Union Program Sees the Need Of Labor Party!

In the program it drew up on war and post-war problems, other points of which are discussed in the lead columns of this issue, Brewster Local 365, UAW, declared itself for the organization of a Farmer-Labor Party in those states where it is now feasible, as a preliminary to organizing such a party on a national scale.

There is no doubt that much confusion exists in the ranks and in the leadership, which introduced the proposal, as to the nature and function of a Labor Party. We do not, however, intend to discuss that at this moment. What interests us here is the progressive and welcome stand taken by the local in the direction of IN-DEPENDENT political action. Such confusion and misunderstanding as may exist will be cleared up in the process of actually building a Labor Party.

The recognition of the need, with its implied repudiation of such outfits as the American Labor Party-whether the local membership or leadership realizes it or not-is a genuine step forward.

Brewster is, of course, not the first union local to go on record for an Independent Party of Labor. Other union locals have done likewise. But it has not yet become the sweeping movement that it MUST become, and that each of us, severally and collectively, must help promote. With American labor restively stirring against its economic fetters, with the promise of a resurgence in economic militancy, it is our duty to draw the inescapable political conclusion: LABOR NEEDS A PARTY OF ITS OWN!

And the Labor Party we speak of must be just that-A LABOR PARTY! Not a Labor Party in name only. Not a party which tail-ends the Roosevelt Administration for vote-getting purposes. Not a party which speaks the interests of the boss class on the war and other questions. In other words, not an ALP! But a LABOR PARTY THAT IS GENUINELY INDE-PENDENT, a party that refuses to have any truck with the politicians of the boss class, a LABOR PARTY THAT FIXES ITS PROGRAM ACCORDING TO THE NEEDS AND INTER-ESTS OF THE WORKING CLASS.

The great problems of today are political as well as economic. This was always true. But, as the political arm of the capitalist class, the government, intervenes more and more in the economic life of the workers does labor's need of a political instrument become aggravated. Proof that economic and political problems are inseparably intertwined was presented at the last CIO convention where most of the issues discussed and the speeches made were political in their essential nature. The trouble there was that they were discussed from the bosses' point of view. It is our job to discuss them from a WORKER'S point of view.

We have up to now witnessed the ridiculous spectacle of labor going to the polls year in and year out and rating for a capitalist politician of one or another hue. Yes, even when labor militancy was at its highest, when labor was fighting on the picket line in heroic battle, it nevertheless cast its ballot for the candidate of a boss party-in recent years, Franklin Delano Roosevelt. In other words, labor's realization of its political interests has lagged behind its economic independence. Economically, it has its unions; politically, it still chooses one of the two boss parties—or the APPENDAGE TO A BOSS PARTY, like the ALP.

Congress is a political institution. The legislation it enacts, together with the decrees increasingly issued by the Administration, affect in the most direct manner the daily life of the worker. The Congress now going out of session was the most reactionary in years. (Remember the spectacle of its filibuster on the antipoll-tax bill.) The incoming Congress will be worse. But where is the Labor Party to champion at the polls candidates of labor's own choosing and representing labor's own interest?

Taxes, poll-tax, the 40-hour week, the right to strike, wage freezing, job freezing and a thousand other problems of daily importance, must be fought on the political front as well as on the economic front. The boss class, through its political institutions -Congress and the Administration-is unloading the burden of

(Continued on page 4 in editorial column)

LABOR ACTION

DECEMBER 21, 1942

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

JAY LOCALS INITIATE MOVE ND NO-STRIKE PLEDGE!

Flint Local 599 (Buick) last week led the way in a long-overdue organized move to rescind the UAW's "no-strike" pledge. Gagging on the pledge which was forced down the throat of labor by the union leaders, corporation executives and government bureaucrats, the Flint local called upon the International Executive Board of the United Automobile Workers, now in session in Los Angeles, to call a special convention of the union to reverse its no-strike policy. Brewster Local 365 has already joined the Flint local in asking the International Executive Board to call a special convention.

The resolution of the Flint local is being circulated throughout the UAW. There is no question that wherever it is presented the rank and file will welcome it enthusiastically. They are fed up with the no-strike shame and chain that was imposed on them.

That the Flint resolution was born out of the most ardent wishes of the workers in every section of the union movement is evidenced by the reports of the UAW Executive Board meeting, the New Jersey CIO convention, as well as in the actions of various AFL

Flint Local Blames No-Strike Pledge For Collective Bargaining Collapse

A representative of LABOR ACTION interviewed John Mc-Gill and other officers of Buick Local 599 in Flint, Mich., the local that called for a special convention of the UAW.

These men were all militant in their attitude. They listed a whole slew of grievances against the plant management - especially the firing of union leaders. Two of the men present at the interview were still barred from the plant on orders

EXCLUSIVE

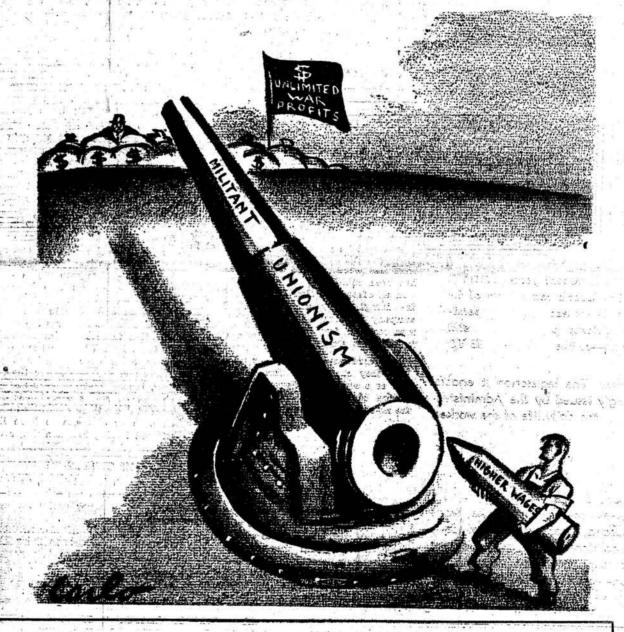
from the Army officer stationed at the plant (presumably the same Army officer who intervened in the had been reinstated.

In all cases the officer had ordered the firings, solely on the basis of company testimony. Most of the firings resulted from a strike at the foundry last August

In accordance with their resolution, they characterize this situation as a complete collapse of collective bargaining resulting from cessions by labor. They specifically expressed opposition to job freezing, cancellation of evertime and every other thing they could

They feel this situation is nationwide and therefore wanted to call a special convention to attempt to put a stop to it. When asked what proposals they would present to such aconvention they said they couldn't divulge that information. Their general nature is pretty apparent from the list of things they object to in the status quo.

Protecting OUR Way of Life!



Brewster Local 365 Backs Flint Resolution

Leaders Pledge Strike Vote if WLB Decision Is Unfair

LONG ISLAND CITY - Brew- one of many points in a proster Local No. 365, one of the largest locals of the United Automobile Workers, ClO, in the East, at a membership meeting attended by more than 1,800 workers voted unani- City. mously to join other UAW locals throughout the country in a campaign to change the "nostrike" policy of the UAW.

The recommendation was presented to the meeting as gram drawn up at a two-day conference of shop stewards, shop committee and executive board members representing all the workers in three plants of the Brewster Aeronautical Co. at Hatboro, Pa., Newark and Long Island

The program also calls upon the UAW to take the lead in forming a Farmer-Labor Party and asks the UAW to organize a Labor College in the East. Further, the program announces a drive by the local to organize the unorganized plants in

this area, using a special fund of fifty cents a month from each member for the purpose.

Local 365 has an "amalgamated" contractors' plants that it organizes come under its jurisdiction. The international office, hamstrung by its present policies, is having very little organizational success; it is therefore only a matter of time before the unorganized plants either join the craft. bound AFL unions or else remain strike." unorganized and destroy the wage standards and working conditions of the organized shops.

day grievances in the shop, when the just returned from Washington, LY - NO GRIEVANCES ARE SETcharter so that all aviation and sub- TLED. John Holly, chairman of the told the membership that in speaking shop committee, in demanding that: to the WLB "I told them that if the the no-strike policy be reversed if the unions are to live and not be wiped out, said: "Last April the American labor movement committed the greatest blunder in its history when it gave up the right to

President Thomas DeLorenzo, in reporting on the job evaluation and reclassifications that have been be-The membership at the meeting fore the War Labor Board for some went into detail on how the no- months, informed the membership strike policy works in the day-to- that there was nothing new. He had

boss knows that the union has given where he had gone to speed up the up its most basic right. ABSOLUTE- process, if possible, or at least get some last-minute information. He decision is unfavorable the executive

> The reaction of the workers to these words showed that THIS was what they wanted to hear. The reversal of the no-strike policy by the entire UAW was important to them, but they wanted it handled in terms of the concrete problems before them - job evaluation and reclassifications. Their attitude is: referendums and machinery for special conventions take months: how do we handle the WLB and the company in this struggle which has already been overly drawn out?

