"; that is, to adopt the black-list.

Oppose Speed-up Device

The 200 power-hammer operators, members of the AFL Blacksmith, Drop Forgers & Welders Union, Local 178, left their work when the company insisted on installing measuring devices called chronologs on the power hammers.

The Forge workers—who conducted themselves very creditably throughout the strike—recognized the chronolog for what it is—a speed-up device. The chronolog records every stroke of the hammers and the men knew it would be used to play them off against each other and to speed them up. So when the workers objected, the employers locked them out and cheerfully called in the War Labor Board and the Navy Department.

Next came the usual shouting about "patriotism." President Smith of the company became very concerned about the war effort, but the shop committee of the union quickly exposed his hypocrisy. They declared that the chronologs would

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"Equality of Sacrifice"



What Is the Meaning of the UMW Decision on District 50's Powers?

By DAVID COOLIDGE

Next to the break from the CIO, perhaps the most far-reaching decision made at the recent United Mine Workers convention was that relating to the further expansion of the organizing activities of District 50.

This district, which was known formerly as the Gas, By-Product, Coke and Chemical Workers, District 50, but now known as District 50, UMW, was given organizational powers by the convention. By resolution it is permitted to "adopt by-laws and rules not inconsistent with this constitution." It was placed under the "jurisdiction and regulation" of the international executive board of the UMW.

The amendment to the constitution and the resolution broadening the field from which the UMW may select members opens the way for taking in workers from variegated types of employment. Because of the very large number of unorganized workers in the country, and with District 50 as a new organizing center, it may be possible for Lewis for the second time in ten years to become the leader of a third national labor federation.

In his closing speech to the con-

vention Lewis emphasized that there would be no raiding of other organizations. He said that there were millions of unorganized in the United States that are crying to be organized.

Millions Unorganized

This of course is a fact. When it is considered that the combined membership of the AFL and the CIO does not exceed twelve million, it is clear that there is room for an all-out intensive organization drive. In fact, the new movement can grow to even larger size than either the AFL or CIO should a persistent, intensive and determined effort be made.

In the South alone it is possible to organize a million unorganized workers, including thousands of sharecroppers, tenant farmers and agricultural day laborers. These agricultural workers are at present partially organized into the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packinghouse and Allied Workers of America and in the Southern Tenant Farmers Union. The former organization is controlled by the Stalinists and the latter is under the influence of Socialist Party

people. Both are quiescent, passive union groups and have within their ranks only a fraction of the potential membership.

In sections of the UCAPAWA there is great dissatisfaction with the Stalinist leadership. Locals are dropping away. These workers would welcome aid from a militant organization with the record of accomplishment of the UMW.

Unity Question

The break from the CIO further complicates the question of unity between the CIO and the AFL.

There is a desire, of course, on the part of the officers of both federations to exclude Lewis from any important role in any unity discussions and decisions. Neither Murray nor Green would want to give Lewis an opportunity to assume a position of prominent leadership in a united organization. However, it would be difficult to stop this with Lewis solidly backed by the 600,000 miners of an international in such a strong strategic position as the UMW.

The leadership of the CIO and the AFL, however, is between the devil and the sea. Lewis would be

a threat to their leadership and influence inside the merged organization while at the same time he could become just as great a threat on the outside expanding into another large national federation.

The whole question has been further complicated by the constant and direct intervention of Roosevelt in the affairs of the labor movement in the interest of the Second Imperialist World War. Murray and Green, especially Murray, so far as public statements go, are solidly at the beck and call of Roosevelt. Whatever he suggests or orders they jump to carry out.

When Lewis made his unity proposal last winter, Murray was immediately summoned to the White House by Roosevelt, who let it be known that he would support Murray in any conflict with Lewis. The fact that Roosevelt and Lewis were on the outs and the fact that Roosevelt was "supporting" Murray emboldened all the little fellows in the CIO, like Walter Reuther and John Riffe, to snipe at Lewis. This was a most potent supplementary factor in widening the rift between the CIO

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What Are We Fighting the War For?

Do you want to know, straight from the inside, why this war is being fought?

Do you want to know why labor must make all the sacrifices in life and limb and standard of living and political rights?

Here is the answer in part, but it is good enough. It comes from the authoritative New York Times of October 24. At the end of an editorial which warns Vichy, France, that if Hitler wins he is going to take over all that is left of the French Empire, just as Japan has already taken over Indo-China; the Times writes:

"France has a nominal 'empire' today for one

reason and one reason only—that Russia, England and America stand unconquered, and that Hitler needs all the help he can bully or wheedle out of the French officials by dark threats or rosy promises. The only hope for a French Empire after the present war rests with a victory of the United Nations."

The Times has let the cat out of the bag and the cat looks just like LABOR ACTION has always said she looked.

The victory of the United Nations is to guarantee the French Empire; that is, the right of a handful of Frenchmen, to keep millions of Asiatic, Afri-

can and Caribbean slaves in slavery. And it is to guarantee, by the same token, the British Empire, which rules over still more millions of slaves. And from the standpoint of the ruling class in this country, it is to guarantee the triumph of American imperialism and American imperialist interests over ALL the present-day empires—the slave-empires of Germany, Japan and Italy, and the slave-empires of England, Holland and France.

To the New York Times:

Thanks for the slip of the tongue. We have known it all along. It is time everybody else knew it, too.

Europe in Revolt

News from the Socialist Camp

OUR WAR AND THEIR WAR IN EUROPE

We have often emphasized in this column that the struggle of the European peoples against a fascist Europe embraces two tendencies. One of them is the struggle for the actual liberation of the world from fascism. In this struggle the working class and the poor peasants of southeastern Europe are the leading forces. In this struggle German workers are dying under the hatchet and French, Luxemburg, Norwegian and Czech workers dare to strike, knowing that they risk their lives. It is a war for socialist democracy. Briefly: it is OUR war.

However, other forces are active also. If the movement of the people is the first step toward a third front in which they will neither collaborate with the Nazis nor support the

war of the capitalist powers, the other forces are merely outposts of the imperialist war and represent the aims of the ruling classes in Europe. They are against Germany with the intention of creating their own fascism or semi-fascism. They want to be the new fascist rulers.

The agents of these forces in England and America try to minimize the actions of the working class; they call attention exclusively to the nationalism provoked by Nazi oppression; in short, they underline exclusively the national character and deny the social character of the fight which is on in Europe.

We have often published proof of this endeavor in our column. Today we can refer to three different events which will clarify what is going on.

THE PARTISAN BANDS IN YUGOSLAVIA

A few months ago we reprinted in LABOR ACTION a cable published in the New York Times reporting that the peasants of Yugoslavia are not only fighting Axis oppression, but at the same time are trying to launch an agrarian revolution. Since that time the newspapers have published rumors about a breach between the guerrilla leader and official representative of the government in exile, General Mikhailovich, and "communist bands." Finally on October 9, the New York Times published an official statement from Washington which reads:

"Thousands of partisans in Yugoslavia who have been opposing General Draja Mikhailovich, the Yugoslav national military leader in guerrilla warfare against the Axis forces of occupation, have been killed by a spontaneous uprising of the people, according to reports received by the American government....

"The partisans are said to include not only criminals, renegades and bandits, but also communists of both the Stalinist and Trotskyite persuasions. However, they apparently are not acting under orders of Moscow, but conducting their forays independently. No issue is said to be involved between the Yugoslav government and the Soviet Union....

"The partisans have been cleared out of Serbia, Sanjak, Montenegro, Hercegovina, Dalmatia, Likk and Bosnia, and are now concentrated in the southwestern part of the country. They originally numbered 30,000 or more but are now reported to have a strength of only 20,000 to 25,000. Their leader is Kosta Najy,

who was an officer in a Croatian regiment of the Republican side in the Spanish Civil War. General Mikhailovich and the people are said to look upon them as a collection of international criminals, most of whom have been brought into the country from abroad....

