

There is hardly a worker who does not know that while there has been a "wage freeze" for labor, none exists for the bosses, the bankers, industrial magnates, brokers and speculators who live off the work of millions of Americans. LABOR ACTION has continually published the evidence to show that "equality of sacrifice" was one of the big jokes put over on the workers in the present war economy.

While the wages of labor have been frozen and made to conform to the Little Steel formula, while wage demands of workers in auto, rubber, steel, lumber, textiles and numerous other industries have been rejected under the President's so-called stabilization program, the salaries and bonuses of the capitalists were permitted to rise by many thousands of dollars each year.

During the year 1943, we published lists of companies and their profits, as well as the salaries of the officials of these concerns. Now the Treasury Department has made public a complete list of 1942 salaries which bears out the contentions we have made about the war burdens being placed on the backs of labor. The year 1943 saw additional rises in big business salaries. As a start, however, we present the following list this week of some of the top dogs among the capitalist "wage earners":

	1942 Salary
Eugene Grace, Bethlehem Steel	\$537,724
Thomas J. Watson, Int'l. Business Machines	425,000
John B. Hawley, Northern Ordnance	400,000
C. E. Adams, Air Reduction Company	115,800
H. F. Atherton, Allied Chemical & Dye	125,000
Charles J. Hardy, American Car & Foundry	120,182
F. A. Stevenson, American Car & Foundry	114,418
C. P. Cooper, American Tel. & Tel.	101,300
W. S. Gifford, American Tel. & Tel.	210,250
Hugh Weed, Carter Carburetor	106,529
W. S. Gray, Jr., Central Hanover Bank	100,159
Winthrop W. Aldrich, Chase Bank	180,800
H. Donald Campbell, Chase Bank	106,500
F. B. Hufnagel, Crucible Steel Co.	150,000
Philip Reed, General Electric	120,000
George E. Wilson, General Electric	167,916
John J. Schumann, General Motors Acceptance	136,809
E. T. Standard, Kennecott Copper Co.	126,150

Supreme Court Receives Lynn "Segregation" Case

The Lynn case, involving the legality of the "Negro quota" system in the selection of men for the armed forces, has assumed broader significance than it originally had, and still has. As a fight for the strict enforcement of the "no discrimination" clause of the Selective Service Act of 1940, the Lynn Committee to Abolish Segregation in the Armed Forces announced that a petition for a rehearing of its habeas corpus proceeding on the case has been filed with the United States Supreme Court. Arthur Garfield Hays and Gerald Weatherly are counsel for the case.

In strongly worded language, the petition points out that although habeas corpus proceedings are generally kept free from technicalities, in the present proceeding, "one of national and transcendent importance, affecting, as we said in our petition, 'not only the liberties, sensibilities, and self-respect of the thirteen million Negroes of the country, but also the liberties of all others,' the Court has invoked a technicality to dismiss the issue.

The petition points out further that while the suit was necessarily

brought against an Army officer, Col. Downer, in whose custody Lynn technically was, the power to release Lynn or to produce him in obedience to court order really lies with President Roosevelt, whose ultimate responsibility it is also for the "Negro quota" system in the selection and training of men for the armed services.

ORIGIN OF THE CASE

The Lynn case began when Winfred Lynn, now Corporal Lynn, a young Negro gardener of Jamaica, N. Y., advised his draft board in 1942 that he would not serve in a segregated unit. Required to submit to induction in order to test the legality of his position, he did so and then brought a habeas corpus suit. His case reached the Supreme Court during its last session, and on May 29 the court announced its decision not to review the case "on the ground that the cause is moot, it appearing that the petitioner (Lynn) no longer is in respondent's (Col. Downer's) custody." At the time his suit was brought, Lynn was in the "custody" of Col. Downer, commandant at

(Continued on page 3)

Bosses in Wartime Salary Grab!

LABOR ACTION

JULY 24, 1944

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

CIO Plays Bad Politics at FDR's Convention!

Wage Cuts Cause U. S. Rubber Strike

DETROIT—Wage cuts and a lockout of about a dozen men who objected to them led to a walkout in the mill and press rooms at the Detroit plant of the U. S. Rubber Co.

The men on all three shifts stopped work for several hours on July 11 and 12, forcing other departments to shut down. They returned to work with a partial victory after John Marmon, newly elected president of Local 101 of the United Rubber Workers, and Richard Raglyn, chairman of the top bargaining committee of the local, did their best to isolate the walkout and to high-pressure the men back to work.

On pay day, July 10, a group of workers on the plasticators, one of the dirtiest, unhealthiest and most back-breaking jobs in the plant, discovered that their pay checks were from \$14 to \$16 short. Investigation revealed that the company had arbitrarily and without consultation with the men reduced the piecework rates on the job. When these men protested and demanded that they be taken off the job and given other work, they were fired in short order.

The men in the mill and press room, realizing that the conditions of all the men in the shop, a large majority of whom work at piecework, were endangered, stopped work in solidarity with the discharged workers. White and Negro workers alike left their machines.

At meetings of the men, Marmon and Raglyn could offer no advice except this: "We must live up to the no-strike pledge and go back to work."

They could propose only that the

(Continued on page 2)

Holding The Bag Again!



As we forecast in our reports of the Republican convention, the real show took place at the Democratic convention. On the surface, at least, the Democratic Party is the party with the widest range of differences and interests.

Big business was more than amply represented. It was there in person; it was also there in spirit and in practice. The whole thought and direction of the Democratic convention resolved itself in the determination to maintain the capitalist system of profit for the rich and poverty for the workers.

But labor was also there, more directly than in the GOP gathering. The CIO Political Action Committee, an intimate part of the convention, participated in many of its deliberations. As a matter of fact, it was the power in several of the most important state delegations.

The Northern industrial interests clashed with the Southern bourgeois. But that wasn't all. The social and cultural differences between the North and the South were conspicuously present in the fight between the CIO and the policy makers over a "satisfactory" plank on the question of racial discrimination, Jim Crow and social, political and economic equality for all minorities. At this point the vicious doctrines of the Southern Democrats made itself felt in their rejection of any important compromises on these problems.

MACHINE RUN CONVENTION

Here again, as in the Republican convention, program was secondary. Being practical politicians, the Democrats were more concerned with the question of votes. This was a convention of party wheelhorses, ward-healers, bell-pushers and machine bosses accepting Roosevelt for a fourth term because they knew that he was the only candidate with whom the party can win another election. The stakes are high; the trough is full and ready to be emptied. Therefore better take Roosevelt, even though we don't want him, than to run someone more to our liking and lose.

Roosevelt was so sure of his candidacy that he took an apparent aloof attitude to the Stadium meeting. But actually he not only dictated his own candidacy; he dictated the main parts of the platform as well. Outstanding, however, was the manner in which he threw the convention into an uproar over the candidacy of Wallace for Vice-President. His endorsement of Wallace was like a kiss of death.

What did Roosevelt say about the man who had been his associate for

(Continued on page 4)

Michigan CIO Retreats from Its 1943 Militancy

By MARTIN HARVEY

GRAND RAPIDS—Over 1,600 delegates from Michigan CIO unions met here from July 12 through July 15 in a convention which dealt the CIO and the labor movement generally a severe blow. The seventh annual convention of the Michigan CIO Council, dominated, as usual, by the Auto Workers, considered the problems facing organized labor and on two major issues—the no-strike pledge and political action—reversed the progressive stand taken by the 1943 convention.

Last year the convention had opposed the no-strike pledge and supported the principle of a Labor Party. Both decisions were ignored by the state CIO leadership to the extent of violating the mandate of the convention which had demanded a referendum of CIO members on the Labor Party question. This year the Addes and Reuther caucuses, which dominate the Michigan CIO, united to pressure through a reversal on both questions.

FIGHT OVER NO-STRIKE PLEDGE

The major issue at the convention was the no-strike pledge. The resolutions committee reported out a resolution which reaffirmed the pledge but attacked Harry Bridges and the Communists by condemning those "inside or outside the labor movement who propose to continue the no-strike pledge in time of peace." A minority resolution was reported out by John Zupan of Willow Run Local 50, UAW-CIO. It resolved:

"1. That this convention of the Michigan State CIO Council go on record for the rescinding of the no-strike pledge.

"2. That the Michigan CIO convention calls upon the national CIO either to rescind the no-strike pledge, or to conduct a national referendum among its membership to decide whether to reaffirm or rescind this pledge.

"3. That the Michigan CIO con-

vention instructs the incoming State Executive Board to give full and favorable publicity to the workers' side of the story in any strike situation that may be provoked within the state during the coming year."

