

# PROFITEERS BOOST PRICES!

## Cost of Living and the Quality of Goods

### We're Getting Shoddy For Our Money

By SUSAN GREEN

Mrs. Philip L. Crowlie, the OPA's "typical housewife," reports: "Housewives are dismayed to see the quality going out of shoes and materials, with prices remaining the same or rising."

Mrs. Crowlie has just made an investigating tour for the OPA in Montana, Utah, Colorado, New Mexico, Nevada, Wyoming and parts of Oregon and Arizona. So it's not only in your home town that you're getting shoddy for your money—and for more of your money at that.

Department store buyers admit that they are putting into their shelves "merchandise that we never would have carried before."

A wholesale butcher in New York recently stated that much of the meat put on the market is only good for "chewing gum," so low is its quality. Undoubtedly, nearly everything from a man's overcoat or suit to a bottle of whisky, from a piece of meat to a piece of furniture, is of questionable quality.

#### Statistics—and Statistics

Yet the Bureau of Labor Statistics unconcernedly continues to publish so-called statistics on the cost of living—statistics that do not take into account AT ALL the deterioration in quality of merchandise. This is frankly admitted by Miss Faith Williams, chief of the Cost of Living Division of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Says Miss Williams: "As for deterioration in quality, we have not been able to find a statistical measure of how much less an item will wear."

Still the Bureau of Labor Statistics says that the cost of living has gone up ONLY 23.4 per cent from January, 1941, to October, 1943. Labor says: "That's a laugh. Such statistics do not reflect the truth as known by every housewife." Every housewife knows that labor is right.

Let us see how poorer quality and higher prices affect the average family budget.

Women's dresses around the \$4.00 or \$5.00 level are now so poorly made and so cheap looking that if a woman buys one she is throwing away her money on a dress that has no durability, warmth or anything. For TWICE AS MUCH she may get a garment comparable to the former \$4.00 quality. The shoddy goods on the market are certainly not priced according to their inferior quality.

A salesman of children's clothing said of a coat his store was selling at \$6.90 which looked like one formerly priced at \$6.00, "but the material in this year's model is so poor that it's not worth anything, really." And how much protection from the cold does a child get who wears such shoddy?

Boys' shirts of inferior quality to those formerly selling for less than a dollar are now priced at more than a dollar.

Several columns could be filled with instance after instance of the same maddening practice of passing off shoddy at higher prices than better quality merchandise used to cost. Home-Made Statistics

Yet the Bureau of Labor Statistics doesn't include such a trifling matter in its cost of living index. It does not know how to measure deterioration in quality!

But the housewife whose youngster in no time at all has run through a pair of shoes costing \$2.98, and who therefore has to decide to try a pair at \$3.98—and has similar experiences all along the line—knows what has happened to the cost of living.

It is not only the exclusion of quality deterioration that makes the cost of living averages of the Bureau of Labor Statistics such a farce.

In figuring averages, these statisticians give the same importance to

items whose price has remained stable but which the housewife does not buy often, as to items of EVERYDAY USE whose prices have SKYROCKETED.

They do not consider the widespread violations in OPA ceilings nor the effects of the black market operating in every field.

Neither do the official figures reflect the runaway prices prevalent in war plant areas.

Nor do they reflect what storekeepers charge good customers for short sale goods—when the statisticians of the Bureau of Labor are not looking.

The official cost of living index does not, of course, include the high cost of taxes to the working class family.

Yet these are the phony figures that are being used to show that labor is on easy street—that workers' wages have gone up more than the cost of living.

Could that be the reason why so many war bonds are already being redeemed by the little man? A reporter for the United Press asked

people standing in line waiting their turn to cash in their bonds, why they were doing it. The answer was, of course, that they needed the money. Some needed money for Christmas presents, some for doctors' bills.

Large groups of workers are now on the move to get more pay. The Little Steel wage formula, based on the farcical cost of living index of the Bureau of Labor, has put more profits into the pockets of the capitalists. The workers are demanding wages commensurate with the REAL cost of living.

What the Capitalists Want

With admirable frankness, the Council calls for a return to "human competition." It demands that labor permit competition between workers.

A little more frankness seeping through from behind the doors of the closed meeting might have put it more plainly: Break the unions; break the solidarity of the working class; pit one unemployed worker against another.

Agitated greatly by the few concessions the workers have wrested from them and their henchmen in Washington, these bosses cry for relief from "government by directives," for their own program of labor relations.

In the economy they plan for the new era they see the opportunity to recapture from starving workers the rights that trade unions have fought for in peace and war for generations.

Their own program of labor relations would supplant the program of partial conciliation with which the New Deal was able to ward off very real threats of the struggle of the workers to improve their lot. Collective bargaining, the wage-and-hour system, social security plans, all the concessions wrung out of a capitalist class faced by the desperation of sixteen million unemployed, would be destroyed.

The strength the bosses have derived from a few years of monstrous war profits will be used in the firm suppression of the militant organizations of the working class. The manner in which this is to be done has already been accorded much deliberation, and has, with the usual arrogance of the lords and masters, even been publicized to a considerable extent.

## NAM Maps Post-War Plans Against Labor

By DAN BERGER

A clear, authoritative voice has cut through the clamor of post-war promises and planning, and it has revealed the intention of the industrial and financial powers that rule the United States to grind into dust the American worker and his unions.

Unemployment is the only sincere plan projected.

Brushing aside, with the unconcern of the practiced liar, all the feverish forecasts of a new world made by the bosses and their government, the National Industrial Council, affiliated with the National Association of Manufacturers, has, in its New York conference, begun to outline the true perspectives and real objectives of the capitalists in the period following the conclusion of their war.

This Council, the bona fide representative of the American ruling

class, contemplates more than a re-entention of the old chaotic, planless capitalism whose reform has been promised to the workers in return for unstinting sacrifice in the factories and on the battlefield.

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## "Incentive Pay" Boomerangs

### WLB Cuts Rates

By STANLEY GREY

The long-standing dispute between UAW Local 817 and the Republic Aircraft Products Division of Aviation Corp. in Detroit over incentive pay rates has ended finally in a serious defeat for the workers.

The National War Labor Board handed down a unanimous decision last week permitting the company to re-time certain piece rates. The "effect of that ruling will be to cut the pay that Republic employees are receiving since most of them work under a piece rate system," comments Business Week (December 4).

This is a major victory for the company which has tried every ruse and legal pretext for over two years to reduce incentive pay bonuses. Republic's success is a victory for every other company which is trying to convert speed-up sweat into greater profits. These companies will learn the lessons of the dispute. The workers, too, must draw THEIR conclusions from this decision of the WLB.