We don't need to argue against the ridiculous slander that a mass of 30,000 people or more consist of international criminals. We should like to know what these "criminals" could find in the small starving villages of the Balkan mountains. If in a small Balkan state the number of partisans, called "Trotskyists" and "Stalinists" not acting under orders of Moscow, amounts to 30,000 and more, it seems to have assumed the proportions of a people's uprising. Therefore it cannot have been the people who killed thousands of them but possibly the soldiers of the general, who may have received the order from his royal government that the poor peasants' revolution is to be considered as the main enemy.

It is possible that the uprising was instigated by Stalinist agents, who are indeed "international criminals." If so, they could not have done so except by utilizing the genuine social aspirations of the people. Hence, even if the Stalinists had their own reactionary objectives in mind, the point we made above remains valid. Information on this whole affair is so limited that it is difficult to appreciate exactly what happened.

The Moscow radio and press support the partisans against Mikhailovich, after having praised him as a great popular leader. What are the reasons for this?

SOME EVIDENCE FROM POLAND AND FRANCE

And now case No. 2: From a report from the Jewish underground movement of Poland:

"Part of the underground ONE and OZN (Polish national parties) press is anti-Semitic as it was before and approves of the extermination policy of the Nazis, simultaneously deprecating their barbarian methods. Another part of the underground press, unfortunately, remains silent about this inhuman and—from the national point of view—injurious anti-Semitic policy...."

It is obvious from this that Polish fascism is working within the underground movement. Supported by the anti-Semitic Polish government in exile, these "fighters against national oppression" approve the bestial slaughter of thousands of Jewish Poles by the Nazis. Polish fascism hopes to raise its head when German fascism has been beaten.

Case No. 3 is presented in an article written by Pierre Brossette, former member of the editorial staff of Le Populaire, the daily paper of the French Socialist Party and published in the New York City French language paper, La Victoire, of October 3, whose editor is the French nationalist, Henry de Krillis. This man Brossette, who always supported the French bourgeois governments, writes that politics today are based on hatreds and not on political ideas, that he was astonished to find people in America who believe that "resistance" may exist in France who are not de Gaullists. In France, he

writes, you can only be "de Gaullist" or "anti-de Gaullist." The rejuvenation of political life in France lies in the merger of all the "resistants" of all parties in the de Gaullist movement.

Brossette calls de Gaulism "the movement," imitating Hitler's slogan for his party. He also finds some words against big business, which does not want to be put under the control of a strong force (don't think, however, that this "socialist" advocates an expropriation). The class struggle by which the social forces are turned one against the other will be ended, according to him. Finally he pleads for a one-party movement where the former socialist politicians will be united with the leaders of the Croix de Feu movement (a reactionary fascist party), whose deputy leader, Charles Vallin, recently joined de Gaulle in England.

In this article we find all the earmarks of a semi-fascist approach: politics without political ideas, the denial of the class war, the proposal to put big business under government control and no expropriation, the blurring of ideas as well as the propaganda for one sole national party and—not yet quite openly—the propaganda for the Fuehrer, de Gaulle.

We see: French fascism begins to take form. If the social aims can again be superseded by an exclusive nationalist ideology among the French masses it will soon present a real danger for the people's war in Europe.

Europacus.

Sell-Out in Shipyard Local 9

Government Agent Pollard Pulls Strings—Snipes at "Trotskyists"

(Continued from page 1)

in other yards were likewise notified at all. For that matter, even if notified, Bethlehem men could not have gotten down till 6:30 anyway.

That meant that the men who were lucky enough to know about the meeting had to come directly from work; and if they wanted to vote on "their" contract, they had to stay right there without dinner until 10:45 p.m. Unfortunately the gang who can be counted on to stay through such a meeting as this, when there is a rotten deal to put over is the Communist Party clique of sell-out artists in the union. And stay they did, and put it over.

Second—the conduct of the meeting. From start to finish, with only the most occasional interruptions from President Adkins, the meeting was run by W. Pollard, the government man from the WFB, who claims to be a "brother" and is obviously as phony as a four-dollar bill. Pollard read the contract. Pollard ruled that discussion on each point was limited to two speakers for and two against. Pollard put the sections of the contract to vote.

Pollard on "Trotskyists"

What position does Pollard hold in Local 9? What shipbuilding trade does Pollard work at? Pollard works at the trade of selling the shipyard workers down the river and it was in that capacity that Adkins turned the meeting over to him.

And Pollard, the representative of the government, in taking the vote on the very first paragraph of the contract, called for the eyes and then said: "All the Trotskyites who are opposed will now stand."

No, Faker Pollard, the rank and file militants who hate and fight against your phony sell-out are not "Trotskyites." But the eyes of a lot of them should be now opened as to where the government stands on the question of working men and working conditions. And we don't disagree with your definition of a "Trotskyite" as a real militant unionist with guts enough to stand up against the four-flushers and union-smashers!

Even this "fixing" of the meeting wasn't enough for great "democrats" like Pollard, Adkins and the Stalinist hatchet-men, Lopez and Alexander. As a preparation for passing the clause of the contract which chopped off the hiring hall, they took time out to prevent a leading militant, Osborne, from speaking. This was done by an executive board motion claiming that he had no right to be a member of the union on the ground that he had been

forced out of the yards controlled by Local 9 and now works in another shipbuilding plant. This clearly unconstitutional motion is most dangerous because of the power it gives the bureaucrats to cut down their opponents within the union.

Handful Bind 15,000

And so there is the bureaucratic procedure by which the sell-out of the union hiring hall was put over in Local 9—by not informing substantial sections of the union membership of the meeting; by illegally calling the meeting so early that the men had no chance to eat dinner until after swallowing the sell-out; by illegally preventing a leading opponent from speaking. And we add—by giving the membership no real chance to read the contract before the meeting and even at the meeting, having only fifty copies available for the entire membership.

Under such conditions, it was no wonder that a membership meeting starting out with four or five hundred dwindled down to less than 150—packed with members of the Communist Party gang of company roters—and that this handful bound the 15,000 members of Local 9.

Even though they let Pollard carry the ball most of the time, the Stalinists were right on the job to do their part in gutting the union. The Stalinist spellbinder Alexander was assigned the job of making a red-baiting speech against Osborne and the Stalinist leader Lopez took the dirty job of pouring out the "patriotic" spiel in favor of giving up the hiring hall. Their other men, who would vote to have their grandmother hung if someone told them it would help Joe Stalin, followed along on the leash.

Under this pressure some of those

who previously boasted of their record of fighting for the rank and file, failed to measure up. For example, Boych, chief shop steward of the LA yard, after all his talk among the men for the hiring hall, failed to take the floor on that or any other question. Except for the courageous conduct of the rank and filers who tried hard to fight in defense of the union, the only man who can congratulate himself on the results of the meeting is Pollard—who can now hope for promotion to a job of union-busting on a bigger scale.

The especially dangerous sign of the meeting is the growing control of the Communist Party fakers, particularly because their role is masked by the stand of the ineffectual and gutless officials, who play right into their hands.

The Task Now

The task is now to "bind up the union's wounds," to fight the bureaucrats and sell-out men in the union, and prepare to resist the next attack of the company. A real union fighter never gives up just because the fakers and union-smashers have the temporary upper hand. Many men will keep on learning from the rotten deal they have just had put over on them and many more will learn in other ways. It can't be done in a day.

The immediate future is already indicated. Pollard has "guaranteed" that the ten-hour day will not be put over next, as is rumored. Wise union men will be on guard! After all, how long ago was it when the fakers were saying that LABOR ACTION lied when it told the men that they were dickering to give up the hiring hall? The company will not rest until it has broken the last stronghold of the union—the power of the shop stewards. THE UNION MUST BE DEFENDED!

New Tax Blow --

(Continued from page 1)

For instance, Lockheed Aircraft, which "earned" \$6.89 a share in 1941, will "earn" \$10.30 in 1942; Bohn Aluminum, which "earned" \$5.48 in 1941, will "earn" \$9.05; Borg-Warner, which "earned" \$3.20 in 1941, will "earn" \$4.30; Eaton Manufacturing, which "earned" \$6.20 in 1941, will "earn" \$7.60. These figures include the post-war rebate that the government promises to the self-sacrificing capitalists of the nation.