All the big guns of the CIO leadership were turned on the minority resolution. All the major speeches by CIO brass-hats were devoted to fighting the growing sentiment against the no-strike pledge. James Carey of the national CIO, George Addes of the Auto Workers, Adolph Germer of the CIO and others who took up half of the convention's time, saved their main arguments to support the no-strike pledge.

GANGING UP ON MILITANTS

In an obviously staged scene, Chairman John Gibson ignored the rules of order and called on a delegate who asked a sailor who had just finished speaking to the convention what the servicemen in the South Pacific would think if the no-strike pledge were revoked. The sailor, who had no "official" standing in the convention or in its deliberations, answered: "I am not a union man, but I think about eighty per cent of the men in the South Pacific are. I know they would feel terribly let down."

Despite the speeches and flag-waving, sentiment for the revocation of the pledge was obviously increasing and consideration of the pledge was moved up from Friday to Thursday to prevent its increasing further.

Speakers for the majority resolution were given the best possible break on the floor of the convention. Still they could do nothing but repeat the old, worn arguments. Grant, president of Ford Local 800, charged that nothing had been gained by strikes. He ignored, of course, the strike in Windsor, Ont., where Ford workers had achieved a smashing victory. And he ignored, too, the gains made by the United Mine Workers in their strikes. He didn't bother to consider the question of whether

more strikes would be won if the CIO leaders backed the workers instead of tried to break their strikes.

Paul Webber of the Newspaper Guild argued that revocation of the pledge would defeat Roosevelt and CIO political action. This point will be considered later.

What most of the speakers for the majority resolution had to resort to was irrelevant remarks about the boys at the front and vigorous flag waving. The flag waving got so bad at one point that the delegates from the Flint Chevrolet Local 659 had to go out to buy some American flags to wave back.

The phony appeals to patriotism were effectively answered by Delegate Sarber (Detroit Diesel Local 163), who noted that "As long as management holds that club [the no-strike pledge] over our heads, they're holding it over the heads of the boys in the foxholes."

JAMMING THROUGH A VOTE

Paul Silver, president of Local 351, charged that the leadership opposed a referendum on the no-strike pledge because they feared the decision the rank and file would make.

Jess Ferrazza, president of Local 212, rose to say: "When the leadership can tell us what to do about strikes, we are getting just like the American Federation of Labor."

Chairman Gibson, refusing to recognize several known supporters of the minority resolution, bureaucratically ended the discussion. He ignored repeated demands for a roll call vote on the question. Yet, despite these tactics, one third of the delegates, what the reactionary Detroit News described in an editorial as a "uncomfortably strong minority," voted against reaffirming the no-strike pledge.

The News was justifiably worried about the minority. Local after local announced that it would carry the fight to the UAW convention which will be held in September. And against their defeat in the vote, the

opponents of the no-strike pledge have for the first time an organized caucus outside of both the Reuther and Addes caucuses. The minority rank and file caucus is discussed elsewhere in this issue.

The only other major controversial issue before the convention was political action, which was presented to the delegates as the alternative to strike action. The position of the CIO chiefs was embodied in the resolution in support of the CIO Political Action Committee.

Unfortunately, there was no seri-

ous opposition to this resolution. In what little discussion there was, Matt Hammond, state chairman of the Michigan Commonwealth Federation and president of Local 157, who should have been the spokesman for genuine independent political action—a Labor Party—merely proposed changing one word in the resolution. He asked that "independent" political action be substituted for "effective" political action.

That Hammond wasn't interested in bucking the CIO leadership is demonstrated by his remark that: "I want

War Cost at 200 Billion Dollars!

By T. R. COBB

At the close of the government's fiscal year on June 30, the Treasury Department's bookkeepers turned from their giant ledgers and sent out their annual order for a fresh supply of red ink. The final figures showed that the Second Imperialist World War has cost the people of the United States the staggering sum of two hundred billion dollars since July 1, 1914!

Not only is this the greatest amount of money spent by any country in this war, but the sum is greater than the TOTAL COST OF WORLD WAR I TO ALL THE NATIONS COMBINED. The latter has been estimated at 186 billions from 1914 to 1918.

COSTS FOR DESTRUCTION

The four-year, 200 billion dollar expenditure is equivalent to an outlay of over \$1,500 per person in the United States. President Roosevelt's estimate of war costs for the coming fiscal year is an additional eighty-five billion dollars, which, if spent, will bring the five-year total up to 285 billion by next June, or \$1,260 for every person in the country.

Since these figures are only budgetary and direct expenditures and do not take into consideration the capitalized values in loss of life and property, it is impossible to determine the exact cost of the war to date. However, during the last war these were computed on an equal basis to monies expended for military operations.

What the war has already cost in terms of human suffering, destruction of the wealth and irreplaceable resources of the world cannot be but dimly appreciated by figures. We doubt if there is anyone who will take the time and trouble to count up to a trillion dollars, so we can only offer some yardsticks by which to measure the costs of the war thus far.

It would be enough money to give a \$3,000 house and piece of ground to every family in the United States, England, France, Belgium, Russia, Germany and Italy.

It would be enough money to run all the hospitals in the United States for two hundred years.

It would be enough money to pay the expenses of our public schools for a hundred years.

It would be enough money to pay for the expenses of 1,600 American colleges for four hundred years.

It would be enough money to pay one million retired workers \$1,000 for two hundred years.

Everyone is familiar with the record of the WPA during the years 1933-41, boondoggling notwithstanding. The WPA spent a mere ten billions to help lift the face of the country. Yet it produced many lasting and useful things. Multiply what it produced by twenty and we find:

It would be enough money to build 13,020,000 miles of new roads, 1,500,000 new bridges, 700,000 new public buildings, including schools, hospitals, storage warehouses, garages and post offices.

It would be enough money to build 560,000 miles of new storm and sanitary sewers and 400,000 miles of new water mains and 80,000 new sewage treatment plants, pumping stations and other utility plants.

It would be enough money to build 160,000 new parks, 32,000 new swimming pools, 200,000 new tennis courts and 100,000 new playgrounds and athletic fields.

It would make possible 640,000,000 visits to families in need of house-keeping service, the completion and free distribution of 7,660,000,000 garments and 2,360,000,000 other household articles to needy families and institutions.

It would provide twenty-four billion free lunches to school children. ALL OF THESE COMPUTATIONS ARE INCLUSIVE, THAT IS, THE 200 BILLION DOLLARS THAT THE WAR HAS COST THUS FAR WOULD PAY FOR ALL OF THESE BENEFITS TOGETHER!

We could go on ad infinitum, listing how many life and health insurance policies the money could buy, what an annual income it could provide for how many years, but these figures will soon be antedated. When the war is over and the final tabulations are made, the list of good things that the money of destruction could have bought will be expanded many, many times.

(Note: All of the estimates made in the above were roughly computed on the basis of the eight-year record of the Works Progress Administration as reported on pages 600-601 of the World Almanac for 1944.)

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Ten Million Unemployed Normal, Say Experts

By ALBERT GATES

In our article of last week we considered one aspect of the problem of post-war production and the prospect of unemployment. It was clearly evident that the danger of mass unemployment was acute. The problem is somewhat complicated by the fact that the war is really two in one. Even if the war should end in Europe, say within another year, there is still the war with Japan to be concluded. This situation is merely a guarantee that only greater confusion will exist than now, while the war in Europe is still on.

Consider this: American industry has undergone a tremendous expansion since the war broke out in Europe. Production exceeded the most optimistic hopes of the capitalist economists, industrialists, government administrators. Raw materials were strictly controlled. Payrolls rose by many millions. All this production was for war purposes. Yet the most interesting thing about this vast expansion of industry and production is that while many billions of dollars were spent for war goods, the production of non-war good also broke all records.

Now the fact of the matter is that the war goods produced by the workers have been so vast that cutbacks are already taking place. They will take place with increasing speed as the months go by.

Last week we reported the announcement made by R. J. Thomas, president of the Auto Workers Union, to the effect that, by the end of 1944, 1,650,000 workers will be out of jobs in the following industries: munitions, aircraft, shipbuilding, steel and aluminum.

It is quite possible that immediately after the close of the war in Europe and the war in the Far East too, a period of continued production and employment will take place. The same thing happened after the last war. The post-war crash came, even though it was a year to a year and a half after the end of the war. There's the rub. The big crash now may not come until a passage of time after the close of this war, but the prospects are more terrifying than they were twenty-five years ago.

There will be large-scale unemployment in this country even BEFORE a crash comes. This is guaranteed by the "expansion of industry and the increase in the working population. The situation has reached the point where government and business economists regard an unemployed army of ten million as "normal." These experts now say that if unemployment can be kept down to that figure we shall be doing well!