A few nights later President De Lorenzo spoke to the Newark Brewster workers and said substantially the same thing and was greeted with the same enthusiastic approval.

The job evaluation and reclassicials as indicating voluntary accepts. When this was completed, months cept the findings of its own forewas so just and having been sold

the idea that its only recourse was the WLB, agreed to bring its case before that body. This problem has been booted around for eight months and the union realizes that it is an open attempt by the company to break the union.

The new union agreement is to be negotiated very shortly and the membership, wiser and more experienced, will decide its course toward higher wages and a stronger union.

The leaders of the UAW are trying to resist the pressure of the rank and file. But at the same time they are compelled to yield to it. On December 14, the International Executive Board announced, at its meeting in Los Angeles, that it would consider the no-strike pledge no longer binding if Congress tampered with the \$25,000 ceiling on salaries. That's militant talk -but it doesn't scratch the surface of the many beefs that the ranks have. That Frankensteen, who introduced the resolution, and the other board members should now threaten an end to the no-strike infamy is proof that the reason goes deeper than the obvious and widespread indignation over congressional moves to hamstring the \$25,000 salary limit.

bodies.

UAW members are sore at grievances and conditions ON THE JOB. The finagling of the ADMINISTRATION on the salary limit only adds grist to the mill. Where the real source of trouble lies is revealed in the decision of the board, on December 15, to send a four-man delegation to Washington to seek a conference with the Preddent on the WLB, which the Executive Board members claim has "broken down."

PM, reporting this decision, cars THESE STEPS WERE INITIATED AS A RESULT OF NEW FLARE-UPS IN THE DETROIT AREA." The International Executive Board bad before it the sentiment of the union rank and file as expressed in a growing series of unauthorized strikes and in the petition of the two locals for an emergency convention. And the board had to do

The fact is that since the no-strike pledge was put over, workers have had difficulty in settling grievances. So long as the boss knows that the workers aren't going to resort to strikes, THE ONLY REAL WEAPON A UNION HAS, he can stall on grievances, refuse outright to settle or merely submit the whole thing to the cumbersome and unwieldy machinery of the WLB which has, in almost every case, ground out a rotten decision for labor. Regardless of how fast the WLB acts, and it is impossible for it to act on-the thousands of cases before it, and regardless of how many labor men are on it, the WLB remains fundamentally

(Continued on page 3)

WMC Order Freezes Detroit Jobs

Real Object Behind Order Affecting 700,000 Detroit Workers Is to Prevent Wage Increases

DETROIT - By order of the War Manpower Commission on December 10, some 700,000 war workers in Detroit were "frozen" on their jobs. No worker now employed in a war industry may change his job for a more advantageous job in another war plant without a written certificate of release from his employer.

A war worker dissatisfied with conditions in his shop, who quits without permission of his boss, will find himself locked out of all the key

industries in Detroit. The blacklist thus becomes an instrument official-ly imposed and sanctioned by the Roosevelt Administration.

This plan was the creation of the District Advisory Committee of the WMC, consisting of representatives of the Michigan Manufacturers Association, Detroit Board of Commerce. Automotive Council for War Production and the Automotive Parts and Equipment Manufacturers AssoThe following labor officials are

Reuther refuses to comment, stating that he prefers to let his signature on the order stand

Michigan State Council of the CIO. Frank X. Martel, president of the Wayne County Federation of Labor ance of the plan by labor and later, the company refused to se-(AFL). Martel announces that he is in agreement with the principle of 'freezing' of 700,000 war workers in men. The union felt that its case the plan but has certain reservations

George: Deaniespresident of the The Detroit boss press and the the union for many months. The government officials, envious to put; company originally agreed that the this plan over on the working men shop stewards and the company August Scholla, president of the as painlessly as possible point to the storemen would evaluate and resignatures of the above union office classify every job in the plants.

> The Detroit Free Press states: This (Continued on page 3)

Business and North Africa

"LONDON, Dec. 7-One explanation of Admiral Darlan's ascent to power in French North Africa is provided by the arrival of several French business men from North Africa.

'It is that Admiral Darlan admitted the Allies to Africa at the behest of French industrialists and bankers seeking security for their recent investments in North Africa after having failed in an attempt to play ball with the Nazis.

The French arrivals in London reported that, to most of the world's ignorance, there had been an exodus during the past year from metropolitan France to North Africa of French business men numbering several thousands. They went bag and baggage, bent on finding new homes and fortunes in French Morocco and Algeria. Branch plants of the famous international armaments king, Guy de Wendel, were set up."

-New York Times, December 8.

From one single factory near

Warsaw, 600 workers were deport-

ed in the summer of 1942 to Ger-

many and drafted for labor serv-

ice there. Polish workers in Ger-

many are treated like the scum of

the earth. There is a special crim-

inal code for them which decrees

the death penalty for the slightest

offenses on their part. Polish

workers are condemned to death

simply for threatening their em-

ployers in the course of a discus-

sion ... But the Nazis are getting

worried. Millions of foreign work-

ers are now employed in the Reich.

They establish contacts among

themselves and also with the Ger-

man workers. A Nazi paper re-

cently stated: "A German woman

and a foreign worker may be work-

ing at the same machine. They

quickly become familiar and even

intimate.... Some districts in Ger-

many are being literally terrorized

by foreign-born workers who are

becoming more and more arrogant

as they realize their indispensa-

bility. In trains and buses one dai-

ly observes their increasingly loud

The close cooperation and under-

standing of foreign workers with

their German brothers is one of the

factors which will have a decisive

bearing on the development of the

coming European events. Never in

history has there been such a tre-

mendous mingling of workers of all

European nationalities. Never has

there been a better chance for an

understanding by all these workers

that they have common problems to

solve. The giant Nazi machine

stretches out over the whole of Eu-

rope in order to get more and more

manpower to feed its gigantic appe-

tite. But at the same time it creates

an immense melting pot in which

workers of different national back-

ground's are melted into a mass with

common interests and common aims.

Once again reality is acting as a

better teacher of internationalist

Eleven German officers and seven

•soldiers deserted recently as their

Germany-bound train was passing

Halden. One officer injured himself

so badly in the leap that he could

not flee; he was shot down. "Gote-

borgs Tidningen" stated the others

were trying to reach Sweden, with

German border patrols and Hirdmen

trying to prevent them. The paper

tent among German officers and sol-

diers in Norway, and added that

Reichskommissar Terboven was "very

unpopular" among the Germans in

Norway, particularly the officers. A

number of Germans are said to have

been shot because of "obstruction-

ism" or because of their sympathy

for the Norwegians, said the paper.

recalled rumors about great discon-

proved to be in the past.

and provocative behavior."

EUROPEAN WORKERS FIGHT ON IN CLASS ACTION

While the State Department and camp in Trenblinka for undisclosed Churchill groom their . respective acts of sabotage. candidates for Gauleiters over Europe, while they discuss the relative merits of the gentlemen they propose to use against European workers, the fight of these workers goes on. In the last few weeks a very strong increase in strike activity has been re-

BELGIUM

The postmen's strike in Brussels is said to have included the staffs of the principal post offices and of the postal check department. In the industrial area of the Borinage (a district in which Trotskyists were always very strong) new strikes have been reported among the metal factory workers of the Lebrun plant at Nimy, and among the miners of the Epette and Heribus pits.

In the Charleroi area, the workers of the Hizard factory staged a sit-down strike. Their example was followed by miners of St. Eloi at Manage. In the Liege area, strikes have occurred in the Smulders plant at Ans, and in the Français and Bonniers coal mines at Grace-Berleur. There were also strikes in the textile district of Verviers-a town which has a very eld revolutionary tradition - involving nearly all the principal

Nearly all important industrial districts of Belgium seem to be included in this new wave of strikes -but it is impossible to judge from the short reports if this is a coordinated movement or sporadic out-

The Polish workers increasingly feel the mailed fist of their Nazi rulers. A considerable number of workers from the Cracow district were recently sent to a compulsory labor camp for several "months. This punitive action was the result of a refusal to work and defiance of the Nazi a factory regulations. Many of the Warsaw streetcar employees have been sent to the labor

SERIOUS CRACKS IN GERMAN MORALE REPORTED

Judging from reports of the past week the spirit of German troops in Norway has been considerably weakened. One report says that German officers and soldiers have been seen in chains on board southbound German ships. Another relates that German firing squads have refused to shoot comrades charged with mutiny. At Narvik a firing squad which refused to fire at mutineers was lined up with the others for execution, but the second firing squad also refused to shoot. All were then sent southward....

The morale of troops being transferred to Russia is said to have taken a sharp decline when the men learned of their destination ... Many Germans of the Todt organization are interned at the Grini concentration camp.

it placed on a series of issues of The

Militant without explanation or

cause. However, satisfaction would

not only be premature, it would be

dangerously false. The issue of De-

cember 12 has not yet come through,

nor have the earlier banned issues.