Lest we forget what it is that these profits are being made out of, here is a quote from that popular book on the Battle of the Philippines entitled "They Were Expendable," a quote every congressman with his hands in labor's pockets should read: "They were burying the dead—which consisted of collecting heads and arms and legs and putting them into the nearest bomb crater and shoveling debris over it. The smell was terrible. The Filipino yard workers didn't have much stomach for the job, but it had to be done and done quick because of disease. To make them work, they filled the Filipinos up with grain alcohol."

That's what war profits come from! That is also what war profiteering salaries come from. LABOR ACTION stands for an absolute maximum income of \$25,000—with no "ands," "ifs" and "buts"—\$25,000 maximum BEFORE taxes and with no phony allowances.

The following is a partial picture of salary increases in 1941 over 1940: C. R. Smith of American Airlines, 49.2 per cent; Victor Emanuel of Aviation Corp., 21.7 per cent; R. H. Fleet of Consolidated Aircraft, 58.4 per cent; Walter F. Rockwell of Timken-Detroit Axle, 218 per cent; Tom Girdler of Republic Steel, 56.7 per cent (from \$176,000 to \$275,000); H. L. Ferguson of Newport News Shipbuilding & Drydock Co., 81.5 per cent (from \$70,400 to \$127,080); J. Spencer Love of Burlington Mills, 95.5 per cent (from \$91,939 to \$179,632); Eugene Grace of Bethlehem Steel, a mere 12.4 per cent—but from \$478,144 to \$537,734.

There are many other salaries war profiteers in Mr. Grace's class as well as in the other categories mentioned

above. Yes, these swollen salaries come from the same gruesome source as do the war profits of these companies—profits which, by the way, are figured AFTER paying out such huge slices in salaries.

Furthermore, LABOR ACTION stands for a government levy on capital to cover the cost of war. The accumulated wealth of America's Sixty Families—the Rockefellers, Mellons, du Ponts, Fords—is not sacred. That sacred wealth has nothing to do with the wherewithal of life. BUT WORKERS' WAGES HAVE.

That wealth is robbers' swag—wealth produced by labor but never received by it. The working class has been amply taxed FOR ALL TIME in this accumulated wealth of America's Sixty Families. It is high time to tax labor's exploiters.

Especially so when we consider how much will be added to the pile by war profits, by war-melon salaries—and by the post-war legacies of plants built and paid for by the government which will doubtless go to such companies as the Big and Little Steels, Chrysler, Goodrich, Goodyear, etc. for a song and dance, if not for nothing.

Organized labor must come out full force against a sales tax on consumer goods, against all taxes on wages, against forced savings. LET THE CAPITALISTS PAY FOR THEIR WAR. The only tax program that accords with labor's vital interests is that presented by LABOR ACTION.

Labor must raise its voice now—as an independent political force—for a 100 per cent tax on war profits, for maximum salaries of \$25,000 BEFORE taxes, for a levy on the wealth of the Sixty Families!

THIS IS LABOR'S TAX PROGRAM. There is no other!

Buy LA and NI In No. Philadelphia:

S.E. Corner—19th and Columbia. N.W. Corner—19th and Master. N.E. Corner—20th and Turner.

The News in Brief

By Everett Weston

"A United States Army medical officer told the ninety-second annual convention of the Pennsylvania Medical Society that between 200 and 400 cases of 'emotional illness' occur in army camps throughout the nation every week.... With the advent of large-scale active combat (he said), there will be an increase in mental disorders."—Army Times, October 17.

Today, at this moment, there are still in veterans' hospitals 34,457 neuropsychiatric cases left over from World War I. This represents only the incurables, not the thousands of half-cured walking the streets.

find ourselves with training schools for slave labor... education designed not only for the conduct but the perpetuation of war."—Saturday Review of Literature.

The fundamental point Mr. Canby, characteristically, misses. In a REAL fight against fascism, history, sociology, economics—"the humanities"—are not excess baggage. On the contrary, they teach us what we are fighting and why we are fighting it.

ON THE FICKLENESS OF HOMO STALIENS:

Was a time when all he'd want Was the girl with the Popular Front; But time will melt the direst vow, The swine will jilt the comeliest sow: It's Open the Second Front Now.

"A recent act of Congress changes the name of the Disabled American Veterans of the World War to Disabled American Veterans, thereby making it possible for that splendid organization to take into its membership disabled American servicemen of any war, including the current one."—Our Army.

Ain't nobody kin say we ain't takin' care of our boys.

"The government's recent effort to obtain the 600,000 typewriters needed by the Army, Navy and other departments failed badly. By the beginning of September, only 14,000 machines had been bought from dealers."—New Republic.

This is something more than two per cent of expectations and even that figure includes an undetermined number of machines already in stock. Can't this marvelous efficient capitalist government do anything, even get the machines on which to wind its red tape?

"U. S. ARMY DECEIVES AMERICAN PEOPLE."—New York PM.

Three separate cases are cited, in two of which Army Public Relations Chief Surles is caught in fat lies. The third might charitably be called a misrepresentation. PM's "solution" is to have OWI tell the lies.

"An official daily newspaper, tentatively titled 'American Reporter,' has been projected by several government informational men, who are hopeful it will meet the approval of President Roosevelt.... One member of Mr. Davis' staff has worked on the plan, but it was carefully explained that he did so in his private capacity and not as a representative of the Office of War Information. The idea has advanced to the stage of preparing 'dummy' editions.... printed newspapers.... No government financing to date."—Editor & Publisher.

This is undoubtedly a trial balloon. The government is trying desperately to find a formula for handing out news releases so that they will not bounce back in its lap. Twice now in as many weeks arch-patriotic sheets have been disgraced by publicity stupidity: PM and Jingo Henry Luce's Life and Time, which led the pack in denouncing Roosevelt's trip.

"Senator Robert A. Taft... praised the 5 per cent Victory tax and predicted that it might be doubled next year. Mr. Taft warned against heavier imposts on corporations, as tending to reduce dividend payments on common stock, on which a great many people have come to depend to live."—New York Times.

At the same meeting Randolph Paul, U.S. Treasury general counsel, noted that higher income taxes might have "an adverse effect" on the incentive for an all-out war effort.

When Stokowski recently played Shostakovich's famed Seventh Symphony for an American Army tank corps, the guest of honor was Mine. Litvinoff. To do her homage, Stokowski asked the soldiers to rise and the "The Internationale." Said Time: "Most of the men had never heard the words."

Says LABOR ACTION: "...but they're good words for them to learn, even that way."

The Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

Introductory Offer

TO: **LABOR ACTION**
114 WEST 14th STREET
New York, N. Y.

SIX MONTH SUBSCRIPTION 25¢!

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A Brewster Worker On LABOR ACTION

Dear Sir: Enclosed find 25 cents in stamps. LABOR ACTION is the people's champion. We must keep it alive. Reading one paragraph from your paper is better than a million first-side chats. At least we know what you say is the truth. A Brewster Worker.

The War Council On Tuberculosis

Dear Editor: An interesting commentary on existing conditions and the futile methods used to do away with such conditions can be found in the Buffalo Evening News (October 14) report

on a statement by Dr. H. I. Spector, medical chief of the St. Louis public health division, regarding tuberculosis, and in the report of the Buffalo War Council's attempt to do something about it.

The first report states: "Objective evidence of causes leading to tuberculosis is now present in a magnified form such as long working hours, overcrowding, unsanitary environments, the employment in industry of people previously not accustomed to work, mass migration of many uninfected individuals from the country to the city who will become infected with tubercle bacilli."

The solution offered by the Buffalo War Council in the October 16 issue is the setting up of a committee "to study housing and sanitation and to seek out health hazards." It was also remarked in both articles that the

increase in tuberculosis is a by-product of war and that industrial areas like ours face a special danger.

Nothing more was said about combating this disease which is as deadly as bombs and bullets. No suggestions such as bettering the standard of living of the workers by reducing working hours, by giving the worker more pay so that he can afford a better environment and enough space to live in, to decrease overcrowding and unsanitary conditions. Nothing was said of improving industrial conditions so that newcomers will not have to face such a threat. Such suggestions, if carried out, would be a real solution to the problem.