In our first article we cited certain figures to indicate the problem. They will stand repeating. There are today over ten million more workers than

in 1940 and the national income (measure of production) is more than forty billion dollars greater. All of this production and employment was stimulated by the great demands of the war.

HOW MANY MILLION?

If production in the first six months of the post-war period is maintained at the high peacetime level of 1940, there will be a minimum of 11,000,000 unemployed. According to Leo Cherne, economist, the end of the war will witness 12,000,000 workers laid off in war plants.

How can this be avoided? By transferring war production at its present level to peacetime civilian production. Concretely, it means American industry would have to produce forty to fifty billion dollars' worth of civilian goods more than was produced in 1940.

Where are the plants to produce these goods? They are right here in the country. They are owned now by the government, having been built for the sole purpose of producing the goods of war. To carry out the aims of the "liberals" and the labor leaders would mean that all these new plants, built and owned by the government, would have to be kept working, with government money, to produce the needs of life and to keep the overwhelming majority of the American workers on jobs.

Can it be done? Yes, with the program advocated by LABOR ACTION. Turn the new plants which big business wants closed or turned over to it for a song, to the unions to operate. Let the plants produce goods under workers' control. Let them produce consumer goods to provide for the needs of the people and to produce such a wealth of goods as can increase the standard of living of the masses of people to a much higher level.

This is exactly the kind of idea that capitalism fights. The interest of big business is solely in profits. They are not interested in high level production merely to keep factories going and workers employed. They are interested in production only insofar as it is profitable. No profits, no production. And they have made it abundantly clear already that they do not intend a vast production program unless it is profitable.

In the meantime, cutbacks have al-

ready resulted in more unemployment than anyone dared think a few months ago. While professional "patriots" and labor-baiters go on in their campaign against the workers, factories are closing down, or war contracts are cancelled. Brewster was one example, perhaps the first. Now there are others.

Where workers who become unemployed as a result of cutbacks do find other jobs, they are at a lower rate of pay. The New York Post survey, made of large war firms in the New York area, shows that workers laid off because of cutbacks get new jobs at an average pay cut of \$20 weekly.

These wage cuts take place now, in the very midst of the war, and there is no prospect of any relief from these conditions for thousands and thousands of workers. The cost of living continues upward. Wages are frozen. Cutbacks are beginning and unemployment rears its head. These are a grave danger to the American workers.

Chicago UAW Local 719 Votes Against No-Strike Pledge

Whereas, the pledge given by the labor unions not to strike for the duration of the war has proved to be the greatest mistake ever made by the labor movement in its long and turbulent history; and

Whereas, the employers have taken advantage of the no-strike pledge from the very first day it was given to launch a vicious and planned attack against the unions and the living standards of the workers in order to insure themselves fabulous profits; and

Whereas, the no-strike pledge has made it possible for the employers, through their No. 1 stooge agency, the War Labor Board, to maintain that shameful and ignominious insult, the Little Steel formula; and

Whereas all the promises to labor by the Administration, made in return for the no-strike pledge, namely, price stabilization, salary limitation to \$25,000 a year, no excess profits out of the war, etc., have not been kept—on the contrary: we have received a wage freeze, a job freeze, and an increase in prices to the tune of 45.3 per cent, plus the Connally-Smith bill; and

Whereas, without the fundamental and basic right to strike our union is impotent in meeting the all-out attack of big business; and

Whereas, we must start battling now to assure jobs, union working standards, and a rising standard of living not only for those working in industry today but also, to the many millions serving in the armed forces in every corner of the globe;

Therefore be it resolved that Local 719 recommends to the national convention of the UAW that it rescind the no-strike pledge immediately and without equivocation. Only by taking such a position can we regain the ground we have lost and go on to new victories in the best traditions of the UAW and the CIO.

How The Stalinists Won The Kearny Shipyard Election

KEARNY, N. J.—The "Unity" slate, right-wing Stalinist bloc, defeated the "Rank and File" progressive slate in an election in Local 16, CIO Shipbuilders' Union here.

Local 16, with about 25,000 members, is bargaining agent for workers in the Federal Shipbuilding & Drydock, a U. S. Steel subsidiary employing 40,000.

The occasion for the election was the restoration of autonomy to the local, which has been governed for the past year by an administrator appointed by the General Executive Board.

STALINIST PROGRAM

The "Unity" program included many worth-while demands, none of which, however, answered the question of HOW they were to be attained. Election of FDR to a fourth term and election of liberal congressmen were the only points pretending to deal with the question.

The vote for president was: Unity, 7,282; Rank and File, 2,985 (first count).

CAUSES OF DEFEAT

The reasons for the defeat of the progressive forces are as follows:

1. No campaign for the program of the progressive group PRIOR to the election campaign.
2. A late start in the election campaign, with only two leaflets explaining the Rank and File program, while the Stalinists let loose a daily barrage of propaganda.
3. Too small a nucleus of conscious supporters in the shop, compared to the well organized Stalinist machine.
4. A terrific campaign by the Stalinists against a man who held office a year ago before the autonomy was lifted, and who ran on the Rank and File slate. The charges were neither proved by one side nor answered by the other. The Stalinists cleverly exploited them to make capital of the workers' desire for a change by identifying themselves as the "new" crowd fighting against the "old."
5. The workers do not yet recognize the Stalinists as Stalinists, since they have never controlled the local

nor had a chance to expose themselves.

6. The fact that several Negroes ran on the Unity slate as compared with only one on the Rank and File (due partly to the Rank and File allowing themselves to be out-manuevered) with unscrupulously used by the Stalinists and was worked to death by them.

NO TEST ON PROGRAM

Thus the defeat of the Rank and File slate cannot be interpreted as a defeat of their program. Two pieces of literature do not automatically win the allegiance of workers who have never heard of a group. While the workers may agree with a program, it must be held continuously before them for their consideration and discussion.

Michigan CIO Militants Set Up Caucus

GRAND RAPIDS — Practically the only progressive result of the recently concluded convention of the Michigan CIO was the formation of a rank and file caucus independent of both the Addes and Reuther groups.

Composed entirely of United Auto Workers' locals, organization of the caucus began shortly before the convention. In the Detroit area, under the leadership of Larry Yost of the Ford River Rouge aircraft unit, John Zupan of Willow Run Local 50, William Jenkins of Chrysler Local 490, a committee was organized on the basis of a three-point program:

1. Rescind the no-strike pledge.
2. For independent political action.
3. Remove the brass-hats from the international leadership and substitute for them officers who represent the rank and file.

At the same time, committees were set up in Flint, Lansing and other auto towns. In Flint, chief support for the move came from the Chevrolet Local 659, Bert Boone, president; F. R. Palmer, head of the

The fact that various elements had never done anything in support of the program of the group, yet nevertheless ran on the slate, is a partial explanation of the lack of respect with which the slate was received by the workers. It is also an explanation for the lack of proper functioning of the group in the past.

PLAN FOR FUTURE

What is needed in the coming period is a fight for a progressive group organized around the Rank and File program, spreading the program far and wide in the yard and involving the best workers in both the struggle for the program and in the progressive group itself. The proved militancy of the Federal Shipyard workers assures the progressives a fertile field for work.

Flint MCF, and Buick Local 599, led by former local President John McGill.

LONG WAY TO GO

At Grand Rapids these and other delegates formed a permanent steering committee consisting of John McGill, chairman, Bert Boone, secretary, Larry Yost, William Jenkins and Carter from the AC Spark Plug local in Flint.

The meetings of this caucus and its activity on the convention floor demonstrated that much work has to be done in preparation for the September convention of the UAW. Most important of these tasks is the achievement of unity within the caucus.

While all caucus members paid lip service to the labor party, there was serious, if undercover, opposition to the MCF and an independent Labor Party at caucus meetings. Chief cen-

CIO State Convention --

(Continued from page 1)

squarely. As it turned out, not only was the MCF ignored, but the position of the minority against the no-strike pledge was weakened because they failed to attack PAC as a supporter of capitalist politicians.

There was no excuse for this failure, for the PAC policy was a house of cards that was easy to tear down. It was made up of fraud and deliberate lies, all to win labor support for Roosevelt.

In the resolution attacking the Smith-Connally Act, the CIO referred to "the courageous and far-sighted veto of President Roosevelt." It would have been a simple matter to point out that Roosevelt vetoed the Smith-Connally Act, in his own words, not because it outlawed strikes and hurt labor, but because it did not do these things effectively enough.

TWO STEPS BACKWARD

Other resolutions supported by the CIO leadership, if they had been worded honestly, would have demonstrated the folly of support to Roosevelt and the Democratic Party.