#### Company Chisels Wages

The UAW-Republic dispute is a perfect example of some of the major evils of incentive pay. The contract which provided for piece rates was negotiated in May, 1941. From the very first, the bosses tried to chisel on the rates. They wanted a revision of the rate on the ground that the May contract allowed for a reduction if the workers were making "abnormal wages." It did not take them long to decide that the wages were "abnormal." The union charged that the company was using minor changes in operation methods and tooling as a basis for rate reduction.

At the negotiation of the next contract, the union and company could not agree on rates and the case was certified as a dispute before the WLB. A representative of the board arranged an agreement between the parties which provided for arbitration in case of future disagreements over piece rates.

The company did not relax in its fight. It charged now that the workers were not working at their fastest when they were being timed and were now making "abnormal" sums again by increasing production. The union countered this charge by pointing out that the men were

highly skilled and were working harder and faster than ever before. But the bosses are interested in profits first, production second (and only if it means more profits). They don't count the beads of workers' sweat nor do they measure the workers' physical exhaustion.

#### WLB Acts in the Case

The case went to arbitration in December, 1942. The arbitrator ruled in favor of the company. The union immediately appealed to the Regional Board on the ground that the arbi-

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## Supreme Court Denies Petition To Rehear 'Minneapolis Case'

The Supreme Court of the United States has denied the petition of the eighteen defendants in the Minneapolis Smith gag law case for a rehearing of its refusal to consider their appeals. The motion was denied immediately after it was filed by Osmond K. Fraenkel, American Civil Liberties Union counsel. Thus the eighteen members of the Socialist Workers Party and of the Minneapolis Motor Transport Workers Union, Local 544, CIO, start serving prison terms in a federal penitentiary.

This closes the first court test of the notorious Smith gag law, which was vigorously opposed by labor and liberal leaders as making possible the imprisonment of men, not for what they did, but for what they thought and said. An appeal for a presidential pardon will probably be started soon.

# British Reject Aid to Famine-Stricken Indian People

By SAM ADAMS

The great famine in India, which has reached a death-toll of about a hundred thousand weekly, was highlighted this week by the announcements that Canada and Australia had offered aid to the stricken people but that this aid was rejected by the British government with the curt remark that there was "no shipping space."

It isn't the war which has caused this great misery to the Indian people. Misery has been part of India as long as British imperialism has ruled the country.

About ten years ago, Major-General Sir John Megaw, director of the Indian Medical Service, reported that:

Forty-one per cent of India is poorly nourished! Twenty per cent of India is very poorly nourished! Eighty million Indians are always hungry!

With special reference to the province of Bengal, this same report disclosed that seventy-eight per cent of the people are underfed, and added: "The peasantry of Bengal are in large proportion taking to a dietary on which even rats would not live for more than a few weeks."

The situation has not improved in the past ten years. This is clearly represented in the fact that in the present starvation period hundreds of thousands of Indians have already died, with millions in the process of dying. It is further represented by the fact that the life expectancy of the average Indian is twenty-seven years, while that of the Englishman is sixty, and the American almost sixty-four.

There are some immediate interests involved.

It is common knowledge that there is a great deal of hoarding of food in India—indulged in by Britishers and native profiteers. This hoarding has resulted in a tremendous rise in prices and, therefore, in the profits

of the merchants and speculators. An influx of food in any form would force these war profiteers to disgorge their hoardings and compete with relief food—they would be compelled to lower their prices.

In addition, there are political reasons for the brutal policy of the British government. An alleviation of the inhuman conditions under which the Indian masses live would be an indication of weakness on the part of the British rulers. Keeping the masses in a state of semi-starvation, the British rulers believe, strengthens their hold on the country and weakens the fighting power of the native

population which yearns for freedom and independence.

In the face of mass dying and the "corpse brigades" (they go about the major cities of India collecting the dead for burial in common graves), Australia and Canada offered to send wheat and other foods to the colony. Australia has a surplus of four million tons of wheat. This, according to the New York newspaper, PM, is several times the amount needed to end the Indian food shortage.

The Canadian government, which likewise has a great surplus of wheat, offered 100,000 tons of grain, equivalent to 37,500,000 loaves of bread, free of charge to the Indian people.

The press reported that Lord Wavell, new Viceroy of India, accepted the gift, but it was rejected by the former Viceroy, Leopold Amery, British Secretary of State for India, a big business man with a reputed fortune of five million dollars. The rejection was necessary, said the former Viceroy, noted for the brutality of his rule in India, because of the lack of "shipping space."

The excuse about the lack of shipping space has now been fully exploded. An investigation made by I. F. Stone, Washington correspondent of The Nation and PM, disclosed that such shipping space was available. He reported that a great amount of shipping space is now used to bring "unnecessary bauxite from South America," while production of bauxite in

Arkansas has been cut down.

The report further disclosed that a great amount of shipping space is utilized to keep British gold mining industries of South Africa going, while gold mining in this country has been reduced by seventy per cent.

With fifty million tons of shipping now owned and controlled by the

Allies, Stone says, food could be easily transported to India. This fact he confirmed with government officials and trade union leaders in the shipping industry.

For our part, we haven't the slightest doubt that if British policy favored relieving the starvation of India, ways and means could be found for the transportation of food and other necessities. But that is exactly

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MASS ACTION

By David Coolidge

On the Hiring of Negroes At East Alton, Ill.

The Western Cartridge Company does not employ Negroes at its East Alton, Ill., plant for the reason that "local residents" have maintained a hostile attitude toward hiring of Negroes at Western Cartridge or other local industrial plants.

Negroes have had a thorny road in this area for many decades. It was near East Alton in Alton Ill., that Lovejoy the abolitionist was murdered by a pro-slavery mob. Lovejoy was the publisher of an anti-slavery newspaper. The pro-slavery gangsters had already destroyed three presses belonging to Lovejoy and murdered him in an attack to destroy the fourth press which he had bought.

We take it that there are anti-Negro gangsters in this area today ready to tear down the plant of the Western Cartridge Company should it employ Negro workers. We are also of the opinion that there are a lot of white workers in that plant who have no objection to working with Negroes. Those who do, object will learn to work with Negroes if the Western Cartridge Company goes ahead and puts Negroes to work in the plant. This has happened in other situations and can be repeated all over the United States.

If a strike were in progress at Western Cartridge, and scabs were being run into the plant, the company officials would be yelling their heads off for the city, county, state and federal governments to "protect our loyal employees."

The union can do a job here, too. It can demand that Negroes be hired. It can protect these Negro workers with union defense guards. These union defense guards can protect Negro workers not only in the plant, but if necessary, to and from the plant, against the attacks of anti-Negro, anti-union hoodlums.