Since the council is not energetically interested in the welfare of the workers, since they do not want the standard of living of the workers bettered, they would rather set up a committee to STUDY the sit-

uation, a committee that could do nothing but assuage the conscience of the men who are on it.

Buffalo, N. Y.

18-Year-Old Wants The Right to Vote

Dear Editor: I have just read in the newspaper that both Houses of Congress have almost passed the 18-19 year old draft law. Perhaps it's not a coincidence that while this bill was backed so unanimously, there was no discussion at all over a proposal to lower the VOTING AGE to 18. Maybe our worthy congressmen are afraid we 19 and 19 year olds aren't mature enough to vote yet. But when they work us sixty hours a

week in a war factory they don't talk about maturity. And when they shove bayonets into our hands they don't tell us we're not old enough to kill other 18 year olds just like ourselves. It's just when the question comes up of VOTING those two-bit boss politicians out of office—that's when you really have to be "mature."

If we're old enough to work and fight and die in this war, then WHY THE HELL haven't we got the RIGHT TO VOTE?
Indignant 18-Year-Old.

Buy Labor Action In Detroit:

LABOR ACTION can be bought each week at the newsstand at the corner of Fort and Woodward.

Who Is Behind The Conspiracy to Suppress Labor Action

By Max Shachtman

(Continued from last week)

Last week we revealed the hand of the Communist Party as one of the prime movers in the conspiracy to have LABOR ACTION suppressed, and showed the reasons why.

This week we want to show who are the allies of the Stalinists (who are as much "communists" as the Nazis are "socialists") in the foul campaign against our paper.

The allies of the Stalinists are the so-called "labor leaders," the non-Stalinist officials of the unions who were chosen to protect and defend the interests of the membership, but who, in practice, put the interests of labor in second or third or fifth place. They are people like John Green, president of the Shipbuilders Union, CIO; Phillip Van Gelder, secretary-treasurer of the same union; their spouses in Local 9 of the union in San Pedro, Calif.; people like President Sherman H. Dalrymple of the CIO Rubber Workers Union; former Secretary-Treasurer Frank Grillo of the same union, and former Vice-President Tom Burns, also of the Rubber Workers; people of the same stripe in the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, CIO; people of the same stripe in the Los Angeles Industrial Union Council, CIO, who tried to get LABOR ACTION banned several months ago; and union officials in a few other organizations.

Some of these people, we can say right at the outset, have good records of performance in the past. Some of them even have exceptionally good records of militancy, especially by the miserably low standards the average labor leader in this country has always set. But with the coming of the war, and even before it, every single one of them was whipped into line. Every single one of them has one aim in the labor movement today, because he believes that his job, his respectability in the eyes of the government and the press and the employers, depends upon its fulfillment: the aim of making the labor movement a gagged, fettered, docile cog in the capitalist war machine.

LABOR ACTION DOES NOT CONCEAL ITS VIEWS

Now, LABOR ACTION has made no effort to conceal its point of view. It is not ashamed of it, there is nothing in it to apologize for, and that's why it is proud of it.

Part of that point of view is this: War or no war, the complete, unhampered independence of the labor movement and the working class must be maintained at all costs! The interests of the labor movement must be defended at all times, every step of the way, with the most aggressive methods, and must not be abandoned, no matter what the pretext!

Nobody who is honestly and seriously and intelligently in favor of smashing fascism can have the slightest objection to such a point of view. On the contrary, support of this viewpoint is the most reliable test of genuine opposition to fascism. Why? Because fascism means, first and foremost, the utter destruction of the independence of the working class and its labor movement, including the trade unions.

And our position is that labor as a whole must fiercely resist any step or movement aimed at reducing its independence,

even if that step is taken in the name of "fighting against fascism." A hell of a fight against fascism it is that starts out by imitating fascism. That would be like saving a house from an approaching fire by putting a match to all the furniture in the house.

This point of view of LABOR ACTION is known to all its readers. It is known to the Stalinists. It is known to the labor bureaucrats we have mentioned and to others of their kidney. They know also that we are in deadly earnest about our point of view. They know that we mean it, every word of it, when we fight to heighten the independence of the labor movement and to protect the standards and rights of the working class. And they know that we will not be silent when anyone tries to undermine labor's independence or abandon the fight for its rights. We will not be silent no matter who the culprit is, no matter how exalted his position inside or outside the labor movement, no matter how big or powerful he thinks he is.

That is why people like John Green join the Stalinists in blowing the whistle against us. That is why they bellow for aid from the government and the FBI, which would only be too glad to oblige if they could, because the truths we tell are none too palatable to them, either.

THE HIRING HALL ISSUE IN SAN PEDRO

They want us silenced and suppressed because they cannot stand the glare of the spotlight of truth that we keep focused upon them. They know that more and more workers are reading LABOR ACTION and pondering soberly over the facts that it presents and the views it puts forward. They know that these workers, the rank and file of the labor movement, are not going to remain passive and unorganized forever, or even for a very long time. The more these workers see and understand of what the labor bureaucracy is really doing, the sooner they will rise in their invincible might and replace these bureaucrats with fighting militants who have one aim and one aim only: to promote the class interests of labor and its organizations, no matter who says what!

Take one of the most recent and flagrant examples of what we mean, an example with which our readers must be pretty well acquainted by now—the sell-out in San Pedro, the cunning scheme put over by a combination of company men, government representatives, Stalinists and labor bureaucrats whereby the precious control of the shipbuilding hiring hall, established by the CIO union, is to be given up by the workers and their union.

LABOR ACTION told the truth about this scheme from the very beginning. We warned about it in advance. We made no bones about calling upon the San Pedro shipbuilding workers to fight against it.

In the eyes of the company officials, our action is a crime. Of course! But the whole trouble with us is that we don't give a thought to the interests of the corporations and the monopolists—they have plenty of people looking out for them!

In the eyes of the Stalinists, too, we committed a crime. That's why they want us gagged.

In the eyes of the government representative, who smells to us like at least a 50% Stalinist, we committed a crime. He would like us gagged, too.

And the same holds true of the union bureaucracy.

We can tell all these gentlemen, however, that we intend to go on committing this "crime" as long as there is breath left in us.

What do they intend to do? To devote all their energies to smashing us, to silencing and suppressing us, aided by company people on the one hand and, of course, by government persecution on the other?

BUT WHEN THE REACTIONARIES ATTACK...

Is that the best job that these "leaders of labor" have to do now-days? Is there nothing more important for them to occupy their lung power and their time?

Just think of these facts:

Roane Waring, newly-elected national commander of the American Legion, went to the Toronto convention of the American Federation of Labor on October 9 and said that strikes should be suppressed and anyone who dares to strike, no matter what his grievance ought to be shot. "Would you shoot them?" he was asked by reporters when he got off the platform. "Yes, if I had the authority," he replied, unhesitatingly. Well, he already has some authority because he speaks in the name of a powerful reactionary movement with hundreds of thousands of members in it.

But the labor leaders—where were they? Do you hear of a campaign to smash the power of this fascist-minded Legion commander No, he is a welcome guest on the platform of the labor bureaucrats. When it comes to LABOR ACTION, however, the bureaucrats clamor for "investigations" and "action" against us.

At the same convention of the American Federation of Labor, on September 30, Rear Admiral Ben Moreell, chief of the United States Bureau of Yards and Docks, declared from the platform: "I will admit that nobody can live without labor, but they certainly can live without labor unions. They are living without them in Germany, and in Italy, and in Japan, and they seem to be doing right well—at least for the moment—and, in my opinion, they will damn well live without them here if all of us don't get in there and pitch."

Did the labor bureaucrats drive this naval gentleman off the platform for this gross insult to the labor movement? Of course not. They listened patiently and silently, and pledged that they would sweat harder (that is, they would sweat the workers harder) in the future. That's how they deal with fascist-minded rear admirals. But when it comes to dealing with a working-class

paper like LABOR ACTION, just see how furious and energetic they become!