Regarding the OPA, the convention resolved "that the Michigan CIO Council... go on record to vigorously condemn those who helped to sabotage the Price Control Act..." Yet when CIO leaders demanded a veto of the Price Control Act, Roosevelt not only signed the act but praised

the difficulties that they face and will ter of the opposition was the Buick Local 599, for which the spokesman was Ed Geiger, educational director of the local. Local 599 was supported in their stand by some delegates from the Olds Local in Lansing.

This opposition, which refused to state clearly that it was opposed to an independent Labor Party and also maintained certain ties with the Addes caucus, caused a good deal of confusion in the rank and file caucus. Several of their people ran on the Probe-Addes slate for vice-presidents of the state CIO.

PROSPECTS ARE GOOD

Despite these differences, however, the chances of the new caucus look good. With the proper organizational preparations and unity under a common program, an excellent showing can be made at the UAW convention. The leaders of the caucus appreciate

be able to correct their errors and strengthen their group during the next two months.

It is essential that the base of the caucus be broadened both in Michigan and by contacts with progressive locals throughout the country.

One of the main problems the caucus faced in Grand Rapids, that of agreeing on a common slate of candidates to oppose both old factions, will be solved more effectively at the UAW convention if they continue with their plans for running a full slate for all international officers. Much of the confusion at the state CIO convention resulted from delegates, with no candidates of their own, supporting either Hopkins or Probe for secretary-treasurer.

The coming weeks should show more clearly how successful the rank and file leaders will be.

The election of seventeen vice-presidents is not yet determined at this writing. The only thing of interest in this contest is the slate of five or six rank and file candidates pledged to opposition to the no-strike pledge. Their chances were considerably decreased by the distribution of a so-called independent delegate slate with candidates from both the Hopkins and Probe tickets.

Rubberworkers In Detroit Walk Out---

(Continued from page 1)

men do nothing while the usual endless negotiations through miles of governmental red tape proceeded.

Good union men at the meetings pointed out that it took the company only five minutes to cut the rates and discharge the men. It should take only another five minutes for management to rescind these actions.

The men returned to work after the discharged workers were put back on the job. But so far no one seems to know whether the company has rescinded its wage cut or not. If any of the union leaders do know, they are keeping it secret. Next pay day will tell the full story.

WORLD EVENTS

By Europacus

NEUTRAL SOURCES SAY GERMAN WORKERS ARE ANTI-NAZI

Rex Stout and his crowd raise their voices louder and louder shouting their racist doctrine that the German people as a whole is responsible for Nazi crimes. They try thus to give some sort of crooked justification for the imperialist plans to split up Germany into spheres of influence for the Big Three. The neutral press, however, especially the democratic papers of Sweden and Switzerland, which can hardly be accused of any particular liking for the Nazis, nearly every day gives further proof of the fact that the German people as a whole, most of all the workers, are opposed to Nazi-fascism and combat it with all means at their disposal. Here are some excerpts from recent issues which have arrived in this country.

The Swiss weekly Weltwoche of January 7 states that the attempts of

the Nazis to imbue the German workers with the conviction that they belong to a "master race," in order to make them look down on the conscripted foreign workers, have completely failed. The Swiss paper states: "The German war workers are giving countless daily proofs of their friendly attitude toward their foreign colleagues, whose situation is worse than their own. They begin by giving them cigarettes, then clandestine gifts, food and even financial and technical help to those who have deserted from conscription and to escaped prisoners of war, to whom they also give ration cards, civilian clothes and shelter in private hiding places. There have also been numerous cases of mothers who have lost their sons in the war who have sheltered fugitive prisoners of war and conscripted workers."

GERMAN WORKERS HELP FOREIGN COMRADES

A Southwestern German Nazi paper recently stated with indignation that when foreign workers approach Germans for bread or bread coupons: "Women are frequently unable to refuse and hand them whole bread cards, fruits and sometimes money. Especially zealous defenders of this sentimentality go as far as hurrying with a full shopping bag to distribute bread among the poor prisoners. When called to account the women reply that the prisoners are also human beings."

German workers do not only try to help their foreign comrades by every means at their disposal, but they also fight actively wherever they can. The Swedish paper Svenska Dagbladet recently reported:

"It is now confirmed that it was German sailors who did not want to go to sea in their vessels, which were under repair in Oslo, who put sand in the bearings, which now are an irreplaceable piece of machinery. Several Germans, including officers, were arrested and sent to Germany for punishment."

The official Nazi news agency, DNB, broadcast the following note on July 14:

"Victor Kroll of Antonienhuette, Upper Silesia, repeatedly placed subversive inscriptions in public places on his way to his place of work. He was caught by his compatriots and reported to the authorities. The People's Court condemned him as a traitor of the people and sentenced him to death. The sentence has already been carried out."

INCREASING CONFLICTS WITH OFFICIALS

The Swedish paper Sydsvenska Dagbladet prints a long report from a Swedish visitor to Germany:

"Illegal leaflets and pamphlets have appeared with increasing regularity since last year. It is known to the Nazis that morale is bad in the factories. There are frequent conflicts between the workers and Labor Service officials. One day in May, forty-two workers, including eighteen women, who had visited an illegal

meeting, were arrested in Leipzig. The population of Berlin is mostly apathetic, war-weary and nervous. A complete change can be noticed among the students, who clearly show pacifist and anti-Nazi tendencies. It is a fact that the authorities were forced to quell some mutinies on the spot by force of arms. 'We live in 1918 in spite of the fact that we write in 1944' is a slogan among oppositional men and women."

Last Call to Send Greetings to 10th Anniversary of New International

A last call for greetings to the Tenth Anniversary Issue of *The New International* was sent out this week by the business manager of that unexcelled journal of revolutionary Marxism, which marks its tenth birthday this month.

Greetings to the magazine, which will finance the publication of a special forty-eight-page number to commemorate the occasion, have been coming in from friends and readers from all parts of the country.

A sample letter, recently received, says the following:

"I have been a subscriber to *The New International* since its first issue and I can hardly believe that ten years have passed since I first began reading the articles and analyses that have shaped and guided my political thinking. I must confess it

made me feel old, but I am glad that the magazine still maintains a spirit of unceasing inquiry and vitality. To me, the fight for socialism is a veritable fountain of youth—it keeps me fresh and hopeful and the NI has contributed much to this feeling."

Enclosed is five dollars for the anniversary issue. Print my initials in big type. I want to read them ten years from now and feel proud that I did my bit."

Minimum greetings to the Anniversary Issue cost \$1.00, but friends and readers are urged to make the contributions as generous as they possibly can.

Address your greeting and the accompanying cash or money order to: *The New International*, 114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y.



WINNING THE RIGHT TO VOTE

Out of the Past

By RUTH PHILIPS

A little over one hundred years ago in this country, the majority of American citizens did not have the right to vote. Only a small minority of the population had that right, which is looked upon today as the basis of American political democracy. At that time, state laws restricted the right to vote and hold public office to the few who owned considerable property.

The majority of the people, who owned nothing but their ability to labor, had to fight a long, hard battle to win the right to vote. The fight was carried on and won by the first unions and political parties of labor organized in this country. They started their fight in the 1820's and by 1850 they had succeeded in abolishing property qualifications for voting and holding office in most states.

The unions were weak and small compared to the CIO and the AFL today. Besides fighting for democratic reforms like the right to vote, they had the job of conducting strikes for higher wages and to shorten the sixteen-hour work day which was the rule then. But that small labor movement held mass meetings, issued one hundred newspapers on the Eastern Seaboard, conducted political campaigns, all devoted to winning the right to vote.

Political democracy in this country was not handed down to the people on a silver platter by a benevolent government. It was won by the "have-nots" through bitter struggle and sacrifice. Maybe, if enough workmen thought that one over for a little while, the next time the "have-nots" go to the polls to exercise their right to vote, there'd be an independent political party of labor to vote for.

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Little Fiorello Is a Four-Alarm Fraud To New York City Firemen

By WALTER WEISS

The CIO's Political Action Committee, having adopted as its general line the good old AFL policy of supporting labor's "friends" and opposing its enemies, has been forced to advise the workers not to expect too much of these "friends."

The trouble is that, when voting records come to be examined, there are so few really friendly ones in Congress. Therefore, the PAC must say: Don't expect a one hundred per cent pro-labor record. A generally good record is all that's necessary. Even a congressman who voted for the Connally-Smith anti-strike law may be acceptable.