An Incident on a Train in Texas

Down in Galveston, Texas, two Negro soldiers were refused a seat in the dining car of a Missouri Pacific train. They were told by the steward and the conductor to "go back where you belong, you cant eat in here."

The Negro waiters, backed up by the train porters, refused to serve the white people in the dining car. They refused to feed anybody until the ban against the Negro soldiers was lifted. The white guests insisted on being served but the waiters held the line.

Finally the steward and conductor surrendered, and the Negro soldiers were served along with the white people. Later the Missouri Pacific issued an order that Negroes be served on its trains along with other people.

This should serve as an example to all handkerchief-heads and Uncle Toms, white and black, and, especially, to all unions.

Carnegie Unionist Sends a Letter

Meetings of Local 65, United Steel Workers Union, Chicago - Illinois Steel Corp., Chicago South Works, have recently been concerned with the new national contract to be negotiated between the Steel Workers Union and the United States Steel Corp.

However, Local 65 has a long way to go to become a well functioning union capable of leading the membership in any conflict with the company. The local's leadership fails to take the necessary energetic measures to insure active participation by the rank and file in union affairs. This is aggravated by undemocratic procedures of the union leadership.

For example, a special membership meeting was recently called to discuss and adopt the local's demands for the new wage contract. However, the local union leadership failed to issue and distribute a sufficient quantity of leaflets among the men to assure a big attendance. This could have been easily achieved if the leadership was seriously interested in having the ranks take part in the union proceedings.

Also, this week-end the Illinois State Industrial Union Council, central body of unions affiliated with the CIO, is holding its third annual convention. Local 65 is not yet affiliated with the CIO Industrial Union Council. Still, the Executive Committee of Local 65, without consultation of the membership, selected ten delegates to attend the CIO State Council convention.

Undoubtedly it is in the interests of the Carnegie-Illinois Chicago South Works employees to belong to this state-wide body of labor. But, in my opinion, the only democratic way to have acted is to have called a union meeting, explained why the Carnegie-Illinois workers should be represented, and then recommended that the union affiliate and send delegates to the CIO convention.

Carnegie-Illinois Steel Worker.

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

More Comments on the Miners' Fight

To the Editor:

The article concerning the latest decision by the WLB on the Ickes-Lewis contract, which I am sending you together with this letter, was written a week ago—that is, before I had an opportunity to see the letter of B. H., Detroit, which was printed in the last issue of LABOR ACTION. This article expresses fairly fully my own views on the miners' situation.

B. H. is puzzled about my November 15 article because of a headline proclaiming a victory for the miners and a statement in it to the effect that they had smashed the Little Steel formula, while the article as a whole, as well as a piece on November 8, attempts to prove that the miners got practically nothing.

In the interest of clarity, B. H. and other readers should be informed that I am responsible for the "practically nothing" view; the headline and the other statement, with which B. H. agrees, are to be attributed to the editor.

I must agree with your comment (in answer to B. H.'s letter) that my article was "too analytical of the wage demands without concentrating its attention on the implications and significance of the fight the coal diggers... made."

I cannot, however, agree (although you thus seek to explain the weakness of my article) that "the difficul-

ty lay in the fact that all the facts were not at hand when it was written." More important, I cannot agree with you that the Little Steel formula has been "smashed" and "in effect shattered." After all, on November 8 you said (and who did not then agree with you?) that the WLB's Illinois decision embodied "miserable proposals," which tried to cheat the miners "out of their due." The Ickes-Lewis contract had to be modeled after this very decision.

In this respect the WLB itself seems to me to have the correct view: it was really the prestige of the no-strike pledge that suffered a fearful blow. This situation makes it possible (but only possible) for the rest of the labor movement to shatter the Little Steel formula.

Phil Murray (and his likes), reaffirming the no-strike pledge very, very firmly, at the same time that he asks for a seventeen-cent wage increase, expects not to shatter the Little Steel formula but to give it a slight stretch. It was on this aspect of the situation that my November 15 article concentrated its attention, issuing a warning to the rank and file of the labor movement generally that the present policies of their leadership might bend slightly, but not break, the bars of the WLB's wage prison.

Walter Weiss.

By this time everyone seems agreed that the miners won not only a moral victory, but also gained something in the way of a wage increase. The wage increase was not nearly enough or anything like what the miners demanded. Moreover, their increased income will come mainly through the longer work week, and only to a lesser extent from an allowance on portal-to-portal pay. But they won other things too: paid vacations, tools, etc.

Weiss disputes whether the miners "smashed" the Little Steel formula, or that their fight had "in effect shattered it." Formally, he appears to be right, for evidently the WLB insists that it has not violated the formula, even though one day it calls for its abolition and the next day demands its strict enforcement.

But it is necessary to recall several things, and to bear them in mind. The miners struck four times. They got a contract from the government while they were on strike—something the WLB said it would NEVER agree to. They got a contract SIMILAR, but not the same, to one which the WLB had previously refused to sign. But most important of all, the miners laid the groundwork for a real assault by the whole labor movement against the formula and the WLB.

It is only necessary to bear in

mind that, after the miners' fight and contract, Murray's Steel Workers Union, the United Electrical Workers, Textile and other unions have publicly announced their determination to get wage increases. R. J. Thomas has called upon all UAW locals to join the fight against the Little Steel formula.

Of course, I do not mean to convey the idea that all that remains to be done by labor is to sit back and watch the formula disappear. No, the task now is to bury it with concrete action in the form of a fight for wage increases.

The miners accomplished many things in their fight, but two are decisively important: it destroyed any real influence which the WLB had on the workers; and it showed that a fight can defeat the boss-minded WLB majority.

So far as the facts at hand were concerned, Weiss will recall reading the Mine Workers Journal and trying to figure out the contradictory statements made by Ickes, Davis and the editors of the Journal, all of which appeared in one issue.

To bring this discussion to a close, let us remember the important fact in the case: the miners did a job, unprecedented in the American labor movement — THEY PAVED THE WAY FOR THE REST OF THE UNIONS.—The Editor.

Watered Stock Nets 300% Dividend

The Glenn L. Martin Company has declared a dividend of 300 per cent on all its outstanding stock. The way the public is tricked in the announcement of these extortionate dividends is very simple if one sits down and figures it out. The dailies announced last May that the Martin company declared a dividend of \$1.50 per share on its stock. Last week it declared another dividend of \$1.50 per share. Most of the public is unwittingly led to infer that this is three per cent on a share figuring, subconsciously, that a share of stock is valued at \$100.