Only the other day, at the October 19 session of the Investment Bankers' Association convention in New York, another rear admiral spoke. This time, it was Emory S. Land, chairman of the United States Maritime Commission. Listen to this appointee of President Roosevelt: "As far as organizers are concerned, for the duration, in my opinion, they ought to be shot at sunrise." He tried to duck out of it a couple of days later, but he only made matters clearer—that is, worse. For once in a long time, Joe Curran of the National Maritime Union was right when he said that Nazi submarines are shooting union organizers and men at sunrise and at sunset, every day in the week.

But what did the labor bureaucrats do about Shoot-em-at-Sunrise Land? A few spluttering protests, and then, according to the latest reports, they all retired behind the scenes to "patch it all up." What patch can they possibly produce that will wipe out the fascist mentality of this war shipping administrator? There isn't a patch big enough or powerful enough to do that. But the important thing here is this: the labor bureaucrats can always find a way of getting along harmoniously even with people like Rear Admiral Land. But faced with the criticism of a paper like LABOR ACTION the union bureaucrats holler for a gag, a chain, a prison, a warden and a turnkey.

CONSPIRACY IS NOT AN ISOLATED MATTER

The conspiracy against LABOR ACTION is not an isolated matter. It is only one single part of a much larger and wider campaign to emasculate the whole labor movement, to deprive all workers of their hard-won rights and their hard-won living standards. If they pick on LABOR ACTION, it is only because LABOR ACTION has been most uncompromising in resisting this reactionary campaign.

The conspiracy against LABOR ACTION is therefore aimed as a blow at the labor movement and its best interests. That is why LABOR ACTION has the right to appeal to every worker for solidarity and support in the fight to expose the conspiracy, to nip it in the bud, to make it too hot for the conspirators to go any further with their vicious game.

Everyone has the right and the duty to demand of the Stalinists and their co-conspirators that they get out from behind the screen of spurious "patriotism," the screen behind which they are shooting their poisoned arrows at LABOR ACTION. The rank and file can force these people to admit the real reasons for their drive against us. The real reasons are that we persist in telling the truth about them and they can't stand up under it, and that we are unshakable in our devotion to the cause and interests of the working class and the union movement.

That is the truth, that and nothing else. And despite every effort by the associated "democrats" to muzzle us, IT IS THE TRUTH WE SHALL CONTINUE TO TELL.

The Sufferings and Sacrifices of the Rich in the War

By Labor Action's Own Society Reporter

You think YOU are having a tough time in the war. You think YOUR standard of living is being attacked. You think YOU are making a sacrifice when your son or brother or husband is taken into the Army and set off to battle. You think YOU have trouble finding a flat or an apartment or a room to live in.

Well, you may have a little inconvenience to contend with here or there as a result of the war, but that's all it really amounts to. When it comes to real suffering and sacrifice, you just haven't experienced any and you have absolutely no good right to beef about it or about the way things are. In fact, you haven't even begun to suffer and sacrifice. You don't really know what suffering and sacrifice are. And if you'll stop crabbing for a while, we'll show you what it means to suffer and to sacrifice with a capital "S." And we'll bet that before we're through, you'll be wading up to your knee-caps in sympathetic tears, no matter how hard-hearted or selfish you may be.

A STORY TO WRING TEARS FROM A STONE

The ones who have been reduced practically to the rank of paupers, who are really taking it on the chin, yet bearing up cheerfully under it, and all for the sake of winning the good old war, are—you guessed it!—the rich.

You don't have to take the Society Reporter's word for it. But it's all there, black on white, in a special series of articles printed in the New York World-Telegram, beginning on October 19, and entitled "Where Are the Rich?"

The story these articles tell are truly pathetic. We can't begin to repeat them all here. So we'll confine ourselves to the first one, and it is only typical of the set. It deals with the case of Mrs. Harrison Williams. It's a sad case, and no mistake.

Mrs. Harrison Williams, in case you didn't know, has been known as the best-dressed woman in the country. Her husband is just a quiet little millionaire who was once credited with making a hundred million dollars (yes, dollars—not peanuts) out of Central States Electric Co. Malleous tongues (so-called) say that the Missus got all her snazzy clothes by sponging on Hubby. But we don't believe that. She probably economized for each dress, a nickel at a time, by riding around in her limousines, thus saving subway fares.

The important thing, however, is that she is no longer the best-dressed woman in America. At any rate, her clothing no longer runs into fabulous figures. We have this on the word of the World-Telegram reporter. Now that would be bad enough, but there is much worse to report.

HARDLY A HOUSE TO LIVE IN

Mrs. Harrison has been obliged by war conditions to lock the doors on four out of five of her homes. There is the Oak Point home on Long Island, with its "caddies and a professional for the private golf course and an army of gardeners for the endless green-houses, landscaped terraces and formal gardens." Of all the Williams homes, it cost the most, we are told. "That was because Harrison insisted on buying a house and remodeling it. It cost three times as much as it would have new, but it was fun planning the changes." Yes, indeed, and what fun it must have been! But that's all over with—Oak Point is closed down. Can't afford it, you know, and besides it doesn't look good, and all it has now is "three gardeners on our Long Island estate to keep the grounds from entirely going to seed."

There's another one in Palm Beach, and that's closed down too. Can't be much of a place, because only one caretaker has been left to keep it from entirely going to seed.

And there's the dreadful story about the little nook the Williams called "home" in Paris. "It wasn't large, but it had the most perfectly proportioned rooms and a dream of a garden.... I'd just finished furnishing that Paris house when the war broke. I had such lovely things in it. I left in November, 1939. I thought I would be back in April. We all felt the Maginot Line was a fortress that could never fall."

But fall it did, which was bad enough, but worse yet, the Williams home fell with it. Those beastly Germans are living in it! You won't believe it, my dear, but Mrs. Williams has it straight from Prince Lucinge (whoever in hell he is, we don't know, but evidently he knows his Paris homes) that the Germans are in it now. We didn't get a chance to ask Mrs. Williams' view on the second front, but we'll bet a ruble she is firmly convinced that a second front is the only way the Germans will ever be chased out of the home, including its perfectly proportioned rooms and its dream of a garden. And anybody with a sympathetic heart will agree that we ought to have a second front, if for no other reason than to get a roof over poor Mrs. Williams' head again.

And the fourth, that little item in Capri (that's on the Italian shore of the Mediterranean, boys). It's her favorite, and, can you imagine, she had to close it down, too. "I built that house in units on the foundations of Tiberius' palace." SHE built it? Yep! "I stood over the workmen. I worked with them. It is at once the most beautiful and the most practical home in the world." And who is living in it now? God alone knows. Probably some foreigners, those terrible Italians probably.

WE'LL BURST INTO TEARS IF THIS GOES ON

You think this is a joke? We'll have you know that "in actual money the Williams' various homes and their furnishings probably represent an investment of between five and ten million dollars" (again, dollars—not peanuts). And what do you think they're reduced to? Pretty near abject poverty, that's what it boils down to. The only one of their cozy little shacks they keep open now is their town home, right here in New York at 1130 Fifth Avenue, not far from the slums (but far enough). And even this home isn't altogether open.

It's a thirty-room pink colonial brick mansion, but all of it has been shut off except for two floors. You won't believe it, but it's a fact. All they have between them is one floor apiece. How it is they don't rub their elbows to the bone from bumping into each other in this crowded hole, we just can't understand. And you think you get trouble just because you live ten miles from your job in a Detroit furnished room, or forty-two miles from your job in a trailer camp? Why, compared with the poor Williamses you're in clover. Only—you'd never guess it.

This home business isn't the worst of it. There are things so appalling that we hardly dare mention them for fear you'll blubber in your beard.

Take this car business. Eight of the Williams' cars—yes, eight of them—are in storage. How in the world she manages to shop without a car for her Potage de Printemps, Langouste au Roi d'Angleterre, Salade a Saison, and a snifter of Mumm's, 1903, we can't figure out, dearie.

THE AGONY KEEPS UP UNTIL IT'S AGONIZING

And that infernal servant problem. Everybody knows how bad it always was, but it's just that much worse now. In the past, "at least twelve were kept on each estate, plus the regular household staff of twenty-five which shifted with the family from house to

house, according to the season of the year: Long Island in the spring and fall, New York before Christmas, Palm Beach in January and February, Paris in June and Capri in the summer."