ENTER "FRIEND" FIORELLO

You can get a good picture of the real meaning of this "support-our-friends" policy by examining certain recent activities of one of the most prominent and long recognized of our "friends." We chose him because he is really something more than a "friend." Unlike the others, he has gone so far as to enroll himself in a so-called labor party, the American Labor Party of New York. He is constantly consulted by labor leaders about the affairs of this party, and he makes his own proposals toward solving its problems. We refer, of course, to Fiorello H. LaGuardia, Mayor of New York.

Labor leaders consider their biggest problem at present the wage freeze and the rising cost of living. Last November, friend LaGuardia placed the rise in living costs at thirty-two per cent, considerably above the official figure of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. He further pointed out that his estimate did not include the sharp jump in taxes. He stated, very commendably, that he was determined to meet the situation, so far as New York City employees were concerned.

How? Well, the finances of the city couldn't possibly meet even the fifteen per cent standard of the Little Steel formula—the very standard which labor leaders had been attacking for months as utterly inadequate. Besides, real estate certainly couldn't afford more taxes. The solution must therefore be to give only small and temporary bonuses, ranging from five to ten per cent, and to save money by

1. Eliminating almost all regular promotions, and
2. Not filling vacancies resulting from military service.

Under this program, as the Mayor himself stated, "We all will have to work harder and more and longer. I think all will be willing to do so—for our country, for the kiddies."

BENEFACTOR OF REALTORS

It is well known that the only way

many workers have been able to live at all has been by time and a half pay for overtime in addition to full Little Steel formula increases of fifteen per cent. But our friend the Mayor's program is to demand overtime at less than straight time rates and to claim that he has given a bonus. Nobody can deny, however, that he did achieve for the coming year a sharp cut in the tax rate for real estate owners at the very time when the big property holders are enjoying unprecedented prosperity. Recently he delighted these gentlemen still further by proposing a transit tax which would abolish the five cent fare for the working man (under the pretext of preserving it) and would cut the tax rate for real estate twenty-seven points more. Whose friend is he?

The most vigorous, but by no means the only, opposition to the Mayor's program came from the AFL union of firemen. To this important and strongly organized group LaGuardia offered a "big" bonus of \$420 a year in return for working extra hours. The newspapers kept predicting that the firemen would accept the Mayor's proposal, since their top leaders were favorably disposed. The men, however, despite their president, held out for overtime pay at straight rates. They didn't ask for premium rates, such as are paid in private industry,

you will notice, but the Mayor was demanding of them an extra eight-hour day per week and thus offering them about ten cents per hour less than straight rates for the overtime work.



"BUTCH"
The Mayor of New York

LaGuardia's reaction to the firemen's challenge was one typical of labor's "friends," who always say they believe so strongly in collective bargaining. He charged the men with "a spirit of insubordination," cancelled the offer of a bonus, authorized the Fire Commissioner to lengthen hours when and as he felt necessary. He appealed to the men's loyalty to their country, city and profession; reminded them that there was no eight-hour day in the armed forces; wept crocodile tears for the hardships they were causing their

wives and families. To pleadings were added threats: that failure to report for extra duty would be punished as "desertion in time of emergency." In wartime, he roared, overtime pay doesn't apply to any fighting force, not even a fire-fighting force. To this Fire Commissioner Walsh added that, if necessary, he would proclaim continuous duty—a full 168-hour week.

"SIBERIA" FOR OPPONENTS

In the meantime, Mayor LaGuardia warned against "mob rule" in the Fire Department—that is, against a defense of their legal rights by the rank and file. He urged the men to get rid of "smart aleck leaders," that is, any who opposed the Mayor. He scolded them for paying lawyers, who were simply "trying to make money on them," while the generous Mayor was trying to give them some success. He offered, with very little success, to pay the bonus at once to all who would sign a waiver, surrendering any overtime pay that a court decision might order. When all this failed, he disciplined a vice-president of the union and five other men for writing critical letters to the newspapers, on the ground that their action violated departmental regulations. The discipline consisted of transferring the men from areas where overtime was still relatively short to eighty-four-

hour districts and of forcing them, besides, to travel two or three hours a day from their homes to their new stations.

Early in June, the Democratic (Tammany) opposition to the Mayor in the City Council, seeing some political advantage for themselves in the situation, condemned the punitive transfers. ALP Councilman Mike Quill, president of the Transport Workers Union and a notorious hack of Earl Browder's scabby "Communist" Political Association, tried to protect LaGuardia by introducing a resolution that condemned the transfers without mentioning the Mayor. He explained the omission by saying that the newspapers attributed the transfers to the Fire Commissioner. The Democrats, however, gleefully smoked out Quill and forced him to vote for their resolution attacking LaGuardia himself.

"FIREMEN, SAVE OUR FIORELLO"

At the end of June, leaders of the state and city AFL joined with the international president of the firemen's union to urge the men to sign a new waiver which they had arranged after conferences with the Mayor. Under this compromise, says the New York Times, the signers agree to drop their suit, in return for which they will receive the bonus, although not retroactively. If, how-

ever, the highest court of the state, the only remaining court of appeal, should hear the case of any non-signer and rule in his favor, all the firemen will receive the overtime pay ordered but will agree to subtract any bonus already received from this amount.

During the period of seven or eight months when all this and much more of a similar nature was going on, leaders of the so-called American Labor Party, so-called right-wingers and so-called left-wingers alike continued to seek the Mayor's advice and support in their internal struggle for control of the party. To them he was still a "great friend" of labor!

The Mayor now piously proclaims that he merely wants to protect the city from double liability—that is, full overtime pay plus the bonus as well.

Fred Baer, president of the Firemen's International Union, has issued a statement of appreciation for the Mayor's "fairness and cooperation." The other AFL chiefs involved in the conference have endorsed his sentiments to them. The friend of labor is still the friend of labor—just as much as he ever was.

But, brother, ask any New York City fireman—

MASS ACTION

BLS 'Price Index' No Substitute For Real 'Cost of Living' Guide

By DAVID COOLIDGE

According to the "steel analysts," there has been an increase in the number of "outlaw strikes" in the steel industry. It is claimed that the steel scheduling program was being interfered with by the stoppages. This is very interesting. I don't know much about steel scheduling, but I can easily understand that the break-fast and supper schedules of the steel workers are being held up by the Little Steel formula and the refusal of the WLB to render a decision on the steel workers' demands for a seventeen cents an hour wage increase.

Perhaps some of these stoppages were due to the necessity for steel workers to scurry around to get money for the rent. Perhaps the steel workers are finding it difficult to put in the hard day at the mills on the food they can buy with their low wages. Perhaps many of the steel workers are finding it increasingly difficult to make it to the mills without proper clothing, including shoes. And perhaps thousands of steel workers are getting the notion that it just doesn't make sense to work unless you get paid for it. This is particularly true in the case of corporations like the steel companies, which have millions for dividends to loafers and parasites, but expect the men who produce the steel to labor and toil for just enough to keep from starving.

STATISTICS AND STATISTICS

A group of "economic experts" has analyzed the cost of living dispute between the Bureau of Labor Statistics and the AFL-CIO. The only conclusion these "experts" come to that is of any significance is the statement that the BLS finding was not a cost of living index but a price index. This has already been commented on in LABOR ACTION but bears repeated emphasis. "Economic experts" are people who, if they do nothing else, usually succeed in confusing those of us who are not experts in the mysteries of statistics and economic analysis.

It seems clear from the report of the "experts" that the AFL-CIO contentions about the cost of living were and remain correct. What the labor experts said was substantially the following: In order to maintain himself and his family at the former standard, the worker must have more wages than allowed by the Little Steel formula. This is due to the fact that not only are prices higher but that prices have risen faster than wages. It is also true that quality has been lowered. (A pair of socks that one pays sixty-five cents for today are of no better quality than socks that sold for thirty-five cents three years ago.) To this must be added the fact that lower priced goods that workers purchased are not obtainable today.

Neither of these two considerations was noticed by the BLS report. An-

India in Revolt

By Henry Judd
25 Cents Postpaid
WORKERS PARTY
114 W. 14, New York 11, N. Y.

other item not included in the BLS report is income taxes and bond purchases. Even if one argues that bonds are "savings," this money, nevertheless, is not available to the worker unless and until he cashes the bonds. On war taxes, only the most hard-boiled and hypocritical reactionary, the most stupid ass or the most ignorant lout would argue that any good whatsoever accrues to the working class.

The Little Steel formula is bad enough, but the report of the BLS is more vicious because it is an attempt to give expert support to the present wage stabilization scheme. The Little Steel formula pegged the worker's standard of living. This was pointed out in LABOR ACTION at the time the award was made. Even if there had been no increase in prices, the Little Steel formula would have been no less reactionary. Such a wage policy means that a worker who is living in a shack must always live in that same shack. A worker who lives on salt pork and beans will always be confined to the level of salt pork and beans. With the tremendous increase in the real cost of living, the Little Steel formula became only more atrocious.