One of the issues, that of November

14, has been destroyed. And there

remains, in addition, the matter of

the December issue of the Fourth

International, which was also held

But even if the other issues and

the magazine were released, the fact

remains that the Post Office dicta-

Post Office Releases Militant --

But Protest on Ban Still in Order torially violated a vital civil liberty Two recent issues of The Militant, -freedom of the press. It gave no November 28 and December 5, have reason-neither for withholding the now come through the mails. This paper, nor for releasing it. This would indicate that the Post Office same kind of dictatorial precedent Department has lifted the ban which

> any labor periodical or paper. Protests are still in order! As is a widespread demand to overhaul the powers now held by the Post Office Department to act against the freedom of the press on its own bureau-.

and procedure can be used against

Railroad Profits Climb High

But Companies Resist Wage Demands Made by 1,250,000 Workers

By HARRY ALLEN

The profits of the railroad companies in 1942, as compared with the same period in 1941, have increased so enormously (121 per cent gross and 60.2 per cent net AFTER federal tax payments) that the OPA and Economic "Stabilizer" James Byrnes have deemed it publicly expedient to petition the · Interstate Commerce Commission to cancel the freight and passenger rate increases granted the railroads last spring.

Nevertheless, the companies are preparing to resist strenuously the demands of the four railroad brotherhoods, the switchmen's and the fifteen non-operating unions for substantial wage increases to meet rising living costs. The New York Times reports that the OPA and Byrnes petition "was intended as a warning for the five (operating) unions not to ask for a wage in-

The weapons that the railroad bosses intend to utilize in the wage dispute are indicated in a recent ed-

itorial of the Wall Street Journal: "Under the whole dispute" between the companies and the rail workers "lies the fundamental question which has never yet been answered: 'How much is too much?' and another: 'Are security holders

Wages or Dividends?

Workers can agree that these are the issues involved, although they draw different conclusions. In other words, two main questions emerge out of the dispute: one, the "legitimacy" of the wage demands of the railroad workers; and, two, the fundamental question of the private property system itself-of capitalist ownership and control versus workers' ownership and control.

In endeavoring to show the "unjustness" of the wage demands of the railroad workers, Elisha N. Friedman, railroad - consulting economist, states (New York Times) that the average yearly wage of the passenger engineers is \$3,650; passenger conductors, \$3,322; and freight engineers, \$3,237-or an average of \$3,333.

spirit than many 'socialists' have Challenges "King Can Do No Wrong" State Immunity

Challenging the immunity of the Commonwealth of Virginia from human-rights suits, Howard Carwile, Virginia lawyer, has filed suit against the state on the basis of brutal treatment he received while a patient in the Blue Ridge Sanatorium.

· Carwile is contesting the principle that "the King can do no wrong," which makes it impossible for a citizen of the state to sue for personal injustices suffered at the hands of the state or its institutions. Carwile calls attention to the fact that it IS possible to sue the state on its contractual, that is, business, obligations.

Carwile, a sharecropper who passed the bar examinations after long years of hard work, entered a state hos-1940 after he had had a hemorrhage of the lungs. In the eleven months he spent in the sanatorium Carwile charges that he was subjected to inhuman treatment because of his inability to pay and because of his militant fight on behalf of the sharecroppers. His suit against the state of Virginia is therefore intended as an exposure of its mistreatment of destitute patients in the state hospitals as well as a legal contest against the privileges of state immunity.

Thomas H. Stone, the lawyer who first handled the Odell Waller case, and Francis Heisler, Chicago attorney, are representing Howard Carwile. Persons interested in the case and wishing to contribute to its support, morally and financially, are asked to write to Howard Carwile, Charlotte Courthouse, Va.

Detroit Workers, Attention

For further information about LABOR ACTION, write to PO Box, 1805, Detroit

To get this average Friedman cites investment is only eighteen billion wage figures at the very top group of railroad workers, Indeed the Wall Street Journal itself admits that the average yearly wage of employees in the train and engine service at present is only \$2,600 plus-a discrepancy of \$700 per year!

Moreover, the railroad companies and their apologists always endeavor to single out the better-paid four brotherhoods to "cover" the greater exploitation of the more numerous lower paid railroad workers: the maintenance men, laborers, carmen, even the machinists, etc. Sufficient proof of this distortion of the actual situation is the fact that the fifteen non-operating unions are making as one of their main demands today a minimum wage of 70 cents per hour, or a weekly wage of \$28 for forty hours - hardly a munificent wage

The top section of the railroad workers (the four brotherhoods) after several decades have obtained gains and rights which most workers. have yet to achieve. They attained their status through their strategic position in the industry, by strong union organization, and by the threat to exercise their striking power to effect their demands.

For example, it was NOT "good will' by the railroad corporations, but strong unionism which has resulted in the rail men establishing wage allowances ranging up to five years for permanently discharged workers; and in lifting yearly wage averages for the engine and train workers from \$1,346 in 1916 to the present level. The problem for other rail workers is to aim for the standards achieved by the brotherhoods.

The "Poor Railroads"

In great anguish, Mr. Friedman declares: "The whole concept of private property (on the railroads) is rapidly dissolving.... The investor is being expropriated." Where will it all end, he cries, as he expands on the "excesses of labor."

Well, what about the "pauperized" railroads? A constantly decreasing share of railroad revenues, Mr. Friedman states, is left for paying fixed charges (after deducting operating costs): i.e., for interest payments, dividends, surplus, etc. Not that there isn't anything left; there just isn't enough, says Mr. Friedman.

However, note that even in the years 1932-37, there were never any losses for the railroads, although in this same period, the employment of workers was at its lowest. The railroads, earned money. It was not the railroad owners and the coupon clippers, bless their souls, who had to go hungry or subsist on relief.

Still, railroad spokesman and apolgist Friedman is concerned with the "decréasing ability to pay a return to security holders who have supplied the funds necessary to build the plant and provide the equipment.' Friedman ignores the obvious fact that these same investors have in the course of years been repaid many times over in interest payments and dividends. For the most part, the original investors and purchasers of stocks and bonds have handed down these securities to their pital, the Blue Ridge Sanatorium, in children or others, who have lived without having to lift a finger ever

Over a Billion in Profits

The truth is that today, as before, the investors or stockholders are neither active nor useful factors in the railroad industry. Nevertheless, they continue to receive the benefits of labor's efforts in the form of interest, profits 'or' dividends - all variations of leeching. And, like leeches, they are completely unnecessary in running a railroad.

For the current year now ending for Class I railroads (the group under consideration), NET earnings available for interest, dividends and surplus-after payment of all expenses and taxes - are \$1.525.767.289 (or over one and a half billion dollars). Or more than 5 per cent of the total railroad plant investment of \$26,000,000,000. The "net" available for 1942 for interest charges, dividends and surplus is nearly three times the interest charge—a tidy income and profit even for "big shots."

Moreover, the Wall Street Journal reveals that in actuality the net capitalization outstanding against plant

dollars, the other eight billion having come from surplus labor-that is, profits realized from labor and turned back into the investmentinto the means of production. These figures alone challenge the case of the railway companies' spokesmen and validate the demands of the railroad workers for wage increases. The railroads still run at a substantial profit; and car loadings are at their highest.

"How much is too much?" Well, certainly not the wages received by railroad or other workers. Not while workers continue to give surplus labor to the employerssurplus labor which then becomes transformed into profits and dividends for the bosses and coupon clippers.

What, then, of Mr. Friedman's complaint that "the investor has been starved...the unfortunate investor in railroad securities who has created jobs for the workers, who in turn expropriate him." The investor-the poor, forgotten man who creates jobs for the workers, and so on.

Nationalize the Railroads

To test the alleged value of railroad owners and stockholders, let the railway workers take over control and management of the railroads. Let us observe, then, if with investors and owners eliminated ass superfluous and unnecessary baggage, the roads will not run as well or BETTER-plus better wages and working conditions for the whole mass of railroad workers. The best interests of the railroad workers lie in that direction. Today, not only should all rail-

road workers-the Big Four, the switchmen and the fifteen non-operating unions-demand and receive wage concessions. They should go further and demand the nationalization of the railroads under workers' control. Theirs is the ability to run the railroad industry. The fundamental questions which the Wall Street Journal asks can only be properly answered along

The long struggle of Sperry Gyro-

scope workers to win the benefits of

collective bargaining and the secu-

rity of a union contract will enter

its crucial stage of December 22 in

an NLRB election. The election was

secured by Local 450, UERWMA-CIO

which kicked out the old company

union a year ago. Since that time

the company has resorted to all the

tricks in the bag to divide the work-

In this effort it has been helped by

the IAM-AFL, which appeared on

the scene a few months after the

demise of the company union and

UE into a premature election. Lack-

ing a militant program of its own,

the IAM has been forced to confine

its propaganda to attacks on the

complicated by the influx of new

workers, particularly women, who

have had no union experience, and

many of whom do not yet see the

necessity for organization. Many of

them come from white collar occu-

pations, with white collar prejudices

against unions, and are allowing

themselves to be used against the

workers who are attempting to or-

The IAM, while having no real

chance of winning the election, has

driven many of these new workers

away from unionization by its pure-

ly negative attacks on the CIO. They

have been aided in this by the fail-

ure of the UE organizers to conduct

a really aggressive educational cam-

paign in the militant traditions and

history of the CIO. Most of the credit

for past successes of the union must

go to the tireless, militant shop stew-

ards who in reality ran their own

Although prospects for a UE vic-

tory are good, the danger of over-

optimism is great. The election will

The situation has been further

ers and confuse them.