How delightfully like a band of gypsies they were in the good old days before the war. But the great Battle for Democracy has changed things for everybody, and Mrs. Williams is not a mossback who won't change with the times. Oh, dear me, no! Perish the thought!

First there's the crew of forty-five who were dismissed when the Warrior—that was the family yacht, you know—was sold three years ago to Paul Getty. "Harrison saw the handwriting on the wall then. So did I," says Mrs. Harrison.

Then Philip Bosey—he was the butler, he knew—"has a defense job," the ingrate, and that man who let you in, on the one with the gray-striped pants and black morning coat, "that's my husband's valet substituting as a butler." That'll give you some idea of what this country's coming to!

But there's more: "Our three chauffeurs, the footmen and the houseman have been taken in the draft or by national defense work." And there's practically nobody around to give the mistress of the house a hand with the dishes or the vacuum cleaner. Who is left to hold the master's head, the devil himself only knows. And Paul McNutt thinks he's got a manpower problem! He's got a cinch compared with the Williamses.

"How many servants have we left?" asks Mrs. Williams and she answers tearfully, counting off on her fingers: "The valet who acts as butler. He may be drafted any time." (Don't get us wrong. Mrs. Williams is ready to sacrifice him to the Army any time General Marshall gives her the word.) "A footman, two maids, our cook, Ella, who has been with us eight years, and my personal maid, Helen Munton, whom I've had 16 years." And there are the three gardeners on the Long Island estate, and the caretaker in Palm Beach. "Ten servants in all."

You call that a life? We think that's cutting pretty close to the bone, and it might be well to remember that people will stand just so much privation and no more. How Mrs. Williams stands it, we don't pretend to know. But we can't refrain from admiring her courage and fortitude in the face of adversity, in the face of conditions that would try the mettle of strong drinking men.

"WE LIVE FROM DAY TO DAY"

She's brave, though, and is ready to stick it out. And she is made of the right stuff, if we're any kind of judge. You'd think a cookie like this would be in the dumps, would be grouching and critic of our great form of government. Not Mrs. Williams. Of course, we can't say that she has the answer to all the questions, but who has? We can't say that she is 100 per cent satisfied, but who is? If you were in her spot, would YOU be satisfied? Just listen to HER problem, and see how YOU would like to have it to solve:

"For people like us it is difficult. We can't sell what we own. Nobody wants big homes, expensive cars or elaborate furnishings these days. It's even difficult to turn stocks and bonds into actual money. And yet it takes money to pay taxes. We couldn't possibly live on \$25,000 a year. Our land taxes alone come to more than that."

See! You COULD live on \$25,000 a year and probably have a

hell of a good time, too. But what if you were in Mrs. Harrison's position. She can't possibly, no sir, not possibly, live on that. And you're complaining!

Maybe you think she wants the old days back. You're wrong brother. She's no backward-looking reactionary. She looks onward and upward all the time.

"I can't see the answer," she confesses with that honesty and candor that make you love her at first sight. "All we do is live from day to day." (You might almost say, from hand to mouth. But let's proceed, because she gets better as you go along.) "I admit our class led foolish and useless lives in the past. We did silly things. Our values were wrong. But no period has been perfect."

Could you have put it better? That's the way we always wanted to say it. But that's class for you—they know just the right way to say the right thing at the right time. "No period has been perfect." Improve on that and you've got something.

HERE'S A THOROUGHBERED FOR YOU

"I hated the old life. I thought it was very stupid." Now, there, in our opinion, is a thoroughbred for you! She knew it all the time, but never let on because she didn't want to hurt her friends' feelings. Noblesse oblige!

"I'm not afraid of what the future holds. But I'd vanish off the map if they tried to regiment me." Gad, but that's spirited talk, if we ever heard any. What's Dorothy Thompson got that Mrs. Williams hasn't got? What's Clare Luce got? Mark our words, this Mrs. Williams is a name to watch in the stormy days ahead. No regimentation for her, by George! Not even a teeny-weeny bit of it. Others may go for it, mind you, but not Mrs. Williams. She's in this fight against fascism to the brutal end, if it means giving up her last footman.

"We Americans, as a people, have always been way up or way down. We've made enormous fortunes overnight and lost them just as quickly." (Don't we all know it! Here today and gone tomorrow.) "Things have been frightfully unequal, I admit."

But don't think she's depressed. She sees a new world shaping up out of the chaos, a vision of finer things to come.

"Perhaps out of all this we'll strike an intelligent balance, a real democracy in which we will all have enough, but not too much, and yet still be ourselves."

HATS OFF TO A TRUE-BLUE AMERICAN!

Has anyone—don't care who he is or what he's said or done—has anyone ever put it more aptly, more beautifully, as it were? An intelligent balance—isn't that what we need? A democracy where all will have enough—isn't that a wonderful way of expressing man's noblest aspirations? Of course, enough, and not too much—for who but a rotten swine would want too much? Who would want five homes when one would do in a pinch? Who would want fifty or more servants when ten would do in a national emergency? Who would want eight cars when one would do, or when taxes are available?

Hats off to Mrs. Harrison Williams, true-blue, a yard wide and 100 per cent American! Hats off to Mrs. Harrison Williams, who has set us all a Great and Noble Example of what Suffering is and what Sacrifice is.

We must all be ourselves, says she. Come what may, she wants to be herself. Nothing to worry about, Ma'am. You're perfectly suited to the part.

Navy Threatens Black-List --

(Continued from page 1)

actually be a detriment to production because they would encourage hasty and slipshod workmanship.

Mr. Smith did not answer. It was evident that speed-up and the increased profits it would bring were of greater weight than his patriotism.

The company was not mistaken in relying on the Roosevelt Administration to rush to its assistance. The War Labor Board immediately ordered the men to return to work on the company's conditions. The men defied the WLB and voted to stay out.

By the eighth day of the strike, the government dropped all pretense of impartiality. The Navy threatened the men with a weapon that will be used more and more against labor—the draft. All deferments will be canceled, the men were told. Also, the strikers would be barred from all war work, and try to find a decent job in Cleveland that isn't war work! In other words, take your choice: work or fight, or work or starve.

The government did not stop until it had added insult to injury. As-

stant Secretary of the Navy Bard played the company's game when he declared that production was less than it should be in the Forge plant. How he can explain this statement in the light of the fact that the Navy had just given the factory an E award, we cannot imagine.

Under this vicious and overwhelming attack, the Forge workers went back to work. But labor need not always be robbed of its elementary rights. If all Cleveland labor had united with the Forge workers, it would have been impossible to intimidate the strikers.

New York Workers Attention! TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

WILL BE THE SUBJECT OF A LECTURE BY

MAX SHACHTMAN

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 8, at 8:00 P. M.

IRVING PLAZA—IRVING PLACE AND 15th STREET

Auspices: LABOR ACTION
Questions and Discussion

Announcement: Hold December 7 Open! David
Coalidge will speak on: "The Unions Today"

Editorials

Two to Vote For

With elections only a few days off, LABOR ACTION can find in the entire country only two candidates deserving of support by workers. These are the candidates for the Senate put forward by the Socialist Workers Party: George Breitman in New Jersey and Grace Carlson in Minnesota.

Our readers know that on many vital issues of the day we disagree, and disagree sharply, with the SWP. We have, for example, subjected their position on Russia, China and the war to deep and sharp criticism. And we shall continue to do so on the many issues of policy and practice that divide us.

Nevertheless, their candidates stand as candidates of a revolutionary workers' organization. As such they deserve the support of labor at the polls. Especially so in an election campaign otherwise unrelieved in its reactionary features—uniformly offering a choice between pre-Pearl Harbor jingoism and post-Pearl Harbor jingoism, all of whom are in FUNDAMENTAL ACCORD on the BASIC issues of the day as CAPITALIST politicians.

Breitman and Carlson are INDEPENDENT LABOR CANDIDATES. More than that, despite the weaknesses of their program, they are anti-war socialists. A vote for Breitman in New Jersey and for Carlson in Minnesota is therefore a working-class MUST!