But along comes the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the federal government, claiming to be talking about the cost of living when these "experts" were really talking about prices. And not all prices even, but only some retail prices. The BLS report wasn't even an adequate examination of price rises. The cost of living is the total amount of money a family must have to live on, irrespective of prices, or at least the total amount a family spends for living. To meet this demand the miners said they must have \$2.00 more a day. The steel workers say they must have seventeen cents an hour increase. The workers' wives are real experts on this question; far more reliable for us than the BLS "experts."

A WORD ON COOS

I would like to ask the crew of the ship that sent some money to pay wages to the strikers at the Wright plant in Cincinnati a few questions. That is, assuming that these men sent this money of their own free will and were not tricked into this choice piece of stupidity by a reactionary, labor-hating commanding officer. The strikers at this Wright plant went on strike because a few Negroes were given better jobs and placed in the department with the white strikers. Now I would like to ask the seamen of this ship: if you had been working at the Wright plant when these Negroes were promoted, what would have been your position? Would you have decided with the Negroes or the strikers?

If these seamen are people who would have sided with the Negroes and defended their right to promotion, then they would not, it seems to me, have placed the emphasis they did merely on the fact that there was a strike of a few workers among several thousands. Furthermore, if these seamen are people who would oppose such an attitude toward Negro workers, they would not lay themselves open to the charge of being anti-labor by acting as they did. They would make an attack on the strikers for being anti-labor and anti-union, because that's what a white worker is who strikes against equal treatment of Negro workers.

Four Million Army Rejections Reveal

U.S. Workers' Health Shattered

By V. JENSEN

Out of the hearings of the Senate Subcommittee on Wartime Health and Education has come the most sensational and alarming report on the health of the American people—a report that will stand as a monument to the ineptitude of capitalism and its criminal disregard of human beings.

Because, in the course of drafting of men into the Army, over four million of them have had to be rejected as unfit for military duty, a situation that causes the military machine no small consternation. A core of most conservative military medical men have had to make public the true picture of the state of health of the "flower of American manhood."

What are some of the facts that this investigation has revealed?

1. One-third of the young men examined for the service have mental or physical diseases.
2. Eight out of every ten draft registrants had at least one physical defect, including those accepted for military service.
3. There are upwards of 23,500,000 people in the United States with chronic diseases or physical impairments.
4. Ninety-five per cent of the American people have dental defects and only thirty per cent of those in need of dental care are getting it.
5. Over one million of the men rejected were rejected as mentally unfit.

WHO MADE THE REPORT?

This, mind you, is the picture of the state of health of what necessarily must be the "healthiest" portion of the population, the young men between the ages of eighteen and thirty-seven. A picture that is drawn not by professional agitators or muck-rakers but by as conservative a group of civilian, medical and military men as could be found, a group which included: Paul McNutt, chairman of the War Manpower Commission and Federal Security Agency; Major-General Lewis Hershey, director of Selective Service; Colonel Rowntree, medical director of the Selective Service System; Admiral Ross T. McIntyre, surgeon-general of the Navy and President Roosevelt's personal

physician, and Major-General George F. Lull, deputy surgeon-general of the Army.

These estimable gentlemen and the Senate subcommittee raised a hue and cry when they found that there was not a healthy pool for their manpower—that is, when they found that American young manhood is not "villainously" mentally and physically, "not fit even for the dubious honor of being cannon fodder. These gentlemen raise their eyes to heaven, tear their hair, utter exclamations such as "lamentable," "dangerous," when describing the health of the nation. BUT, GENTLEMEN, WHERE WERE YOU WHEN THE DAMAGE WAS BEING DONE?

The four million rejectees are the product of the depression—they grew up in a period when, according to government figures, almost nine out of every ten families could not afford to feed either themselves or growing children adequately.

The six major reasons for rejecting volunteers and selectees were poor eyes, poor teeth, chronic heart diseases, musculo-skeletal defects, venereal diseases (now being accepted in infectious states) and mental and nervous diseases and disorders. With the exception of venereal diseases, ALL of these defects can either be directly caused or indirectly affected by malnutrition.

BEHIND BAD HEALTH

Colonel Rowntree traced a direct relationship between low income and ill health. Draft rejections were highest in the Southeastern states, which have the lowest income standards and the poorest medical facilities. Contrary to the popular belief that farm people are healthier than city people, Selective Service figures show a higher rejection rate than in urban areas, which the colonel attributed to the lack of adequate hospital and medical services.

Medical studies and surveys of all sorts have indicated that the United States, one of the richest and most populated countries in the world, has for a vast section of the population a diet inadequate, and deficient and medical facilities inadequate to care for its ill, to say nothing of doing preventive work.

Lynn Case Before High Court--

(Continued from page 1)

Camp Upton, who therefore was named as "respondent." Since then, Lynn has been sent overseas and Col. Downer has been retired from the Army because of his age.

Quoting the Supreme Court itself when it said that "it must never be forgotten that the writ of habeas corpus is the precious safeguard of personal liberty and there is no higher duty than to maintain it," the petition points out that courts have ruled that habeas corpus proceedings "cannot be evaded by passing the body of petitioner from one custodian to another, or by sending it out of the country." The petition emphasizes that the fact that Lynn was placed under another commander and subsequently sent out of the country are matters over which he obviously had no control. And also that since the same situation prevailed when the case was tried in the lower courts, the government, by failing to claim mootness there, had waived the right to claim it here.

FIGHT GOES ON

The petition states: "The real respondent is in fact either the government of the United States or the President of the United States. The

President, nevertheless, cannot be sued as such. Therefore Col. Downer was served with the writ as the mere agent of the President, merely as "the person in whose custody the party is detained." But he is in no sense a real party to the cause. It asks: "Suppose Col. Downer had died or had merely been replaced. Under the most elementary rules the cause would not abate. A new party defendant, his successor, would simply be substituted and the cause would go on as before."

Mr. Hays and Mr. Weatherly were brought into the case by the American Civil Liberties Union. A strong brief in support of the petition has also been filed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which states in part: "The sources of the writ go back to the earliest struggles for freedom. The writ establishes the basic right of freedom from unlawful detention." Other supporting briefs are planned by the Workers' Defense League and the March on Washington Movement.

Detroit Attention

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LABOR LOOKOUT

CIO News Places Labor's Woes At Everyone's Door but FDR's

By SAM ADAMS

Everybody knows that the recent congressional action extending the life of the OPA in a new bill was legislative enactment of a measure in the interests of big business against the consumers. The adoption of a slightly modified version of the Bankhead bill now permits the textile companies to raise prices—an action which will cost consumers an estimated additional \$150,000,000 a year.

This bill was passed despite the opposition of labor, the President and his supporters in Congress. Yet the bill was not vetoed and it became law. The added income resulting from higher prices will not go to the cotton farmers. It will go to manufacturers, who get all the gravy in such situations.

CIO NEWS COMMENTS

The lessons to be drawn from this affair are many, but they are not understood and correctly indicated by the CIO News, which reported this in one of its recent issues. This is what its Washington report says: "One of the strongest arguments for CIO's wage case and for labor political action was furnished—at considerable expense to the workers—in the enforced raising of cotton textile prices this week."

There is hardly a worker in the country who needs strong arguments in favor of wage increases, which is the "CIO's wage case." So far, so good. What is the actual situation in the country? There is a wage freeze! President Roosevelt is primarily responsible for it, since it is incorporated in his seven-point program, of which the wage freeze is the only one to be carried into effect!

How is the wage freeze carried out? Through the war stabilization program under the direction of James Byrnes, Roosevelt's assistant. The specific instrument employed to measure wage increases or the denial of them is the Little Steel formula. The Little Steel formula is one of the most vicious obstacles to wage increases. And the War Labor Board, which acts on the matter of wages, operates on this "principle" to deny wage raises to the hundreds of thousands of workers who need them and who have requested them.

ROOSEVELT'S WAR PROGRAM

All of this is part of Roosevelt's home front war machinery. The War Labor Board, stacked against labor, operating under the Little Steel formula, was set up by Roosevelt. The War Stabilization Board, under Byrnes, was set up by Roosevelt. These are his creations, and the wages of labor have been frozen by his acts.

Roosevelt's defenders, however, say that his whole program was defeated by Congress and that is why there is no "equality of sacrifice." But the obvious answer to that is, if Congress rejected six-sevenths of Roosevelt's program, why did the President carry through the remaining provision, which has hurt the workers of the country?