UE Victory Seen in Sperry

NLRB Election, December 22

Sparks in the News By Everett Weston strength of Roosevelt's Democratic

"Such contributions or compensation shall not be deductible under subsection (a) but shall be deductible, if deductible under subsection (a) without regard to this subsection, under this subsection but only to the following extent ... "-Section 23(p), income tax law as amended by the Revenue Act of 1942.

Translated into English, it means that the worker pays.

The Fortune magazine survey this month asked questions of high school students. Among them were: "What do you expect to do when you finish high school?" To which the boys

Go to school51 per cent Go to work ____ 24 per cent Enter the armed services __

"How much do you think you should be earning about ten years from now?" The average figure named by the boys: \$59.65.

Such naive optimism is based on the divorce of the school system from social reality. It can lead only to deep disillusion, the basis for a socialist movement-or a fascist. The responsibility of socialists is clear.

"For eight days the legislative ragamuffins filibustered (against the anti-Poll-tax bill). Then they offered a deal, the purest blackmail: they said they would permit Majority Leader Barkley to bring up the bill if he would pledge his word in advance to two things. First, to call for an immediate cloture rule on limiting debate. Second, to table the bill if cloture was defeated. Tom Connally had his tongue in his cheek and Barkley knew it."-New Repub-

And where was Mr. Barkley's tongue? Lapping the dirt off the shoes of the poll-tax senators. Liberal phrases notwithstanding, the Solid South is still the core of

be no pushover, and the advances of

the past year must not be lost on

election day by apathy or over-con-

fidence. A defeat at this time would

not only deprive Sperry workers of

their only weapon, organization, but

would also be a signal to the com-

pany for speed-ups, lay-offs and in-

timidation in the traditional Sperry

manner. A smashing majority for the

UE will mean that Sperry workers

will be in a strong position when

they negotiate with the company for

LABOR ACTION next week

will carry on article analyzing

the results of the Sperry elec-

It has been called to our attention

that the report on the reaction of

New York workers to the LABOR

ACTION article on the Sperry sit-

down (LABOR ACTION, December

7) gave a misleading impression with

respect to its reception at the Ford

of the UE has informed LABOR AC-

TION that the sentence "workers

gathered in washrooms to discuss the

Sperry article" could be interpreted

to mean that the workers left their

machines to gather in the washroom

for discussion. This is obviously er-

roneous and was not intended. We

meant that workers discussed the

article during their lunch-hour and

that, on such occasions where they

did accidentally meet in the wash-

rooms, they briefly made interested

reference to the article.

A representative of the Ford Local

a real union contract.

Clarification:

Instrument Co.

Somehow it doesn't seem fair. Protest Jim Crow In Detroit

Phone Company

Perhaps you have noticed ads ask-

ing you not to make too many long

distance telephone calls. Perhaps

you wondered why the telephone

company should bother telling that

to you and me, who can't afford them

anyway. The ads not only serve to

use up paper (which is a drug on

the market), but tend to keep the

editors aware of the services of our

country's largest corporation, the

AT&T. But this time there was also

a very special reason. It seems there

was a case pending before the Fed-

eral Communications Commission

about rate reduction, and the first

answer of AT&T's lawyers was that

such reduction would "stimulate

traffic at a time when such stimula-

tion would be contrary to public in-

terest." In any case, "earnings are

not likely to increase, and the pres-

ent rate of profit is possible only be-

"Rations assure equal portions of

available goods to the poor share-

cropper in the South and the mil-

lionaire in New York."-U.S. News.

get just as much fatback and hom-

iny grits as the sharecropper?

You mean the millionaire would

cause of war conditions."

DETROIT - Four Negro organizations, including the local chapters of the NAACP and the Urban League, held a conference this week with the secretary and the chief personnel officer of the Michigan Bell Telephone Co. in protest against the company's discrimination against Negroes.

The company has been advertising regularly for workers, but when Negro workers apply they are informed that there are no openings. This is the answer given to the trained as well as to the untrained

One of the committeemen, the Rev. Charles Hill, spoke of growing unrest among the Negroes of Detroit and suggested to the company that instead of waiting for a picket line to be thrown around the building, it might stop discriminating against Negroes IMMEDIATELY and start hiring them on all jobs.

Press Action

BOR ACTION distributors, we make another record. Twenty-eight thousand five hundred copies are now being printed and distributed each week. This time we tip our hat to Philadelphia, which has just increased its order by 1,000 copies. This is the kind of work we appreciate. (30,000 this week!-Ed.)

AND STILL ANOTHER!

Here is the record on new subscriptions received by LABOR AC-TION during the past TWO weeks:

	BUFFALO	25
	California	17
	New York City	9
	Chicago	4
	Detroit	4
	Cleveland	4
	Missouri	4
-	Maryland	3
	Philadelphia	2
	Washington, D. C.	1
	Texas	1
	Virginia	1
	New Jersey	1

That's why your Business Manager displays the broadest grin in crea-

"Praise the Lord, and pass out LABOR ACTION," writes one subscriber from Cleveland. "The best paper the labor movement has ever seen," writes another. Today, LABOR ACTION reaches

the working class as never before. California, Buffalo and Philadelphia show the way. Keep it up!

The Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor

Rubber Worker Hits Detroit Wage Order

Dear Editor:

As a member of Detroit Local 101 of the United Rubber Workers, I wish to discuss the statement of our machnists were on strike for two local president on the wage-freezing order in Detroit. John Marmon, president of our local, declared to the Detroit papers that "we are supporting the order as a proper step toward winning the war.

Aside from the many objections against this job-freezing order, which is aimed at lowering wages and working conditions in the Detroit area, I wish to voice my protest against the implication that the Detroit rubber workers support the job freezing order.

To my knowledge, this order was never proposed or discussed at any meeting of Local 101. It was received by the rubber workers as a complete

openly voiced their resentment against it in discussions in the shop. There is intense dissatisfaction over wages and working conditions, particularly in the mechanical division. Four hundred maintenance men and days only last month because of this situation. They feel that the wagefreezing order is aimed directly at them and they are determined that they will not permit it to lower their standards. As one shop committee men put it: "If they freeze us in our jobs they'll have to raise our wages to a level comparable with that of let "Fall-In" for the purpose of giv-

Legion Distributes **Booklet to Draftees**

Attention, Los Angeles Workers!

Send your subscriptions, comments about LABOR ACTION

and suggestions to our Los Angeles Office:

233 SOUTH BROADWAY, ROOM. 415

The American Legion has not forgotten the threat of a socialized economy which loomed all over the world after the last war and in anticipation of a similar danger at the end of this war it is distributing to draftees at time of induction a book-

ing them some of that good old "American Legion spirit." In case you didn't know, this war

isn't only fought for "life, liberty and pursuit of happiness," but-so "Fall-In" declares-for the "right to hold property." We might not have the money to purchase any kind of property, our wages may be so low as to not even allow us a decent standard of living but - and how happy it makes us - the American Legion tells us we are defending the right to hold property.

So, since the workers and poor farmers do not hold any property and therefore need no right to hold it, and since 90 per cent of the wealth in the U.S. is owned by 3 per cent of the population, it is quite evident that the Legion wants us to defend the rights of an exceedingly small minority. At the same time this little slip-up in Fall-In proves quite clearly the character and purpose of this bulwark of reaction, namely, to

stand guard over the rights of the capitalists.

Ten Years Make A Big Difference

campaign.

I am sending you a picture which I would like for you to print in LA-BOR ACTION. Ten years ago I was hit on the head and put in jail for speaking in favor of the Soviet Union. Today they'd put me in jail for the opposite. Now it is the reactionaries like Connally, one of the leaders of the filibuster against the antipoll-tax bill, who like Russia.

Mexican Worker.

Editor's Note-The picture, which we are unable to publish, shows Senator Connally shaking hands with Maxim Litvinoff, Soviet ambassador, on the 25th anniversary of the USSR.



Introductory Offer

LABOR ACTION 114 WEST 14th STREET

New York, N.Y.

SIX MONTH SUBSCRIPTION 2541

Address

Name .	200	-31			100	19.6	93
, v.v.:	r : 1		219	4 .		12	200
City	1.4		a v		S	1 44 1	

Of Special Interest To Women

-By Susan Green

Winter is upon us amidst conditions which threaten a national disaster. Aside from the fuel rationing and aside from the high cost of living, which makes proper food and clothing almost a luxury for many, there are other factors constituting a decided peril to the health and life of the civilian population.