On Dues and Facts

The UAW has submitted the matter of raising dues from \$1.00 to \$1.50 a month to referendum. As a rule we are against higher dues, believing low dues to be one of the cardinal principles of democratic unionism. However, if a union has some activity on the fire or is planning such activity, a large fund is obviously needed, and one way to get it is through dues. When a union proposes to do nothing, as is unfortunately the case with the UAW for the most part, we see small need of extra dues.

Our interest in this matter at the moment is provoked by a full-page statement in the United Automobile Worker, union paper, which asks the membership to vote "Yes" in the referendum? On what basis? The leadership evidently proposes to do very little for the duration, but wants a post-war reserve. Now "post-war" is a long way off, and it seems to us that there are a lot of things that could be done before then. However, this "post-war reserve" the union wants is especially interesting, because the union leadership has gotten itself into a bit of a contradiction.

The leadership is "all-out" for the war; it has accordingly expressed its willingness to yield everything that's really demanded of it for the duration. Why is it "all-out" for the war? Because this is a "war for democracy" from which will emerge a beautiful post-war world. In this post-war world which is promised us, want will be banished, the bosses will get no more than they deserve (how much is that?) and labor will live on cream and honey. The

"old world" will be finished; a new world of English and American freedoms (all four of them!) will be ushered in.

But that's evidently only for propaganda purposes. When they get down to brass tacks, that is, to cold cash, the union bureaucrats drop the story-book and speak the truth. They want, says the United Automobile Worker in its October 15 issue, a large reserve "to prepare for hard times" because "a post-war depression with its inevitable attacks on labor, won't be a one-year affair."

Exactly! And we're all in favor of building such a reserve. But we think that a better proposition would be to use that money NOW—not to pile it away for the future, but to build the union's strength TODAY, to resist TODAY the PRESENT and COMING attacks on labor.

Unwittingly perhaps the United Automobile Worker said a mouthful. But how does it square its logic on dues and the "inevitable attacks on labor" with its unblinking concessions today?

How Long?

There have been various estimates about the probable length of World War II. Some American prophets have put it at five years; others at ten. Still others—more knowing and cynical about the present stage of world imperialism—have envisaged life in the future as endless warfare, interrupted only by short periods for breathing space.

The most recent contribution on the subject of the duration of war has come from Herr Goebbels himself. He, it seems, wants the German people to think in terms of a "thirty years" war. It was reported from Berne, Switzerland, the other day that the Nazi Minister of Propaganda sees fit to remind the Nazi-enslaved Germans that they were "once able to endure a devastating and ruinous Thirty Years War" and "certainly today will have the strength to endure a much shorter war."

How much shorter? A month? Six months? A year? At any rate, yardsticks of human endurance of inhuman horrors are arbitrarily set up at five years, ten years, thirty years—forever!

But the prophets on the length of human endurance forget no less important a factor than the human element itself. The working classes of the world, who fight the wars and produce the instruments of warfare, who sweat and weep and starve and bleed, have grown to full maturity as a force in history.

Before the end of three years of World War I, the Russian workers, peasants and soldiers knew what to do in self-preservation. And all over Europe armies cracked. Soldiers fraternized with their so-called enemies. Crowned heads fell. Governments tumbled.

Not generals nor prophets nor propaganda ministers, but the workers and soldiers themselves determine the length of human endurance of the horrors of war.

What Is the National City Bank Fighting This War For?

By WESLEY EVEREST

Even more interesting than the speeches on the Four Freedoms are the talks the capitalists circulate among themselves on what the war is really being fought for. The most enlightening document of this kind that has appeared in some time is the October issue of The Bulletin of the National City Bank of New York, surely an institution of sufficient prestige to speak for its class. And if even its authority is not sufficient, a large part of the issue is devoted to a quotation from a speech by du Pont Vice-President Charles N. A. Stines. This undoubtedly is straight goods.

It begins with a discussion of such things as price ceilings and inflation, all in the highly technical language that sets off the Wall Streeter from ordinary mortals. Then comes the important matter of who shall pay for the war. We need taxes, many taxes, high taxes. Who shall pay them? On an individual income of \$100,000, it is pointed out, with the new tax bill the net after taxes would be just over \$30,000. Imagine that! A measly \$600 a week. No wonder they call Roosevelt a revolutionist!

"Additional taxes will have to come largely from the income groups between \$1,750 and \$10,000.... (And) the largest part of the newly created income from which the inflation threat comes is in the lower part of this range." The additional taxes—Morgenthau has already promised six billions more soon—must come from the \$35-a-week (before taxes) fellows. Obviously the \$600-a-week (after taxes) guy is strained to the limit. It is almost impossible even to keep up the second car.

But in any case we know who pays for the war. The same class that pays for every war—the workers. But what of after the war? Here they quote from the speech of Mr. Stines, who, they feel, "gave so remarkable a survey of recent developments and of the possibilities ahead that it is deserving of the widest circulation. It goes to the heart of the present discussion and should be an inspiration to every reader." For once, we agree. If there is one thing that makes as good reading as LABOR ACTION, it is these little intimate intra-capitalist chats.

"The nation will emerge from this war," says du Pontist Stines, "with capacities for making plastics, synthetic fibers, nitrates, hydro-carbons, high-octane gasoline, and literally scores of chemical and other raw materials on a scale that only two years ago was beyond our conception... a glass that is unbreakable... hosiery derived from air... 10, 50, 100 times what we had before... in housing prefabricated sections... lighting will be automatic..."

And much more in the same vein. And the funny part is that, insofar as he is talking of technological possibilities inherent in the modern industrial machine, Mr. Stines does not exaggerate. If anything, his utopia is an understatement.

What Labor Will Get

You might think that with so much milk and honey flowing about the world, the working class might come in for a taste. Listen:

"Progress... depends upon modification of unnecessarily restrictive laws such as the Securities

Talmadge Rides Again

The boss press of October 14 announced in a small, obscure article that Governor Eugene Talmadge of Georgia and three of his close friends have filed a charter for a new secret organization which is to be called "Vigilantes, Inc." The membership will be limited to WHITE MALES.

Is this to be merely a group of "the boys" who will go to lodge once a week, play poker and occasionally have a party? In view of the circumstances, we hardly think so.

Talmadge, a poll-tax governor recently defeated in the primaries by another poll-tax candidate, is a typical labor-hating, anti-Negro Southern politician. Not so long ago he had an educator thrown out of his university post for teaching a mild version of racial equality. And that wasn't the worst of Talmadge's crimes!

This new organization can be expected to be nothing else but another—and perhaps more vicious, if that is possible—Ku Klux Klan.

This new outfit is particularly significant as an indication of the new wave of lynch terror in the South. These gentlemen are guaranteeing their poll-tax rule whether poll-tax is outlawed by Congress or not. They propose to organize their intimidation of the Negro people, Vigilantes, Inc., will use violence to out-viole the Ku Klux Klan in suppression of the Negroes who make any kind of bid for their rights.

The labor movement ought to warn Governor Talmadge, however, that any vigilantism will be met by organized resistance.

Act... upon correction of injustices such as are embodied in the National Labor Relations Act.... All this suggests the kind of post-war planning needed.... Yes, indeed, it does suggest it. It makes it very clear.

"...The statement frequently made that society will no longer tolerate unemployment is as vain as would be the statement that society will no longer tolerate disease...."

An immense vista opens of goods of every description, magic new formulas that create substances nature had never seen. "Ten, 50, 100 times what we had before." Then our lives will be 10, 50, 100 times as happy, as secure, as now? Not under capital-

ism, say the capitalists. With this vast storehouse of wealth bursting upon mankind, even the hope of ending unemployment—of ending, in a word, starvation—is an idle dream.

"If individual groups are immoderate in their demands," the essay ends, "no power on earth can prevent the system from falling into disorder." There is such a power. And the men who write the National City Bank Bulletin not only know what it is, they sometimes dream about it. It is the power of the working class breaking through the stupid, unnatural, selfish bonds that keep them from the goods they produce. It is the power of the revolution.

Politics as Usual!

Some News and Comment On the Election Campaign

By SUSAN GREEN

The spring is the season for Barnum & Bailey circuses—for which you pay as you enter. But the fall is the season for election circuses—which you can enjoy free of charge.