Sure, Congress is reactionary and anti-labor. What, then, does this make of Roosevelt's program? We shall soon indicate the answer. The CIO News is absolutely correct in saying that what has happened took place "at considerable expense to the workers." But the Bankhead amendment, which was incorporated in the congressional bill extending the life of the OPA, was signed by

Roosevelt (with criticism!). This is what is really important.

The CIO case for higher wages needed no additional evidence. All the evidence for higher wages is present in the high cost of living and the fact that there is a wide discrepancy between wages and living costs. But here are additional facts: the demands of the textile workers, rubber workers, mine workers, auto workers were all rejected by Roosevelt's boards and executives! Now the steel case is before the WLB. This is an election year and anything can happen. But in the meantime, the workers go without necessary wage increases and their living standards decline.

WHAT KIND OF ACTION?

What about labor political action? We agree, these conditions are the "strongest arguments... for labor political action." How does the CIO News interpret this? It means by labor political action, the setting up of bodies, like the Political Action Committee, to support capitalist candidates of either the Republican or Democratic Parties. In the case of the presidential elections they are actively campaigning for the fourth term. The sum and substance of the CIO "labor" political action is to become a tail-end to one of the boss parties.

You would think that their story, referred to above, would indicate the necessity for really "independent" political action, yet we find that in spite of all the damaging evidence against both parties and their banner-bearers, from Roosevelt to the most unimportant congressman, the CIO leaders are playing a game calculated to defeat the best interests of labor.

The political policy of the CIO means support to Roosevelt, his party and the leaders of that party. They include not only the liberal wing of Wallace et al., but the reactionaries and Bourbon poll-taxers from the South. Hillman and his aides, many of them hired directly from the list of Democratic unemployed politicians, are working day and night to tie labor to the party of Roosevelt, Byrd, Rankin, O'Daniel, Kelly, Farley, Hauge, Flynn, Byrnes, etc.

Yes, the whole situation in the country dictates the necessity for labor political action, but it dictates the necessity for "independent" action. It dictates the necessity for labor to organize its own political party, to run its own candidates and to develop its own program which seeks to advance the interests of labor against those of big business. Roosevelt's program is a program designed to aid big business. If you don't believe that just compare the attitude of the Administration toward wage increases on the one hand, and the huge war profits that industry is getting out of the war effort on the other.

Can labor build its own party? With the great union movement it can be done. The Political Action Committee has raised and will spend almost a million dollars for a campaign to support capitalist candidates. Such energy, organization and finances applied to the task of building a political organization of the workers, a Labor Party, would yield phenomenal results. This is a prime task of the American labor movement.

Stalinism Gets Free Help-- 'The Militant' Is At It Again

How can you aid Stalinism even if you are against it? How can you spread the worst lies and deceptions of Stalinism while calling yourself a "Trotskyist"? The Militant, spokesman of the Socialist Workers Party, gives the answer. Speaking of Rumania and Russia in its July 15 issue, it writes:

"Stalin seeks to give to the Red Army, the great liberating army of socialism founded by Lenin and Trotsky, the ignominious role of gendarme of capitalist property." You see, Stalin only "seeks" to give the "Red" Army an ignominious role. He hasn't yet succeeded. You see, the Russian army is not "Red," but it is still the "great liberating army of socialism."

This is what these self-styled Trotskyists write, and not for the first time. Trotsky, however, back in 1939, declared that "the Red Army... is an instrument in the hands of the Bonapartist bureaucracy." In other words, it is the tool of the Stalinist counter-revolution. It is the tool used by Stalin among the peoples in the territory he conquers "to convert them into his own semi-slaves," as Trotsky said further. That is why,

we presume, Trotsky added that "We do not entrust the Kremlin with any historic mission. We were and remain against seizures of new territories by the Kremlin." (All these quotations are from Trotsky's "In Defense of Marxism.")

The Militant, which calls itself "Trotskyist," describes this tool of the Bonapartist bureaucracy, of semi-slavery, of the "counter-revolutionary workers' state,"—as "the great liberating army of socialism." That is how it spreads, or rather continues to spread, one of the fundamental lies of Stalinism.

In the same article, The Militant speaks of the "continuing social ownership of all property in the Soviet Union," and declares that "socialized property remains" in Russia. Time and again we have pointed out to The Militant that this is not only a lie, violating all the facts and the basic theories of Marxist socialism, but that it is THE fundamental lie of the Stalinist bureaucracy and its philosophy. In his book, "The Revolution Betrayed," Leon Trotsky

wrote, as early as 1936:

"The new [Stalinist] constitution—wholly founded, as we shall see, upon an identification of the bureaucracy with the state, and the state with the people—says: '... the state property—that is, the possessions of the whole people.' This identification is the fundamental sophism of the official doctrine... the higher the Soviet state rises above the people, and the more fiercely it opposes itself as the guardian of property to the people as its squanderer, the more obviously does it testify against the socialist character of this state property." (Page 236f. Our emphasis.)

This is not the first time we have called the direct attention of The Militant to this quotation. But it is so hell-bent-for-leather to idealize and embellish Stalin's counter-revolutionary state that it continues to ignore Trotsky's view in favor of spreading "the fundamental sophism" of the official Kremlin doctrine. Trotsky speaks accurately of "state property" in Russia. The Militant, following the Stalinists, keeps speaking of "socialized property" and the "social ownership of property" in Russia.



What Russia Wants in Germany

By J. R. JOHNSON

The Red Army is on the borders of Germany and Mike Gold, the Stalinist columnist, writes as follows in the Daily Worker of July 17:

"What can be our duty but to disarm them once and for all? Unless—unless the German Revolution first disarms and destroys this cancer in the heart of Germany, Europe and the world."

This gives the impression, and is intended to give the impression, that the Stalinists favor a German revolution to destroy fascism. At the same time Stalin and the Stalinist diplomats are collaborating closely with Anglo-American imperialism, working out the most abominable plans for the suppression of the German people. This is a carefully-worked-out tactic, and is a valuable example of the role the Stalinist bureaucracy, the Stalinist Red Army and the Stalinist parties in the various countries are playing in international relations. It is worth some examination.

WHAT HAPPENED BEFORE

In 1918 there was a revolution in Germany. The revolution, however, did not touch the foundations of imperialist Germany, the ownership by a small group of capitalists of German heavy industry, the ownership of the large landed estates by the Junkers, the grip on the state-machine by the German bureaucracy, dominated and controlled by these very Junkers. A republic was established but the capitalist system remained.

Fifteen short years saw Hitler in power and the same capitalist interests took the German people along the same road which had led to the catastrophe of 1918.

We therefore face the question: What kind of revolution is needed in Germany? First of all, a revolution which would tear out and crush the Nazi regime. But this revolution cannot merely repeat the errors of 1918. It must stamp out capitalist property and create a socialist society. The Krupp, Thyssen, Stinnes and the other heavy industrialists, the German aristocracy, the von this and von that and von the other must be thrown out of power once and for all. The disasters these people have brought to Germany within the last

thirty years, the tortures they have inflicted on the German workers, the barbarism which they and their imperialist rivals have imposed on Europe, these repeated crimes make it a pressing necessity not only to punish them but to break their economic power.

This is the revolution Germany needs. And even a few liberals (with much chattering of teeth and stammering) sometimes go so far as to say that the power of the Junkers (at least) should be destroyed.

Is this the revolution the Stalinists are for? No such thing!

It is known that Stalin in Moscow has been nursing a committee of Germans captured in battle. This committee organizes, publishes propaganda and agitation and broadcasts to Germany. Many of its most important members are Junkers. They are generals, colonels, colonel-generals, and the head is a relative of the German statesman Bismarck, who was a Junker of Junkers. These people call upon the German people and the German army to overthrow Hitler. But that is all. They are Junkers. Wouldn't it be fantastic to expect them to lead a revolution against themselves and their own property?

With them on that committee are some Stalinist bureaucrats, old members of the Communist Party of Germany. In their journal they publish articles which say that although there must be a revolution against Hitler, what took place in 1918 must at all costs be avoided.

What took place in 1918 was that the workers formed soviets and the leaders of the German Social-Democratic Party had such power in their hands that they could have done what they pleased with the German economy. But, as we saw, they did nothing. Even this is too much for the Stalinists today. If there is a revolution they want it under the control of anti-Hitler German officers and the German army. If there is no revolution, then British imperialism, American imperialism and Stalinist imperialism will be able to "disarm" the German people at their ease.