The truth is that the Martin stock is nothing but water. The firm went through bankruptcy in the Federal Court here in Baltimore in January, 1935. Before bankruptcy its stock had no par value, but the court allowed it a valuation of one dollar a share in spite of the sworn testimony of the company that it was insolvent.

The RFC loaned the company one and one-half million dollars because no one else would lend it any money, due to the lack of security.

Thus when the company pays in 1943 three dollars dividend on a share of stock valued at one dollar, it is paying a 300 per cent dividend. This is being done after all taxes have been paid and after Martin has paid himself and his associates handsome salaries. In addition to this, enormous sums of money are put into surplus. Last year the earnings on Martin stock were well over 7,000 per cent. The full amount is not paid to the stockholders but it held in reserve.

Even though the 300 per cent paid on war contracts is an atrocious crime, it is but a small part of what the company has been able to fitch from the kindly old gent with the chin whiskers. More on this later.

Well known writers of financial articles circulated in Wall Street and regarded as highly dependable, predict that when peace comes Martin will make more money; and the selling price of his stock will soar skyward.

The anomaly of the present situation is that Martin stock has never gone over \$35 on the Exchange. It has fluctuated between that figure and \$14 for the past four years. The stock is closely held and whereas it is stated 7,000 people hold the stock, over two-thirds of it is in the Martin family. At one time there were only two stockholders—judged to be Glenn Martin and his mother.

The Wall Street speculators are watching the claims of Martin concerning post-war plans. Some guessing is done about the value of claims to certain patents, among which are

the rubber inner tubing, the self-sealing gas tanks, etc. It is generally expected that Martin stock will not be offered for sale. When a few shares are sold on the Exchange it is as though the transfer is made in such a way as to keep the price down. Very few sales are made and these enormous and unconscionable profits are kept very quietly in the background.

Not long ago we wrote an article proving beyond any question of doubt that in 1942 Martin could have doubled all wages, including minor supervision, given the government more and better planes and returned over sixteen million dollars to the U. S. Treasury. We have challenged (and renew the challenge) Martin, any CPA, any member of Congress or anyone at all to disprove that statement.

Food Profiteers Boost Prices --

(Continued from page 1) cities (rail, water and truck) "co-operate" (that is, indulge in monopolistic practices) too much.

In fact, the food industry is just one more glaring example of the abuses of monopoly control in American industry. In 1941, says the FTC, four companies sold seventy-seven per cent of all cookies and crackers; one sold forty-six per cent of all processed cereals; seven companies, seventy-one and a half per cent of all cane sugar; four meat packers, sixty-seven per cent of all meat, etc.

To tell the truth, there is nothing much new about any of the above "sensational" revelations. The Public Affairs Committee in 1940 put out a pamphlet entitled "Fifty-nine Cents of Your Dollar—the Cost of Distribution," which set forth similar facts, though on the basis of a broader definition of distribution. Modern capitalism, on the one hand, is extremely efficient at producing weapons of war and, on the other, investigations that

lead to no action. If investigations come at an inconvenient time or yield inconvenient results, they can always be suppressed.

Outrageous Profits! Distribution costs—that's only a LITTLE abuse of the food monopoly. How about their profits? Isn't that an issue, too? The OPA has made a few war profits studies, of which we give a couple samples:

Wholesale grocers: In 1942 they sold in dollar value forty-three per cent more than in 1939, but PROFITS went up TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTEEN per cent.

Meat packers: Dollar value of sales up eighty-three per cent over the 1936-39 period. PROFITS up THREE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-FIVE per cent.

As Business Week said on October 30, the OPA never tried to publicize any of its studies on profits (neither, need we add, did the newspapers), but you could get the reports by re-

questing them—if you requested soon enough. There were 1,500 copies of the meat packer report.

The eighth report, however, one on the fruit and vegetable canners, was suppressed altogether. Why? Well, said Business Week, the OPA is now making an effort to be on friendly terms with business. And business has often accused the OPA of an unnecessary and excessive interest in profits! The reports, even with limited circulation, were too revealing as to the real cause for the high cost of living.

The true story of food costs, and other costs, too, is perfectly clear: extravagant waste and outrageous profit. That's not what we hear every day. We hear: mounting costs of production, too much purchasing power in the hands of the low income groups. That's the story told by the industrialists, the farm bloc, the newspapers, the Roosevelt Administration.

Let prices go up, say the first

three. That will take care of the excess purchasing power—and enrich us, too.

Need a Labor Program No, says Roosevelt. If prices go up, how can I keep wages down? How about a nice big "gift" in the form of subsidies instead?

The labor leaders? They support Roosevelt. They admit that production costs have gone up and that prices must increase, unless there are subsidies.

They admit a lie. They know they admit a lie. If, says Business Week, labor should reveal the facts—!

Neither price increases nor subsidies are needed! Lower prices! Lower profits! Higher wages!

That's the program for labor. The rank and file will have to drag the leaders from Roosevelt's coat tails. Independent action all along the line and an independent political party of labor. That's the program for labor!

"Incentive Pay" Rates Cut by WLB --

(Continued from page 1) trator's decision violated the Economic Stabilization Act, which did not allow "decrease in wages for any particular work below the highest wages paid therefor between January 1, 1941, and September 15, 1942."

The Regional Board suggested a joint time study by the union and company and no change lower than "the average hourly rates for the particular job for the period between September 15, 1942, and December 15, 1942." This was a clear-cut victory for labor.

The company, however, did not like the wage decision nor the idea of labor snooping into its time-study "engineering" department. It appealed to Washington, to the "reliable" WLB. True to form, the board came through in favor of the bosses.

The decision states that the arbitrator's "award—the one permitting the company to reduce piece-rates—has status and must be effectuated." It also rejected the Regional Board's suggestion for joint time-study and the wage period it had established as a basis.

Anticipating labor's cry about the Stabilization Act, the decision tells the union not to worry. Of course it's a very "complex matter," but the WLB will appoint a special representative to "effectuate... reconciliation of the company's program under

the arbitration award with the national wage stabilization program." Concretely, that means that the WLB will somehow manage to squeeze the company's payroll cut through the soles of the stabilization program.

Detroit UAW Militants Caucus for Labor Party

DETROIT—The Michigan State CIO Political Action Conference held in Lansing the week-end of December 4-5 has had immediate repercussions in the labor movement here.

When it became clear that the state CIO leadership had turned thumbs down on any move to organize a Labor Party, militant unionists under the leadership of Emil Mazey of UAW Local 212 and Paul Silvers of UAW Local 351 organized a pro-Labor Party caucus, which had its first meeting immediately after the conclusion of the Lansing conference.