The New York Physicians Forum, composed of 150 New York physicians, has issued the alarm. It states that in 300 key industrial areas in the country the shortage of doctors is so critical that "THE ORDINARY DAY-BY-DAY HAZARDS OF SICKNESS AND ACCIDENT CANNOT BE DEALT WITH."

They add that the possibilities of this situation become frightening in view of "the appalling living conditions" in these areas, WITH MEN SLEEPING IN SHIFTS IN THE SAME BEDS, OR LIVING IN BOX-CARS OR TRAILERS.

These physicians warn that such conditions "ARE THE NATURAL BREEDING GROUND OF EPIDEM-ICS." They declare: "Let an epidemic start in one of these densely populated areas and there is no knowing where it will spread or when it may stop."

This is the ghastly prospect confronting us this winter. It should be the concern of organized labor and of all working class housewives. From these sources must come the persistent and militant demand to the government for adequate housing, for doctors, clinics and hospitals.

The last war showed us what havoc a war epidemic brings to the population. The workers and their families suffered most. Again men, women and children of the working class are in imminent danger from wartime epidemics.

Retail stores, numbering 400,000 throughout the country, are making their own price "regulations" on the simple arithmetical principle that higher prices will bring more profits.

The housewife is being cheated not only in the buying of food. For instance, the price of rayon hose is more than 33-1/3 per cent above the ceiling pricewhich ceiling price itself is too high for rayon. In fact, all clothing lends itself to plenty of gypping. Suits made of materials containing very little wool-and that reused wool-are selling at the ceiling prices of the former all-wool suits. Another device is to mark two-piece suits at the prices charged for three-piece suits. Furniture also affords an excellent field for profiteering. Sofas, chairs, dressers, desks are sold way above the March ceilings, even though they are exactly the same mer-

A great to-do has been made in the newspapers about the OPA investigation of the Hecht Co. department store in Washington, D. C .- after which it slapped the Hecht Co. on the wrist with an injunction, saying, in effect: "No! Bad boy must'nt violate price ceilings or daddy

Isn't that something? Even if the Hecht Co. obeys the injunction and stops violating price ceilingsfor a while!-so what? There are 400,000 retail stores guilty of such violations! Will they be scared into being good boys by this action of the OPA in Washington? Maybe a few will pull in their horns for a while-but only a few and not for long, you may be

Thus, as time goes on, it becomes ever clearer that the job of price control has been thrown into the laps of the housewives of the country. If they organize in their neighborhoods, they can talk turkey with the owners of the 400,000 stores taking advantage of them. They can present their complaints as an organized force both to these stores and to local OPA officials. They can

boycott and picket until their complaints are met. Working class women: Organize for your own selfprotection!

In the East Paterson plant of the Wright Aeronautical Corp., 165.men and women went out on strike to put an end to a little trick the company was playing on thema company lousy with war orders and war profits.

Taking advantage of the lack of experience of their women workers, the company put them on a six-dayweek schedule in such a way that they had to work on Sundays at time and a half pay-IN PLACE OF MEN WHO WOULD BE GETTING DOUBLE TIME FOR SUNDAY WORK. Rather a neat conniving scheme. But the workers saw through it and struck. The case is now in conference between labor, management and govern-

The workers ought to know something about the profits of their scheming bosses. Especially should the women workers, being cheated by the company, know something about the profits the workers of Wight Aeronautical Corp. are making for it.

The company has 600,000 shares of stock. For the year 1938-after allowing for taxes and every other conceivable deduction—the net profit was \$5.00 for each and every one of the 600,000 shares. In 1939 the profit per share rose to \$6.00-an increase of 20 per cent. In 1940 the profit per share swelled to \$11-a gain of 120 per cent over 1938. And in 1941 the clear profit mounted to \$17 per share—a climb of 240 per cent above the 1938 figure!

These are the escalating war profits of the Wright Aeronautical Corp. which robs its women workers of legitimate double pay for Sunday work. War is an ill wind, but it certainly blows plenty of good to the capitalist exploiters of labor.

You know that mink coat you bought at a bargain for \$1,500-out of your husband's superfluous wages. Well, hold everything and take it on the chin. That beautiful mink coat that every working woman possesses may be outdated in short order. Isn't that a major tragedy!

Ordinary brown mink, I'd like you to know, will no longer be the rage. The up-and-coming female of the species-not of the species mink-will be getting herself a "silverblu platinum" mink coat.

These little animals, the outcome of careful breeding, are a soft gray, a bit on the beige side. We are assured that the color will be very flattering to hair and skin and that it will blend beautifully with other colors. Hear! Hear!

Of course, "silverblu platinum" minks are still very rare-in fact, rarer than sables. Their value is very, very high. So start saving your pennies now, sister, or you'll have to wear your old brown mink-while all the "silverblu platinum" minks go to the platinum blond minxes-with the compliments, of the war profiteers.

Locals Ask for Special Convention To Rescind UAW's No-Strike Pledge

(Continued from page 1) a boss-government institution for

hackling labor. At the recent CIO convention in Boston, Walter Reuther said that every time the union wants to settle a grievance, the company answers: take it to the WLB. And how, asked Reuther, can you take a thousand. grievances to the WLB? The fact is you can't. Reuther shied away from the real answer to the question. But the rank and file, and the Flint and

Brewster locals, are stating it clearly, The International Executive Board is also shying away from the real answer. Right now its members are compelled to talk fight. If they don't, they would have a hell of a lot of explaining to do to the membership. But they aren't talking the kind of fight the membership wants. Delegations to Washington won't help much.

(Continued from page 1)

their jobs in this area is a VOLUN-

that a special convention can be called (1) on the request of fifteen locals from five states with an aggregate membership of not less than 20 per cent of the total membership, or (2) by a two-thirds vote of the International Executive Board. There is no report yet that the board has acted favorably on the request of the locals. IN ALL LIKELIHOOD IT WON'T. But the matter doesn't end there. The Flint local started the march. And that march can't be halted!

The problem of labor's RIGHT to strike arose at the New Jersey State CIO convention. The newspapers didn't publish the details but there was evidently a strong demand to rescind the no-strike pledge as speaker after speaker told of the "dissatisfaction among local union members

of living, Congress and the anti-labor without the RIGHT to strike. They attacks of the National Association of Manufacturers." (PM.) The resolution to rescind the pledge was defeated, but one state CIO leader was reported, in the words of PM, as having said "forebodingly": "I'M AFRAID THE LAST WORD ON THE NO-STRIKE PLEDGE HAS NOT BEEN SAID."

And that's a fact! Ferment is widespread and irrepressible. The International Association of Machinists. AFL, is meeting to discuss the "inexcusable" delay in WLB action on requests for wage increases. A general walkout in West Coast aircraft factories is threatened.

One grievance is piling up on top of another. And the memberships of the unions are beginning to realize, even if they didn't realize it be-

with wage-freezing, the rising cost fore, that they are POWERLESS see the corporation magnates pocket ing huge profits. They are fettered by rising prices, taxes. They see union conditions and rules violated. Their wage demands are buried in WLB red-tape; and when the redtape is finally unwound, they find themselves cheated out of their just demands. Wage freezing and job freezing hang over their heads. The draft is used as a club against union militancy. And they can't do anything about all this unless they have the RIGHT to strike.

> Flint and Brewster have given organized expression to the wishes of the rank and file. The union militants are on the march. Every worker must join this march to make this coming year a year of victory for American labor!

700,000 Workers Frozen on Job

TARY AGREEMENT made between he has only a part-time job; 3) if he representatives of management and lives an unreasonable distance from work; 4) if he has compelling per-But this plan is no more a volunsonal reasons; 5) if his wages are substantially less favorable than those prevailing in the area.

tary agreement between the workers and their bosses than any sellout agreement signed by union officials without vote or consultation of the men involved. The working men and women affected by the order knew nothing of it in advance, never had a chance to discuss it and, above all, never voted This is a plan imposed by the gov-

ernment on the workers in the interests of the employers. Its anti-labor character hides behind the endorsement of a few labor union officials.

The Detroit News lets the cat out of the bag when it admits: "The average Detroiter now frozen to his job had nothing to do with the agreement above mentioned."

Churchill --The Democrat!

"I asked Churchill at the time of the Round Table why he opposed the grant of self-government for India.

"'My opinion is based on my conviction that except the Anglo-Saxons 'no race has the capacity to work democratic institutions. Look at Italy,' he said; 'it tried and failed. Look at Germany; it tried and failed. If this is the position even in Europe, I am not prepared to admit that an oriental people thousands of miles away from Europe can work democratic institutions. This is the root of my opposition.