Over here is the daring performer on the flying trapeze—Senator William H. Smathers, campaigning on the Democratic ticket for his re-election to the national Senate from the State of New Jersey. Over there is the dare-devil bare-back rider, Albert W. Hawkes, Republican nominee opposing Smathers. They are performing for all they are worth. They aim to please a special audience—LABOR.

Smathers takes a flying leap at Hawkes, yelling: "Mr. Hawkes' entire career as an industrialist has been devoted to fighting labor!" Hawkes snaps his whip at Smathers, shouting: "What have you done in or out of Congress to advance the interests of labor? What labor bills did you vote for during your six years in office?"

Thus shamefully do two political charlatans vie for labor's vote.

Both of them can only sell labor down the river. Smathers, Democrat, is reported not to have supported the Wages and Hours Act—even that begrudging legal acknowledgment of only some of labor's elementary rights. Hawkes, Republican, is head of the Congoleum Nairn Corp. and a former president of the United States Chamber of Commerce—outfits unquestionably opposed to labor's interests.

Labor—50,000,000 strong, plus friends and relations—doesn't have to sit around watching election circuses—and wasting its political might on Democratic and Republican representatives of boss interests. LABOR HAS WHAT IT TAKES TO SWEEP ITS OWN CLASS PARTY INTO POWER.

Note: There is a senatorial candidate in New Jersey that LABOR ACTION urges you to support: George Breitman, who is the candidate of the Socialist Workers Party. (See editorial, page 4.)

To give the devil his due, Thomas E. Dewey, Republican nominee for Governor of New York, has in the last week done something quite unusual for a campaigning candidate. He actually presented some real facts of great importance.

He spoke about the "home-grown fascists" who are staging a comeback on the dimmed-out streets of New York. He enumerated instances of wrecking and defacing synagogues, temples and Jewish centers, of attacks on individuals, of the appearance of the swastika smeared on walls and fences.

So far so good—but far from good enough!

What does Mr. Dewey propose to do about the home-grown fascists? Why, nothing—that is, NOTHING HERE ON THE STREETS OF NEW YORK.

According to Mr. Dewey, all the fighting against fascism must be done at the respectable distance of thousands of miles from here—across the Atlantic and across the Pacific.

A serious and sincere anti-fascist fighter knows that the fascist evil must be fought on the spot where it appears. The Christian Front hoodlums and other menacing groups can be put out of business only by organized neighborhood guards and by organized trade union guards—prepared to whip the fascist attackers and wipe them out as soon as they raise their ugly heads. The experiences of Germany and Italy bear this out 100 per cent.

Mr. Dewey, and anyone else who implies that the war against the home-grown fascists can be fought in Germany and Japan, ACTUALLY ENCOURAGE THEIR GROWTH HERE.

John J. Bennett, Jr., Democratic nominee for Governor of New York, has been worried plenty. Having started his candidacy without the blessing of the leader of his party, he was at a disadvantage. President Roosevelt's later statement that he

PROPAGANDA

What America Says To the Axis World

By Henry Judd

Propaganda is supposed to be a weapon to aid the military and economic forces of a country at war. America has organized a vast machine broadcasting and speaking to the Axis world. What does it have to say?

THE "LITTLE FLOWER" SPEAKS TO ROME

This week we learned that Mayor LaGuardia, the battling dynamo of New York, has been broadcasting to the Italian people. In between the cuss words ("swachime," "stufjas," etc.) the Mayor has a few things to say to these people. For instance, he tells them that the decrepit, armchair and stupid King of Italy is all right and should be put back into power over Il Duce! Then—and this is guaranteed to make the Italian people leap with jittery joy—he brags about the fact that soon American bombers will be roaring over the great Italian cities, blasting them to bits, and finally, American soldiers and troops will enter the country! All this, undoubtedly, will win millions of Italian supporters!

The reports of the Little Flowers speeches verify what was printed in the American New Leader (an arch-patriotic paper which claims a slight allegiance to socialism) some weeks back. According to these reports, the Italian people were being regaled with insulting broadcasts, delivered in poor Italian by men who threatened and abused them. So much for propaganda to Italy.

AND GERMANY?

No material has been published about what FDR and his fellow war leaders are saying to Germany. This is curious indeed. Isn't it rather important for the American people to know what FDR is saying to the German workers and Germany? After all, they are being called upon to die in the imperialist war. They ought to have some idea of what sort of government Roosevelt-Churchill propose to set up in Germany after the war is over. But nothing is said.

Still, we have every reason to strongly suspect that the broadcasts to Germany take on the same tone that the infamous broadcasts of the Englishman, Lord Vansittart, do. They undoubtedly threaten the division and virtual extinction of the German people; the imposition of an even more severe and brutal Versailles Treaty and the occupation of that country by the armed troops of the United Nations.

America's propagandists (for reasons we'll take up below) have the idea that the way to "propagandize" (that is, influence) the enemy's ranks and break down their morale is by threatening them with calamity and doom if they don't join us, immediately. As to WHY they should join you, not a word!

AND THAT ADDRESSED TO THE JAPANESE

But most incredible and most reactionary of all has been the Japanese-addressed propaganda. LABOR ACTION has in its possession a public duplicate of a small booklet that was dropped from the bombers that raided Tokyo and the other Japanese cities many months ago.

This booklet (very attractively and colorfully printed) consists of pictorial and graphic comparisons of American resources with Japanese resources. On page one, the huge size of America is compared with the minute size of the Japanese island empire; manpower resources, railway mileage, gold wealth, farm production, coal capacity, the number of telephones, timber reserves, fish (the Japanese are given the edge on this, oil wells, automobiles, iron and steel production, electricity, shipping, etc., are all compared. Naturally, in every instance except that of fish, America is vastly superior to Japan.

The Japanese worker is ground down by a brutal, fascist and totalitarian war regime that subjects him to iron discipline. The Japanese warmongers and imperialists, however, tell him that all this is necessary because Japan is so poor, has so little "living space" and the other nations that surround it are so rich by comparison. The Mikado says that the Japanese people are fighting for their lives against mighty rivals who have everything, while we, the Japanese, have nothing. Now, this lying and demagogic propaganda of the Japanese capitalists and imperialists is verified and substantiated by the Americans! What more could the Japanese militarist ask for? He can now go to his people and say, in effect: "See! What I told you is true! We have nothing; they have everything. Roosevelt himself says so. That's why we are JUSTIFIED in our war of conquest. Why should they (the white men) have so much and we nothing? Nothing could have done more to solidify the Japanese people and drive them closer into the hands of their own reactionary and fascist government than this type of propaganda.

WHY THIS PROPAGANDA?

The same message, in varying degrees, goes to all the peoples of the Axis countries. Why? Is it because of stupidity on the part of those in charge in Washington? Is it because the Axis propagandists are so much "smarter" than ours?

No. It is because this propaganda is a logical consequence and embodiment of the TYPE OF WAR that America is conducting—a war of conquest, a war of occupation—in a word, a war of imperialism.

American imperialism cannot appeal to the Axis people on REVOLUTIONARY grounds since this is not its war aim. It can only threaten and boast and brag and then abuse the down-trodden people of the fascist regimes. This is not merely "bad" propaganda; it is reactionary, imperialist propaganda, revealing in its nakedness the meaning and purpose of this war for plunder and colonial spoils.

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WORKERS PARTY PLATFORM

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

LABOR MUST DEFEND ITSELF!

- Hands off the right to strike! For the defense of civil rights and all workers' rights! Against any wartime dictatorship measures!
- Thirty hours a week; thirty dollars the minimum wage; time and a half for overtime! Rehire the jobless millions by a six-hour shift!
- 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!
- No government contract without a union contract! The closed shop in all war industries!
- Maintain and increase all government social services!

SOAK THE RICH—LET THEM PAY FOR THEIR WAR!

- A government levy on capital to cover the cost of the imperialist war. Confiscate all war profits!
- Conscrip all war industries under workers' control!
- 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!

- The right of free speech, free press and free assembly for the men in the armed forces
- Sixty dollars a month minimum for draftees!

SMASH JIM CROW!

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

BE PREPARED!

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