Nothing has been made public at this time regarding the composition, program and specific aims of this insurgent movement and it seems probable at this time that a public campaign will not be started before Jan-

Business Week, in chortling over this astounding victory for business, says that the decision "promises to...deflate some of the UAW ardor for incentive pay" (December 4, page 82). Yes, indeed! Most-UAW workers do not need any more "deflation"

on that score. The older and more experienced workers have sweated out the meaning of speed-up and incentive schemes. And they have had their bellyful! The newer workers must learn from this experience and draw the lessons from their own. The capitalist carries his heart in his pocket-book. He cannot bear the strain of "abnormal wages" and will use every trick and deception to convert them into abnormal profits.

The Republic dispute reveals the profit-hungry capitalist not satisfied with the huge profits of incentive, even when the rates are normal, but always and relentlessly slashing away at the worker's wage. Readers of LABOR ACTION know well the real meaning of incentive pay. Dug out of the grave, where years of militant labor action had buried them, speed-up sweat-shop methods were dressed up and masked with the nice-sounding label of incentive pay by the Communist Party production-bounds in co-operation with big business. Incentive plans mean less wages in PROPORTION to total amount of work put out. It is a veritable boss's paradise. The lesson is clear: Labor must reject any form of the piecework, speed-up system called "incentive pay."

WORLD EVENTS

By Europacus

Today I want to use this space to reprint a report from a New York Herald Tribune correspondent in India. We have printed many horrible stories on Nazi oppression; it is well from time to time to remember that British imperialism in India also causes the most horrible sufferings imaginable to the oppressed Indian people.

peared to be a family of grandmother, mother and three children, sat on the sidewalk on Old Court Road near the American Red Cross, Enlisted Men's Club today. The smallest child, an infant of less than a year, was lying naked on its stomach. The rest of the family, all dressed in dirty rags, pointed to the child and moaned in unison.

Family Dressed in Rags

Starving mothers carrying starving infants in their arms are everywhere. The cry of "Khana (food), Sahib," is everywhere. At night the feeble, protesting cries of undernourished children can be heard in Calcutta's principle streets.

In the Sealdah Bazar meat market three children were sweeping up bits of goat's fat, bone and gristle scraped from the chopping block onto the sidewalk by the butcher. Elsewhere in the bazar there were quick scuffles when hawkers tossed away over-ripe fruits and vegetables.

At the Great Eastern, Calcutta's leading hotel, you can go from a seven-course dinner into the midst of starving people in the three minutes it takes to walk from the dining room to the sidewalk.

The Calcutta City Corporation's health officer announced on November 10 that 13,732 starving persons had been admitted to city hospitals since August 18 and that 13,614 deaths of "paupers" had been recorded in the period from August 1 to November 6.

There is no accurate record of starvation deaths in the province, but estimates vary from 10,000 to 50,000 a week.

May Britain Be Proud!

CALCUTTA, Dec. 11—Many of the thousands of starving people who have swarmed into Calcutta since the beginning of the Bengal famine in August exist on a diet gleaned from the city's garbage cans and garbage dumps. They make their homes on the sidewalks or wherever nightfall finds them.

An emaciated man stood in the maidan (park) across from the Grand Hotel at noon today and tossed bits of food, rifled from a public garbage wagon, into his mouth like an American at a football game might eat popcorn.

In front of the hotel an American Army nurse handed a weeping boy eight annas (about sixteen cents). She was immediately besieged by five other boys and girls in various stages of malnutrition.

For the last two days a boy of about eight years, whose bloated stomach and spindly limbs testify to an advanced stage of starvation, has sat naked in the middle of the sidewalk near the hotel, in hands in attitude of prayer and his eyes staring straight ahead.

A group of five destitutes who ap-

NAM Bosses --

(Continued from page 1)

unemployment by the armistice, they require, first of all, lower wartime taxes to permit the accumulation of even greater reserves than the present swollen ones, and, secondly, a severance pay of seventy-five per cent of all their government contracts terminated by the close of the war.

Throughout the war, the capitalist class has been determined to keep the standard of living of workers down to depression standards. It has attacked pay rises successfully enough to freeze wages at the low level of September 15, 1942. At the same time big business has prospered that its latest demands are an insult to the intelligence.

Surveys by its own institutes for research and development of the art of economic robbery have unashamedly demonstrated that, despite taxes and wages, profits have risen to new highs. The New York Times for the last two Sundays has buried these facts in its financial pages because they would show what lies are told in its editorial attacks on "confiscatory" taxes and "booming wages." Salaries of executives have risen by as much as THIRTY-SEVEN HUNDRED per cent!

The matter of accumulating reserves is also one on which the bosses have issued an abundance of falsifications. Reserves of the bosses fall into two important categories: their non-taxable reserves deducted from profits before taxes, and the refunds available to them from the taxes which they have already paid. Government statistics have established that these reserves in many cases are equal to a full year's operating costs.

The full picture shows that the capitalists of America have reached new peaks of wealth and monopolistic strength. It also shows that exactly the reverse is planned for the workers.

They Promise Unemployment! Side by side with assurances that the post-war world will be all-a-bustle with full production, expanded even beyond wartime capacity, come cool, quite honest estimates of the number of industries which will quietly cease production the moment the war ends.

A recent survey of the aircraft industry showed that its bosses have determined to close down from one to four weeks after the armistice. Other industries have answered questionnaires issued by their own manufacturers' associations with statements that indicate "reconversion" to peacetime production will take place principally in those industries that never changed their production for war purposes. The point of all this may be stated in one word—UNEMPLOYMENT!

The bosses see the coming period as of the restoration of the "normal" order of things, depression and unemployment, in which they hope to starve the workers and their unions into submission.

Next Week--

The Yugoslav Provisional Government, by Max Shachtman, national secretary of the Workers Party.

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# World Politics: The Low Art of High Diplomacy

By Leon Gordon

Churchill-Roosevelt took on, one by one, Chiang Kai-shek, Stalin, and Inonu. They emerged with communiques proclaiming "our common policy," "complete understanding," "concord," "enduring peace" and similar honeyed phrases.

So that this unbroken harmony, so free from all base jealousies, among the Allies and their satellites may be fully appreciated, we complete the big picture with a few supplementary little scenes:

1. Kim Ku, president of the provisional Korean government in Chungking, denounced the Cairo (Chiang) conference pledge that Korea would be freed "in due course" as absurd, warning that Korea would fight unless given immediate "independence the moment of the Japanese collapse." Koreans in China, said Kim, are furious about the expression "in due course."

2. While Chungking officials applauded the results of the Cairo conference, "the populace, in street and cafe discussions, generally emphasizes what the communiques did not contain" (UP dispatch, December 4). In other words, they are asking, for example, how about the British and Hong Kong.