So the Stalinist government plots with Roosevelt and Churchill for the suppression of the Ger-

man and the European people. Meanwhile, Stalin's committee, packed with Junkers, gets ready to bridle the German revolution and leave the bridle in safe hands. Meanwhile, as the Red Army approaches East Prussia, the stronghold of the Junkers, Mike Gold says that the Germans will have to be disarmed—UNLESS there is a revolution. Thus the American workers are being prepared for any situation which may arise.

In Germany itself the Stalinists can incite agitation against the Hitler regime and point to those workers who hate the Junkers, the old communists who are members of Stalin's committee. They serve as guarantee to the workers and peasants that they can have confidence in it.

That is the Stalinist international organization, with its representatives both in the councils of capitalism and in the councils of the worker. They cannot fool Roosevelt or Churchill. But they can do untold mischief among the workers. One of the most important needs of working-class leadership is a vigilant eye on them, not only for their reactionary, anti-working class policies on the national scene, but for the inexhaustible variety of the ways and means by which they plot to deceive the workers.

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Walter White, Still on His Knees, Proves

Negroes Need a Labor Party

By W. F. CARLTON

In his speech last Sunday in Chicago, Walter White gave a beacon-like exposition of the defeatism and hopelessness of Negro politicians today. Negroes, he said, were not deceived by the "dishonest and stupid" platform of the Republican Party. Very good.

The Republican platform is not stupid, from the point of view of the Republican leaders. In fact, when they declare that they are in favor of a permanent FEPC they are very smart. They are angling for the important Negro vote. They have seen the Democrats and Republicans in Congress kick the FEPC around and they too can do their share of kicking a permanent FEPC around—if they win the election and decide to make the FEPC permanent.

No, the stupidity of the platform lies in the fact that even as a platform, that is to say, as promises, it shows no serious intention of changing the inferior status of Negroes in the United States. And the Negroes, by and large, can see this.

WHITE ON THE SPOT

But, if so, what? Here White and all the Negro New Dealers are in a tough spot. At the time of his speech, there was uncertainty as to who the vice-presidential nominees would be. The Southern bloc was making a desperate effort to force a Southerner into the post. Said White:

"We may have to submit to temporary defeat... for we cannot run the risk—so desperate is our plight—of an anti-Negro figure as heir-apparent to the most powerful position in the world today."

Isn't that a remarkable confession of bankruptcy, past, present and future? The United States has had twelve years of the Roosevelt Administration. During these years Roosevelt has exercised such power as no previous President of the United States. Yet, says White, "our plight is so desperate" that everything now hangs on who will be elected—Vice-President.

But what about the President? If he is re-elected, what possibility is there of the Negro plight being less desperate after four more years?

DEMOCRATS PROMISE WORSE

This concentration on who will be President and who will be Vice-President is merely a symbol of the superficial, personal approach which White and his type make to the whole question.

The Republican platform is stupid and dishonest? Agreed. But this same stupid and dishonest platform has carried dismay and confusion into the ranks of the Democratic Party. The threats and disruptive activities of the Southern bloc have, among other objectives, this: They wish to prevent the Democratic platform from containing anything which can be interpreted as a departure from the principle of "white supremacy." Every fool knows this, and Walter White is no fool.

We can predict with certainty that whatever platform comes out of the Democratic Party it will be infinitely more dishonest on the Negro question than the Republican platform. Not because Republicans are more honest, but because their lack of support in the South enables them to say things which cannot affect their voting strength in that region.

Walter White knows this as well as any living man. But he can't shout loud about that, because if both platforms are dishonest, then what shall we do?

THE REALITY IS CLEAR

The hard reality forces itself upon him, however, and he confesses, "We may have to submit to temporary defeat." He threatens the Democratic

Party. If, says he, a Southerner is nominated to the Vice-Presidency, "you can kiss the Negro vote good-bye." Where will it go then? To the "stupid and dishonest" Republicans?

So the future of Negroes hangs on whether Wallace or James Byrnes or Supreme Court Justice Douglas or Senator Barkley is chosen as Vice-Presidential nominee for the 1944 elections. No Negro of any intelligence can believe that.

The real difficulty of White is of course that he can conceive of no other politics than capitalist politics. If he lived to be as old as Methuselah, as he sees it, he will, every four years, be compelled to choose between "stupid and dishonest" Republicans and the Democrats, with race-ridden Southerners high up in the party councils.

And yet there is a third way. That way is the way of the Labor Party. If the masses of Negroes have gained some benefits from the New Deal (WPA, relief, etc.), it is not because the New Deal was favorable to Negroes but because it had to make concessions to labor, organized and unorganized. The Negroes gained a little because they were members of the working class. It is only another proof that the only party which can seriously tackle the Negro question is a party of organized labor.

WHITE THROWS UP HIS HANDS

But, says White, there is no Labor Party: we have to choose between the stupid and dishonest Republicans and the stupid and dishonest Democrats. That is the road, not to temporary but to permanent defeat, and shows that White and all his kind are leading the Negro people backward. It is a confession of defeatism,

of cowardice, of time-serving, of capitulation to the capitalist idea that Negroes must forever live on crumbs from the big tables.

Negro leaders were not always like that. A hundred years ago, the Whig Party and the Democratic Party took the same attitude toward Negro slavery as both Republicans and Democrats take to Negro emancipation today. Hundreds of Negro leaders worked in the Abolitionist movement. They fought to build a new party, The Liberty Party, the Free Soil Party, all had Negro support, and Frederick Douglass was one of the great pillars of the New Republican Party which achieved the abolition of slavery.

NEED A NEW PARTY

Today we need a party which will lead the nation to the reconstruction of the whole social order in an even more drastic way than the revolutionary Republicans reconstructed America of the chattel slaves. That party can only be a party of organized labor. This is the necessity of the day. This is what Negroes must work for. By throwing all their weight into the struggle for such a party they can be sure to have Negro rights made an essential part of its program and platforms. They will assist in the destruction of the vested interests in North and South which fatten on Negro economic and social degradation.

That is the way, the only way.

White's walls and complaints and empty threats show that even in his own eyes, the Republican and Democratic promises have no substance whatever.

Democrats Bag CIO---

(Continued from page 1)

twelve years, eight as his Secretary of Agriculture and four as Vice-President? He wrote that Wallace was his friend and that he liked him. Therefore, he would vote for him if he were a delegate to the convention. However, the President added, he was not inclined to make his attitude prevail over the convention, and the convention could do as it pleased.



"INDISPENSABLE"

In the midst of the most furious campaign by the reactionaries in the party against Wallace, it threw the convention into an uproar and turned it into what reporters aptly called "a vice-presidential nominating convention."

At the time of this writing, Wallace is in Chicago to help fight his own battle against the opposition of the big party bosses. His chief ally was

the CIO and its PAC. With a left-handed endorsement by Roosevelt and the opposition of the big-wigs, it is impossible at the time of this writing to tell the outcome of the race. But it is really not decisive, except insofar as it reveals the real character of the Democratic Party in its inability to accept at face value a candidate whose great notoriety results from his reputation as "the last of the New Dealers" and an honest liberal.

But from the point of view of labor, the most disgusting spectacle was the activities of the CIO officialdom. Hat in hand, they went about the convention begging crumbs from a capitalist party and its politicians. In repayment for its unequivocal support to Roosevelt, long before the convention was due, and in response to their demand for Wallace, the President kicked them squarely in their rump with his letter to the chairman of the convention.

CIO CAPTIVE OF PARTY

The labor leaders came as special pleaders to the convention and they will get little enough from it. Having gone into the Democratic primaries and joined up with the party, CIO leaders exert some influence. But they have not made the Democratic Party a liberal party, or a "labor party," as one commentator wrote. They are labor captives inside of the party.

Thus, no matter how many slaps in the face they received at the convention, the labor officials went along with its main decisions. They had long ago tied their hands and made it impossible to conduct themselves in an upright and independent way. In order to have done that, they would have had to travel a genuinely independent road toward a Labor Party.

The next issue of LABOR ACTION will report fully on the Democratic convention.

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A Workers Defense League representative was arrested and fined \$25 in municipal court in Fort Lauderdale, Fla., on a charge of "vagrancy" and later held twenty-four hours in jail for investigation by Chief Deputy Sheriff Robert H. Clark of Broward County, Fla., last week during a WDL probe of alleged violation of workers' rights in Broward County.

Fort Lauderdale police arrested the WDL representative in the Negro residential district of the city while he was interviewing Negroes who had previously been arrested on vagrancy charges by Sheriff Clark and fined without trial for refusing to pick beans.

The WDL investigation is continuing and is throwing new light on this Southern practice of enforced labor. The WDL plans to take appropriate action against this procedure when its investigation is completed.

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