-From a speech by the Rt. Hon. Dr. Jayakar at the Non-Party Conference held in Delhi, February 21-22, 1943, quoted in the Calcutta Modern Review, July,

The news headline announcing the measure read: "660,000 DETROIT JOBS FROZEN." But the state director of the WMC wishes to conceal this truth. He denies that this is a freeze order because "if jobs were really frozen no one could leave his job, whereas now that is possible, although under certain con-

The following are the only accept-

may leave his job: 1) If he can utilize his skill better elsewhere; 2) if

The real fact is that a war worker who wishes to quit his job is placed at the mercy of his employer, who may or may not grant a certificate of release, depending on how he wishes to interpret the above conditions. The only resort the worker will have will be to take his case through the red tape of the government appeals boards to be set up.

While this appeal is pending he may not take another job in a war industry. This means that by the time the appeal is considered, the new job may long ago have been filled by someone else. If he loses time and wages because of the appeal, he will not be reimbursed, whether his appeal is settled favorably or not.

How effectively the appeals board may be expected to operate for the workingman is demonstrated by a

Only two days after the issuance of the order there were already reports of employers refusing to grant the necessary written certificates of releases. This was BEFORE any appeals board was set up. By the time the board is set up we can be sure that there will be scores and scores of appeals waiting until the appeals officials can find time to hear them.

The Bohn Aluminum Strike

The operation of these government boards is vividly exposed by the strike now in process at the Bohn Aluminum Co. plant in Detroit.

R. J. Thomas, president of the UAW, charged last week that the War Labor Board has 7,000 wage agreements already negotiated on which it has not announced judgment. Its endorsement is necessary for wage adjustments, just as the appeals board will have to okay workers changing jobs. The Bohn Aluminum case is one of those before the WLB.

The case for wage increases at Bohn Aluminum was submitted to the WLB early in October. The union and the company had reached agreement. But to this day the WLB has failed to announce its decision. One of the reasons was that the

able reasons for which a war worker company failed to fill out the twenty- granted, depending on the whim of four printed forms required by the WLB. The board offices at the time did not have enough of the forms on hand and until all this red tape can be overcome the Bohn workers must wait for their raises. The Bohn workers went on strike three times in the last week in order to compel action.

> Harry R. Reiflin, inspector for the Department of Labor, said that he assumes that this case will have to be taken up by the War Labor Board in its regular routine, "Otherwise it would risk strikes all over the country by workers whose wage agreements have not yet been

A pretty picture, indeed. Thousands of cases pending for wage increases, each affecting thousands of workers, and the WLB proceeds along its regular turtle-like pace.

Transfer this same type of operation to the War Manpower Appeals Board, add to it the fact that each case will affect only an individual worker and not thousands, and that there will be ten new cases for each one settled-and we can understand what little hope the ordinary workingman will have of securing justice from his employer.

For the employer, a long appeal for weeks and months will mean no inconvenience because the worker cannot get a new job in the meantime. But the red tape of the appeals board is equivalent to no right at all for the worker.

Aims at Wage Cutting

What is the real purpose of this measure? John L. Lovett, managing director of the Michigan Manufacturers Association, says: "The big point of the plan is to provide for the orderly transfer of a worker so that he can be employed at his high-

John Marman, president of Local 101, United Rubber Workers, one of desperately trying to cover up for the bosses, says: "The plan will do something practical about manpower hoarding by large corporations by placing workers with skill in their proper jobs. We are supporting the order as a proper step toward win-

But what Lovett, the big industrialist, and Marmon, his labor echo, try to hide is the fact that workers could be employed at higher skills WITHOUT HAVING TO CARRY PASSPORTS IN THE FORM OF WRITTEN CERTIFICATES OF RE-LEASE, which may or may not be

The real purpose of this measure is to drive down the conditions of work generally and in particular to prevent increases in wages.

Now that management is desperately in need of labor, the workers have a chance of bettering their conditions. In order to attract men. various companies have been forced to offer better conditions and others to better conditions in order to keep their men. But now this will no longer be necessary. The WMC takes care of that.

And whereas, after a long appeal, it may be possible for a worker who is working at wages far below the normal rate in the area to change jobs, a worker who is working at the normal rate may not seek a new job for a substantial increase. The shops now are freed of the necessity of raising rates above the present average level. Thus, with prices and taxes ever rising and wage rates frozen at their present level, the Detroit workers will suffer a decrease in the purchasing power of their wages.

The same aim was presented more honestly in the recent order of the War Labor Board fixing the MAXI-MUM rates for tool and die makers and ordering that no company pay

Nation-Wide Measures Next

Detroit is only the experimental laboratory for this pro-boss measure. The workers all over the country must be on guard against it. Raymond Clapper, writing in the Detroit Free Press, states: "... The government has undertaken to prevent men leaving civilian jobs without permission.... The first big experiment comes in the Detroit area."

Plans are already afoot to extend this measure to all of Michigan's 1,000,000 war workers and to freeze 250,000 farm workers in their jobs before spring.

Start Campaign To Force LARY To Hire Negroes

LOS ANGELES-A campaign is getting under way in the Negro community here against the Jim Crow tactics of the Los Angeles Railway, one of the principal transportation companies in Southern California. The company frantically advertises for men to become drivers, conductors and mechanics in order to relieve its terrific manpower shortage, yet it refuses to hire qualified Negroes for these jobs, relegating them to "dancing on a broom" as porters and sweepers.

The labor shortage has cracked more than one company that has used discriminatory practices toward Negroes and other minority groups. But the Los Angeles Railway, which for thirty years has used its power to corrupt and to keep Los Angeles an open shop town, doesn't intend to give in so easily. Only the organized pressure of Negro and labor groups is going to do that.

The Los Angeles Sentinel has started the ball rolling by bringing the matter to the attention of the Negro people in Los Angeles.

It was only a little more than a year ago that the publicity given the bus situation by the Negro and labor newspapers of New York, among them LABOR ACTION, helped promote the picket and boycott action in Harlem which caused the bus companies to hire Negro drivers. When the tens of thousands of Negro patrons refused to ride the buses the traction companies soon saw the light and signed a written agreement with the boycott committee to hire and train a sufficient number of Negro drivers, conductors and others. If such a campaign were to take place in Los Angeles, there is no doubt of its success.

Buy Labor Action In No. Philadelphia:

S.E. Corner-19th and Columbia. N.W. Corner-19th and Master. N.E. Cornes-20th and Turnes.

Pearl Buck And the "War For Freedom"

By Gertrude Shaw

"One can only hope at most, now, that there will be a breathing space between this war and the next. One cannot guarantee that there will be such space."

Thus did Pearl Buck, noted novelist and idealist, addressing a group of world-famous Nobel Prize winners. bluntly speak her sincere opinion, according to her own lights, about this war-which is a good deal more than most so-called idealists are doing these days.

Mrs. Buck is bitterly disillusioned. But it is the fate of all idealists who lack the scientific instruments of Marxian investigation to be disillusioned. Revolutionary socialists. Marxists, were not disillusioned about the war. They knew from the beginning what Mrs. Buck sees only now.

"It is even more inconceivable today that our enemies, Germany and Japan, should win. But the strange thing is that the shadow of war does not grow less as these enemies grow weaker.... It is because we see a certain fate coming closer to us. and these victories do not hold back its march."

The relentless, inevitable, world-shaking event Mrs. Buck refers to is the fight for freedom of "the peoples of Asia and of Africa" and "many among our own people here and in South America."

WHO WILL LEAD THE WAR FOR FREEDOM?

It is strange that, although Mrs. Buck champions freedom for the colonial masses, she yet speaks with a degree of horror and foreboding of their coming fight for it. Why the horror and foreboding? Mrs. Buck says that this will be the "war between the principles of democracy and the principles of fascism" which "has no geographical boundaries." Is that not something to rejoice at especially since she herself calls this "THE REAL WAR FOR FREEDOM"?

Undoubtedly Mrs. Buck is confused and frightened. She is confused as to the nature of the real contending forces; she sees it too much as a struggle between the races of the East and the races of the West. And, in the following passage, it is not clear whether she is afraid of fascism, of the fight of the colonial peoples for freedom, or of both.

"All the victories now being won do not make we safe. Those of us who are Jews are not safe, here or anywhere in the world. Those of us who are women are not safe here or anywhere in the world. The determination to continue rule over colonial empires endangers us, the avowed will to maintain white supremacy at all costs in our own country endangers us. All those who belong to those testing places of democracy, the minorities, the Jews, the Negroes, the women are endangered. All who are the agents of civilization, the intellectuals, the poets and artists and writers, the liberal in mind, the thinkers, the men and women of ideas, the idealists are endangered."

Indeed it is an amazing thing that she makes no mention at all of the working class-as if it did not exist. Yet it should stand at the head of the above list for two very good reasons. One is that the working class is the first and foremost target of fascism. Another is that the working class-not the intellectuals, poets, artists, idealists-is today the only possible agent of civilization. It is the class with the revolutionary mission of ending this and all wars. It is the class with the revolutionary mission of creating the world-wide brotherhood of man, unexploited and unoppressed by ruthless, profit-seeking, colony-grabbing imperialists.