## SMUTS SPEAKS FOR THE EMPIRE

3. General Smuts, chief spokesman of the British cabinet when Churchill is away, expressed fear that Britain would be a poor third in the Big Three unless the weak democracies of Western Europe put themselves under British influence.

"The greatest lesson of this war," said he, "is the value of power."

Since France, Italy and Germany will be of no consequence in Europe, and Japan of none in Asia, there will be no "check or balance" on Russian power. The possibility of a great China in the East he did not even mention—the mere idea being too obviously absurd to a practical mind.

The Smuts speech was given privately to the Empire Parliamentary Association, before three hundred members of the Commons and Lords, including twenty ministers of the government. They decided, and he consented, to make it public.

4. The Free French radio denounced the Smuts speech as "brutal and unjust," asserting that France would be great again, not by the charity of others, but by "her power and her strength, which she will be able to throw into the balance in the important moment."

5. Tito in Yugoslavia formed a temporary government, with himself as President, thus challenging Mikhailovitch, King Peter and the Yugoslav government in exile. Whereupon Mikhailovitch declared war on Tito.

6. In Italy the sad "liberals," led by Sforza and Croce, complained of fascistic tendencies of the government and the complete lack of civil liberties. They "place part of the blame—upon the occupying authorities." The British, they say, favor the monarchy; the Americans favor "a sort of fascism for the present as a bulwark against communism."

## A MOUTHFUL OF TURKEY

7. After a three-day conference, Turkey reaffirmed her alliance with Britain and her traditional friendship for all the Big Three, and it was announced that the political situation was reviewed in the closest unity.

"The briefness of the talks indicated that the heat was placed on Turkey in a hurry," said the indelicate dispatch of the New York Times correspondent.

The Turks had it "drummed into their heads" by the Allies that they will have to get on the bandwagon whenever the Allies choose.

When pictures were taken, Roosevelt said to Churchill, "Let us put the President of Turkey between us."

A few days later the Turkish Foreign Minister said: "We examined all aspects of the problems with BRUTAL FRANKNESS but with extremely cordial understanding of each other."

Only a jaundiced eye could fail to enjoy all this harmony, so natural among the Allies and their underlings.

## The Political Future of 13,000,000 Americans

# Negroes Must Fight for a Labor Party

By W. F. CARLTON

Twenty Negroes, most of them well known in the political world, have issued what they have entitled a Declaration by Negro Voters. The declaration is signed by various church organizations, officials of NAACP, fraternal organizations, Miller of the International Longshoremen's Association, Philip Randolph of the Sleeping Car Porters, etc. The press claims that the signers represent six million voters.

Such well known persons as Mary McLeon Bethune, Thurgood Marshall and Walter White, to mention only a few, have not shown in the past that they are ready to associate themselves with anything calling for militant action by the Negro masses. Yet the document is of great significance. It represents a certain stage of development among the masses of the Negro people and is worth careful examination.

### What the Document Says

The most important trend in the document is the unconcealed distrust of both the Republican and Democratic Parties.

Says the document: "This statement is designed both to make clear the Negro's present attitude of resentment against the shortcomings of both major political parties and to serve as a guide in measuring the future intentions of parties and candidates."

Here the document expresses the disgust of the great masses of Negroes not only with the Republican Party but with the Roosevelt Administration. The document goes on to say lamely that the record of all political candidates in regard to Negro questions will be scrutinized and anti-Negro candidates will be opposed.

"No candidate from any section of the country will be acceptable to Negro voters unless he has clearly demonstrated opposition to and departure from the prevailing anti-Negro traditions."

Where Shall Negroes Turn? This is the kind of a threat which, unless it is followed up by action,

can only result in another deception of the masses of the Negroes. Do the signers of this declaration, for instance, consider that Wendell Willkie has clearly demonstrated his opposition to or his departure from the prevailing anti-Negro traditions? Willkie wants the Negro vote and has been making all sorts of promises and declarations as to what should be done for the benefit of Negroes. Yet the Roosevelt Administration has deceived the Negroes shamelessly. A great part of this document they issued is devoted to an impressive list of the crimes perpetrated against the Negro people in the armed forces of the nation.

It demands that these wrongs should cease. How is it possible for any serious Negro politician to believe that a Republican administration will right these wrongs? Or, again, why should anyone believe that the present administration, if re-elected, would do in 1945 what it has so consistently refused to do from the beginning of the war to the present day?

Here we have a very typical example of the hesitation and confusion of the Negro leaders even when they express, as they do here, the recognition by the masses of the prevailing anti-Negro traditions among both parties.

### Look to Labor

Is there any alternative for the Negroes away from the two traditional parties? There most certainly is. The document contains one very significant passage:

"We call upon enlightened labor, church, farm and other groups to oppose actively the current wave of reaction. We will combine on a minimum program with such enlightened groups. Together these groups constitute a majority of the electorate. Together we will beat back the tide of reaction and build a more decent world now and in the post-war years which can insure a durable peace."

Here, stated with great timidity, are the elements of a way out for the masses of the Negro people. The only

powerful force in the country which can lead an opposition to the prevailing anti-Negro tradition of the Democratic and Republican Parties is the organized force of labor. There are today strong forces in the labor movement seeking to mobilize labor for independent political action. Here is a chance for these Negro leaders to lead.

The document shows, as is proper, a predominant concern for the rights of the Negro people. But it shows also that its signers recognize that the fate of the Negro people is bound up with the fate of the United States as a whole.

### For a Labor Party

The obvious thing is for these leaders to formulate a program of their own which will express the clear-cut wishes for equality in all spheres by the masses of the Negro people. At the same time they must formulate a bold program for the country as a whole, a program which will embrace the needs and desires of labor and all suffering and oppressed groups.

The UAW, for instance, has already put forward a program which can serve as a basis for discussion. The document recognizes that labor, the Negroes and various other oppressed groups "constitute a majority of the electorate." There is no need for these Negro leaders to keep uttering vague threats against the Republican and Democratic Parties. There is no law which compels them to be waiting for others to take the political initiative on their behalf. Leaders must lead. They are now in a position to come out boldly for a Labor Party, and to make their special and general contribution to the elaboration of the program of such a party. The Negro masses must let them know this in no uncertain manner. Without this they will never act.

This is no time for refusing to recognize the obvious. This is no time for perpetuating old illusions. The Democratic Party and the Republican Party represent the ruling classes of this country. From them the Negroes can expect nothing but large promises and small performances. The

only alternative force in the country try which can offer the Negroes some perspective is the organized force of labor. We repeat: There is no other force in the country which can lead the opposition to the capitalist parties with any prospects of success.

But it is not enough to recognize this only in words. The Negro leaders must be forced to take the initiative. They must place boldly before the leaders of organized labor the necessity for a clean break with the old parties and the elaboration of a program which will help to build a more decent world and begin that reconstruction of society without which the Negro people will never rise from their present degradation.

The declaration follows the current practice by stating that the main thing before the public is the winning of the war. Most Negroes would probably say that their first problem is to win their democratic rights, and they do not want to wait "until the war is won." At the same time the declaration demands an end to imperialism and colonial exploitation. Here again these leaders mislead and confuse the Negro masses. In practice, their policy means subordinating the struggle of the Negroes for freedom in this country. It means continuation of the exploitation of colonial millions in Africa, in India and in many other parts of Asia. The decent world can only be built by the overthrow of all imperialism. There is no other way.

However, a beginning can be made. It can be made by the unity under the leadership of labor of all the suffering and oppressed groups in the country, of whom the Negroes suffer most and are the most oppressed. The great millions of them are today ready for militant leadership. These leaders who issue these timid declarations in their name must either make up their minds to lead or be swept away by new leaders who will turn their backs on the Democratic and Republican Parties and throw their energies into the formation of an independent Labor Party.

# Hope of Veterans Lies with the Labor Movement

By Hildy Johnson

The problem of providing for discharged service men is already a pressing one, with some 600,000 service men discharged since Pearl Harbor, and the prospect of adjusting over 10,000,000 men to civilian life after the war.

At present, congressional action has been limited to the usual number of pretty speeches promising not to let "our boys" down, and to committee action on a bill providing mustering-out pay. This bill, unanimously approved by the Senate Military Affairs Committee, is now in a House committee.

The Senate bill sets up a pay scale based on length of service at home and overseas. All service men, honorably discharged, from the ranks of Army colonel and Navy commander down, would be eligible for mustering-out pay. The proposed scale runs \$500 for more than eighteen months of overseas service; \$400 for more than twelve months; \$300 for less than twelve months; and \$200 for less than twelve months of service within this country.

## VITAL NEEDS OF EX-SERVICE MEN

President Roosevelt, in his message to Congress asking for a bill for mustering-out pay, was forced to point out the shortcomings of present social security legislation as far as discharged service men were concerned. Discharged service men and Merchant Mariners are not eligible for unemployment insurance under the Federal Social Security Law, since, technically, the service men are not considered as "working" during the time they were in uniform and the maritime workers are not employed in any state and thus ineligible for state employment benefits.

Another loophole—when a soldier is killed in action, his widow may lose her survivor's pension under the Social Security Act, since his contribution stopped during military service.

Besides such obvious loopholes, there is no provision in the bill for health insurance, education of service men for new and useful trades and continuation of education begun in the services; education of minor dependents of soldiers killed or special provision for service men who wish to buy farms. Even the proposed Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill, which merely closed the loopholes of the Federal Social Security Bill, has been buried in House and Senate committees since last summer.

## CIO PROGRAM FOR DISCHARGED MEN

The CIO took official action on the problem of returning service men in a resolution at the annual convention this fall. The resolution recognized that any post-war program for returning service men and those in the Merchant Marine must be based on good jobs and opportunity for all which cannot be achieved without full employment nationally. It points out the danger that without proper security, veterans may fall prey to anti-union and pro-fascist propaganda.

The resolution comes out against any plan to keep men in service to prevent unemployment and demands they be put in constructive employment in civilian work. The program calls for: immediate preparation of demobilization plans to speed the return of service men and Merchant Marine workers to civilian life; endorsement of the CIO policy of union agreements which protect the seniority and positions of service men; enactment of legislation for a well planned federal education program to help veterans get the kind of education they need; regular allowances for disabled veterans and seamen and their dependents; training benefits and special consideration in employment; full protection for dependents of service men and seamen killed or incapacitated in the war, including an education for minor dependents.

The final plank of the CIO resolution states: "It is jobs which the service men and the members of the Merchant Marine will want when they return to civilian life. The CIO pledges that it will direct all of its energy to this task. The service men and seamen should be protected so that following their demobilization and until they obtain regular employment they should be given the same pay which they received in the service."

This pledge of the CIO and of organized labor cannot remain on paper, to be trotted out and passed unanimously as showpieces at conventions. The fight for the future of the veterans is a life and death question for the union, too. Returning service men are not going to be content with eking out an existence on unemployment insurance—if they can get it. They are going to demand action to better their conditions. Already at the far-flung fighting fronts there has been effective anti-labor propaganda about the high-paid "silk-shirt" defense workers who are "stabbing our soldiers in the back" by striking, etc. These men will be easy prey for the union-busters and fascists if they come home to find no jobs and a dole. Organized labor MUST make sure there are jobs for these men.

# FDR and His "Warless" World

By GERTRUDE SHAW

While Mr. Roosevelt was in Iran, he addressed United States troops at Camp Amirabad, situated on the slopes of Teheran, where the conference between Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin took place.

The President told these men of the Persian Gulf Service Command that the conference made great progress in planning "a world for us and for our children when war will cease to be necessary."

No doubt the soldiers in that distant land belonging to the Iranians liked to hear the President utter those words. They are nice-sounding words. But, on examination, what do these words actually mean?

### IS WAR "NECESSARY" NOW?

In the first place, they imply that TODAY war is necessary. However, in the most basic sense, this is not true.

To illustrate the meaning of this statement, here are a few examples:

Let us say there was a time when it was necessary that a large percentage of the children of the world have rickets and grow up with all kinds of bone deformities. But rickets has been proved to be a disease of malnutrition, preventable by proper food—of which there is plenty in the world and of which, under a socialist system, there could be even more. The reason for that is that under socialism food would be produced for use, for the good of all humanity. Under capitalism, food is produced primarily for profit; needs are completely secondary.

That today children in this modern world are still bow-legged is a testimonial of social injustice—not of social necessity.

Again, there was a time when mine accidents, trapping and killing helpless miners, were claimed to be unavoidable and necessary. Now, however, scientists and engineers have the know-how for

preventing mine disasters. Their occurrence today is, by and large, a social crime of mine-owners unwilling to part with a small fraction of their profits to make the mines safe to work in.

In this sense war is not necessary today, was not in 1914, and, in reality, HAS NEVER BEEN NECESSARY!

For today there could be plenty for all the world now being laid waste by war instead. Man has learned the secrets of the air, the sea, the surface and the bowels of the earth. Man knows his way around with atoms and electrons. He has fashioned machines which are miracles of production for factory and farm, for mine and plantation. The world is teeming with millions of able hands willing to build and operate those machines for peacetime production of abundance. Wonderful means of transportation by air, sea and land are here for peoples—peacefully and for their mutual benefit—to exchange their products according to their needs.