Because Mrs. Buck does not see human progress in terms of a progressive class clearing out of the way the obstructive, exploiting, war-making, reactionary classes, she has no program to offer. Her exposé of this war is brave and commendable. But when she asks "What shall we do?" her answer is deplorable.

She thinks, apparently, that by "speaking out," the idealists can influence the practical statesmen of imperialism "to make this war into a war for freedom." It is the fate of such people as Mrs. Buck who have no guiding and comprehensive understanding of human events, to contradict themselves endlessly. For of these statesmen she herself said:

"Will political France fight so well on our side, when the moment comes, if she knows that there would be no empire at the end of the war? Would imperial Holland be so enthusiastic for the Allied cause if her empire were no longer to exist if the United Nations won? There are many persons who argue that England herself would be less enthusiastic if her empire were not to be restored to her intact at the end of this war."

Mrs. Buck and her group might just as well "SPEAK OUT" to the lion in the act of devouring the lamb.

"Certainly," Mrs. Buck correctely stated, 'the peeples of Asia are now coming to believe that for them our victory will have nothing to do with freedom and equality."

In the same way the workers and peasants of Russia in the last war came to believe that a victory for the Allies would have nothing to do with freedom and equality for them. They, therefore, under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, turned the war into a war for freedom. Thus they brought a speedy end to the terrible slaughter of 1914-18. Unfortunately, because the workers of the West did not come to their aid, world freedom was not then established.

This war of 1938-194? will be over when the workers of all lands join with the oppressed of the colonial countries to form a THIRD CAMP—the United Working and Oppressed Peoples of the World. Better yet, all wars will be over. Freedom-not abstractly, as envisaged by idealists-but concrete working class freedom will have

This is the answer to Mrs. Buck's "What shall we do?"

IMPERIALISM IS COMMON FOE OF EXPLOITED

Mrs. Buck does not understand the coming war for freedom, just as she did not at first understand the imperialist nature of this war. For she says of the coming fight of the colonial people against imperialism that none yet sees clearly either friend or foe." This is exactly what is very plain to the socialist.

The socialist sees the exploited working people of all capitalist countries as the friends of the oppressed colonial peoples. Their common foe will be every imperialism. The colonial peoples will drive the imperialist robbers out of their lands, and the working peoples will beat them to the ground in the homelands of capitalism.

Mrs. Buck-with all her plain speaking on the nature of World War II-still places her hopes in the rotting corpse of capitalist "democracy." In that rests her basis misunderstanding and error. But the socialist knows that the principles of democracy now reside only in the exploited, oppressed working people of the world. The democracy that will man the trenches against fascism is workers' democracy. There is no other democracy



Editorials

Coupon Clippers Make Good --

American Car & Foundry Co. boosted its net earnings for the six months ended October 31 to \$13,424,980 AFTER the usual deductions for depreciation, taxes, amortization, etc., etc. For the same six months in 1941 the company earned \$4,810,521. This means that the holders of some 599,-500 shares of common stock will receive \$20.71 a share. Last year the shareholders received \$6.33 for the same period.

A tidy little increase in "earnings"—no doubt the result of clean living and pious

Pullman Company, sleeping car subsidiary of Pullman, Inc., reported a NET operating income of \$5,867,702 for the ten months ended October 31, compared with \$1,826,243 for the same period last year.

Sir Beveridge Is All Wet!

There are just two points to be added to LABOR ACTION'S previous analysis of the Beveridge plan for a heaven on earth.

One was made by Raymond Daniell, the New York Times' London reporter. On November 28 he reported on the plan: "The best political opinion is that it is doomed before its 120,000 words have ever seen the light of day, so far as this Parliament is concerned. A few innocuous proposals may be adopted, but the bulk is destined to go out of those bomb-blasted windows of Parliament."

The other point-which throws the plan out of the window even before it gets to Parliament-comes from the author himself. Said Sir Beveridge at the Oxford Town Hall on December 6: "If we have mass unemployment we may not be able to carry out the proposals of my report.... I don't know how we shall continue productive emplayment after the war. . . . I do not know how it is to be done and do not even know whether anyone else does."

That seems to hammer the lid down on the coffin of the Beveridge plan with commendable finality. All LABOR ACTION wants to add is that productive employment after the war can be accomplished only if the workers themselves take over the processes of production.

'Freedom of the Press, Inc.

In a recent issue of the Daily Worker, mouthpiece of the Communist Party, the ban on The Militant was cheerfully applauded, indicating that the Stalinists may have a hand in the suppression. The Daily Worker found fault only with the fact that The Militant wasn't suppressed earlier and that other papers, among them LABOR ACTION, were not included.

We forebear from further comment on the position of the Daily Worker, which acts and behaves in the image of Joseph Stalin, the Kremlin tyrant, who is master over all the Daily Workers published in the world. But a reader does suggest that we call attention to the fact that the Daily Worker is officially published by something called the "Freedam of the Press,

Labor Party--

(Continued from page 1)

the war on labor's back. How resist it? The answer lies in militant economic action, and in INDEPENDENT LABOR AC-TION THROUGH A LABOR PARTY.

Labor must begin to think ahead, must begin to think of organizing its own workers' government, a government which will sweep out capitalist rule and replace it with workers' rule. We must begin to think along political lines as a CLASS, seeking OUR OWN political solutions as against those of the capitalist class. Therein lies the especial importance of the Labor Party—in the creation of that indispensable ideology.

The resolution of the Brewster Local and the Labor Party resolutions of other union locals are indications of a general movement in the ranks of labor that will and must swell. But the time has come to get down to cases, to map out the concrete plans. The time has come for a conference of labor unions to lay the foundation of a genuinely independent Labor Party. A Labor Party is feasible today. More than that,

'India in Revolt'

We take space in our editorial columns to urge you to read one of the finest pamphlets written in this or any other year. We refer to the excellent pamphlet, "India in Revolt" (in size it is virtually a book), written for the Workers Party by Henry Judd and reviewed in last week's issue of

It is absolutely vital that every worker be thoroughly informed on the situation in India. The battles now fought by the Indian workers and peasants are of the most direct concern to world labor. Why this is so, you will discover in reading "India in Revolt," which leaves no phase of the Indian problem unanalyzed.

We urge you to get your copy immediately. It is a pamphlet you will thank us for having rec-

LABOR ACTION

A Paper in the Interests of Labor

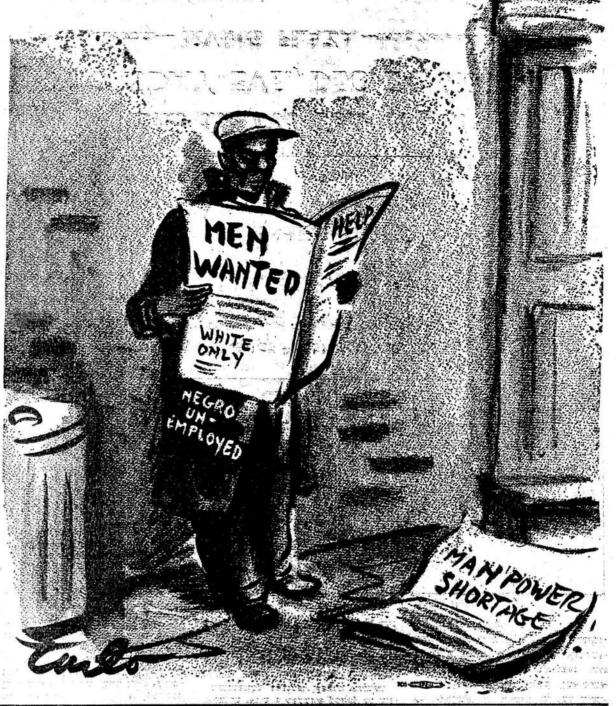
Published Weekly by the Labor Action Publishing Company 114 WEST 14th STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. (3rd Floor)

Vol. 6, No. 51 December 21, 1942

Editor: Emanuel Garrett Subscription Rate: 60 Cents a Year, 75 Cents for Canada, New York and Foreign

Re-entered as second-class matter May 24, 1940, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Crisis in the 'Arsenal of Democracy'!



On the Case of Jan Valtin

Jan Valtin (Richard Krebs), author of "Out of the Night," former agent for the GPU, has been ordered interned and made subject to deportation to Germany after the war.

The case brings to mind the earlier disputes over the first order to deport Valtin, when "Out of the Night" was a best-selling sensation exposing the inner workings of two of the most murderous police regimes in the world. (Valtin was not only connected with the GPU, but, according to his own testimony, he was briefly connected with the Gestano.) As an ex-convict serving a sentence in the state of California for a GPU inspired assault, and as a former secret agent for two foreign governments then in alliance against the United States, Valtin seemed slated for certain deportation.

But his sensational exposure of the GPU and the Gestapo and his literary and lecture campaign against the Stalinists and Nazis, then allied in a pact "sealed with blood," won him a reprieve. Governor Olson of California gave him a full pardon, thus removing his convict status and enabling the State Department to rescind its deportation order.

The new deportation order comes at a time when the war alliances have changed. Stalinist Russia is now an ally of the United Nations. The Russian front has unquestionably been of incalculable aid to the Allies. Therein lies the militarypolitical background to Valtin's deportation. It is not easy to guess what tremendous pressure was exerted by the Stalinists to evoke the

We are by no means partisans of Valtin. We regard him as a political and moral degenerate, trained in the police schools of two assassin regimes. We were never impressed with the reasons for his break with Stalinism, for his joining the Gestapo. and for his subsequent departure from both agencies. It was merely a matter of skin-saving on his part, Nevertheless, his deportation would be a violation of civil rights

and a dangerous precedent -a weapon that could be used against other and more honest anti-Stalinists, as well as against militant unti-fascists in general.

In view of all the circumstances of the case, we cannot avoid the conviction that behind this new order is the vigorous pressure of the native Stalinists and their fellow-travelers who aim to get Valtin out of this country in order to repay him for his exposure of the GPU.

Union Jolts Ford Motor Co. On Jim Crow Hiring Policy

hiring Negro women, Ford Local 600, United Automobile Workers Union, CIO, has announced that victory is in sight.

When the Ford Motor Co. announced a year ago that it would hire women on war work, the Union insisted that no discrimination be exercised because of race, creed or color, but the company began hiring women with a definite policy of his-

crimination against Negro women. "We have campaigned constantly since that time through company officials, adoption of resolutions by our local unions, plant demonstrations and appeals for investigations and

After a full year's battle with the hearings in Detroit by the President's tices," said Shelton Tappes, recording secretary of Local 600, last week when the company agreed to hire Negro women.

Although the company has agreed to hire Negro women in its Willow Run, Highland Park, Lincoln and other Ford plants, the union is watching it closely to make sure that no "ceiling" is placed on the number of Negro women hired. The company has also been informed that nothing short of complete elimination of discrimination will be acceptable to the union.

ENGLAND:

Strike Actions Led By Shop Stewards

By Sylvia Merrill

The Socialist Appeal, organ of the Workers Internationa! League (Fourth International) and the New Leader, organ of the Independent Labor Party, report that 40,000 Tyneside shipbuilding workers went on strike in October and stayed out for eight days.

The strike received a stab in the back from the trade union officials who, in cahoots with the bosses, sprang a new agreement on the workers without consulting them. However, while it won no major concessions for the workers, the strike was a reflection of the growing militancy of the English workers and the importance of the shop stewards who ran the strike.

The workers refused to accept an agreement in which two days' pay would remain in the hands of the bosses by moving back the day on which they were paid from Tuesday to Sunday. When strikes took place after this announcement by the bosses, they agreed to make up the two days' pay the workers would lose over a period of twenty

Although this was a concession, the shop stewards had not been consulted and the workers refused to accept it. The workers proposed that the old agreement stand until the shop stewards could investigate the proposal. They refused to report to work when the besset would not have this, and 80 per cent of the workers in the yards stayed out.

The government, through the so-called inte representative, Bevins, told the workers that it did not intend to depart from the agreement made by the trade unions and the employers.

The strike dragged on and the shop stewards decided to recommend to the workers that they go back to work as a body. To show that this strike had not been an adventure and that the workers had confidence in their shop stewards, all the stewards resigned and a new election held.

At the election, every shop steward who had stood with the workers during the strike was re-elected. This meant that the Stalinists, who had acted as strike-breakers, were thrown out of the workers' committees.

Special mention must be made of the role of the Stalinists in the strike. Despite the fact that the overwhelming majority of workers supported the strike, the Stalinists issued leaflets, called meetings of their own people in order to keep them in line, and appealed to the workers to go back to work. A militant in the Stalinist ranks attacked the strike-breaking policy of the CP and received good support, indicating that all was not rosy among the followers of Kremlin Joe.

The workers at the Tynesic yards saw clearly on whose side the trade union bureaucrats were when their own union organization refused to support them, despite the fact that the workers had democratically decided on their course.

STEWARDS LEAD BELFAST STRIKE OF 10,000 Another manifestation of the militancy of the British workers was the strike at Belfast, where,

on October 26, 10,000 workers went out. Here again the shop stewards took the lead because the regular trade union officials dis-

regarded the wishes of the membership.

When the workers went on strike, refusing to accept the bosses' request to remain at work while the conferences dragged on, the district committee of the Engineers Union, AEU (equivalent to our Machinists' Union), called a meeting to order the workers back to work. The workers boycott the meeting, which was attended by three persons Several hundreds of strikers stood on the opposite side of the road watching the unwanted officials arrive and depart. This was not just an erdinary boycott. The workers came out and impressed their union leaders with their seriousness while not attending the meeting.

The British New Leader reports that the strikers did not"insist on the maintenance of the old earnings in full, but they declared that the substantial reductions imposed on top of the large deductions for income tax reduce their pay, in many instances, below a (decent) living standard."

The workers maintained that they would stay out until an official report by a court of inquiry was made. This they did. They were out for three weeks and by a vote of 1,254 to 175 on the part of the electricians, and 1,617 to 771 by the engineers they decided to go back.

The electricians' strike started because a nonunionist had been employed by a company in an effort to introduce an open shop. The engineers strike started over the demand that they be permitted to work on Sunday because of the higher rate of pay for Sunday work and in order to increase their earnings, which are not adequate to meet their needs. The bosses refused to allow Sunday work. A movement to come to work on Sundays was nevertheless organized by two shop stewards, who were promptly fired.

The spirit of the strikers was very good, especially in view of the fact that they held out for over three weeks against the opposition of the government, the trade union officials, the Labor Party and the Communist Party. And despite all of this opposition, one-third of the strikers voted against going back to work.

Here again we must note that the Stalinists campaigned against the strike. Harry Pollitt came to Belfast and pleaded with the shop stewards to get the men to go back to work. The men paid about as much attention to his pleadings as he deserved.

FROM ALL PARTS OF ENGLAND . . .

company decided to talk turkey.

From all parts of England come reports of strikes small and large.

Four hundred shipwrights won a wage increase after striking when the company refused to great concessions. Just a little militant action, and the

In Glasgow, 2,000 workers struck. They returned to work on the promise of the company to negotiate. The company is still stalling.

Two thousand dock workers struck in Lorden when wages for one week were held up for men who refused to go to Manchester to work under a compulsory order. The workers returned to work needing necotiations.

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!

- 1. Hands off the right to strike! For the defense of civil rights and all workers' rights! Against any wartime dictatorship measures!
- 2. \$1.00-an-hour minimum pay! Time and a half for overtime; double time for Sunday and holiday work.
- 3. Wage increases to meet rising costs. No wage or job freezing! Equal pay for equal work!
- 4. For a greater share of the increasing national income. For a higher standard of living!
- 5. No sales tax on consumer goods! No tax on wages! Against forced savings! 6. For control of price fixing and rationing by committees of working class organizations, housewives and farmers' organizations. Freeze rents and con-
- stop the rise in the cost of living. 7. No government contract without a union contract! The closed shop in all

sumer goods prices at the 1940 level to

- war industries! 8. Maintain and increase all government social services!
- SOAK THE RICH-LET THEM PAY FOR THEIR WAR! 9. A government levy on capital to cover
- the cost of the imperialist war. Confiscate all war profits! 10. Conscript all war industries under work-
- ers' control! 11. Expropriate the "Sixty Families"—the three percent of the people who own

96 per cent of the national wealth!

- DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS TO THE DRAFTEES!
- 12. The right of free speech, free press and free assembly for the men in the armed
- 13. The right of soldiers to vote in all elections.
- 14. The right of all youth, male or female, to vote at the age of eighteen. Old enough to fight; old enough to work; old enough to rote!
- 15. For adequate dependency allowances. paid by the government with NO deductions from the soldier's pay.

SMASH JIM CROW!

- 16. 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
- 17. For full political, social and economic equality for Negroes!

BE PREPARED!

- 18. For Workers' Defense Guards, trained and controlled by the unions, against vigilante and fascist attacks!
- 19. For an Independent Labor Party and a Workers' Government! No political support to the Roosevelt government! 20. For Peace Through Socialism! For the
- independence of all calonies!
- 21. For a World Socialist Federation! Only. a socialist world will destroy capitalist imperialism and fascist barbarism!

"'Twas the Night Before Christmas" -- And a Damn Good Time, was Stirring at

LABOR ACTION'S

XMAS EVE PABITY

BAZAAR—Exciting Values at Amazingly low prices.

DANCING—Gregory Fellx and Seven Swingsters—Village Maestro of Swing and Calypso.

FOLK AND SQUARE DANCING—Choose your partner and cut a

COMMUNITY SING—Oil up your tonsils and sing off key to your heart's content.

DOOR PRIZES

End the Old Year Right! THURSDAY EVE., DEC. 24, 9:00 p.m.

Grand Ballroom- IRVING PLAZA -Irving Place and 15th Street

Admission: 99 Cents (incl. tax)

Come Early, Stay Late

REFRESHMENTS