That the peoples of the world are today exchanging bombs and destruction instead of the good things of and for life, is not a necessity. It is the outcome of capitalist imperialism standing in the way of the peoples of the earth.

### WHAT DID FDR MEAN?

Then what did Mr. Roosevelt mean by the phrase, "a world for us and for our children when war will cease to be necessary"? Did he mean that the Teheran conference made great progress in planning to end capitalist imperialism?

Of course, this is merely begging the question. Everybody knows that Mr. Roosevelt is pledged to preserve the American profit system, which means American imperialism—that Mr. Churchill is pledged to preserve the Imperial British Empire—that Mr. Stalin is ambitious for a new Russian Empire.

# State Department Dooms Refugees

By WILLIAM GORMAN

Last week a congressional committee was considering a bill to set up a special commission "to effectuate the rescue of the Jewish people of Europe." The State Department came out against this move, as it obviously meant that the jurisdiction of the State Department over the refugee problem was going to be challenged by the contemplated new commission.

Assistant Secretary of State Breckinridge Long appeared before the House Foreign Affairs Committee to give the opinions of his department. The New York Times reported that his testimony on the bill "...indicated Mr. Long's feeling that such legislation would...constitute a criticism of what the State Department has done quietly toward this end."

In answer to any such criticism, Long insisted that the record of his department was good and that it had done everything possible for the victimized Jews of Europe. But as usual with the State Department, what Long didn't say is more important than what he said. One thing is clear: the State Department insists that its handling of the refugee question remain a secret buried in its dusty files in Washington.

### The Record of Ten Years

It is worth while here to review the record. Not for the sake of Long; he knows it too well. That is pre-

cisely why he doesn't discuss it in public.

In 1933, Secretary of State Hull assured the American Jewish Congress that the anti-Semitic wave in Germany would be stopped by the Nazi government. Anyway, that is what the Nazis said.

By 1938 it had become clear that the Nazis were the instigators and not the preventers of pogromism. An international conference was called at Evian, Switzerland, to discuss ways and means of saving the lives of German Jews. But just as in the disarmament conferences—everybody urged everybody else to disarm, so here too, every country urged every other country to open their doors wide. In fact, it was at that time that dead bodies were washed up on the shores of Palestine; the bodies of Jewish refugees who tried to swim from their ships anchored out on the sea, because they had no visas!

It was the same year in which the two great "democrats," Chamberlain and Daladier, flew to Hitler and Mussolini in Munich. They all posed smilingly for pictures. But not one word was said, not one move was made to save or even to alleviate the desperate plight of German Jewry.

### And More Recently

The more agony of European Jewry has aroused great protest in this country and England. The diplomats tried to save their shamed faces with

another conference, this time in Bermuda. No delegates from organized Jewry were allowed; detailed reports of the rescue of European Jewry, reports which would have inspired hope and courage in Europe's most cruelly oppressed people, were never issued. Representative Sol Bloom, who attended the Bermuda Conference, openly stated that the conference did not lift a finger to halt the slaughter of the Jews of Nazified Europe.

Well known liberals such as Leon Henderson, Dean Alfange and Congressman Will Rogers, Jr., all have severely criticized the Allied governments for their inaction.

Dr. Israel Goldstein declared before the Jewish Conference earlier this year that feasible programs for the rescue of European Jewry were presented to the governments but "the will for great salvation is weak."

Eliahu Doblin, a deputy member of the Jewish Agency of Palestine, said in a report: "Many opportunities for saving Jewish refugees were lost because there weren't enough immigration certificates and they weren't given out in time."

A few days after Long's defense of the State Department, Representative Emanuel Celler challenged Long to give the figures of how many Jews entered this country in the last few years compared with the number who requested admission.

Or did Mr. Roosevelt mean that with the "aggressor nations" vanquished, "war will cease to be necessary"? But this is a fantastic assumption. For how long will German and Japanese capitalism remain crushed? Again, what will prevent a new crop of "aggressors" from springing up?

For instance, according to one of the main spokesmen of the British Empire, General Smuts, Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, Britain has become an "unequal" partner, compared to the United States and Russia, which have such tremendous national resources. What will stop England from "aggressing"? In fact, General Smuts already suggests aggressive intentions toward Western Europe!

### CLEAR THINKING NEEDED

In this world crisis, clear thinking is of the utmost importance. One must ask: How is FDR's "world when war will cease to be necessary" different from Woodrow Wilson's "war to end all wars"?

World War I was the first of the World War series. World War II is the second. The Cairo and Teheran conferences did not scotch World War III because ruling class statesmen confer on the basis of the power politics of imperialism—and that means war sooner or later.

Only the working peoples of the world can end the World War series.

The correct starting point is that wars are not necessary right now—no waiting for a promised millennium created for propaganda purposes! For the peoples of the world to arrive at the longed-for destiny of humanity to produce and exchange the things of life in peace and plenty, they must rid themselves of the motives of capitalist profits and imperialist power in international relations. That is saying that international capitalism is their enemy.

Humanity needs a socialist world!

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Competition in the Middle East

The Inter-Allied Oil Conflict

By PAUL ULLMAN
While British and American politicians wildly throw their arms around each other and serenade themselves with sweet songs of brotherhood and lifelong co-operation, the capitalists of the separate countries continue their struggle for economic domination of the world.

This part of the world offers two main attractions to world capitalism. The first is the almighty oil, which many have proved to be much more expensive than blood; the second is the wholesome prospect of 100,000,000 customers for manufactured goods.

Company's refineries at Abadan, Iran. It should be understood that Britain is still mistress of oil in the Near East but these recent developments indicate the beginnings of a competitive struggle over the precious fluid.

for the immediate purpose of organizing production and trade in the Middle East so as to get some much-needed wheat to Greece, at that time fighting a desperate battle against the Axis. The three major over-all aims of the MESC were to develop local production of needed war materials, assess and assist import requirements of the various countries and control of imports in order to eliminate non-essential materials.

Competition in the Middle East

Recent developments in the Near and Middle East add another chapter to the story of this crucial struggle.

Railroads Defy FEPC --

(Continued from page 1)
displace whites. Negro firemen were the accepted majority for fifty years on Southern railroads, until automatic stokers and Diesel-powered engines changed the dirty, heavy work into desirable jobs.

tensions (my emphasis—M.W.) of Negroes to be engineers and conductors. In this single sentence Ross gives the answer to the role of the FEPC. It is not fighting for equality for the Negro. It is merely trying to placate, with a few small favors, the leaders of the Negroes.

which forbade discrimination because of race, color or creed. But Roosevelt created this body as a moral stimulant. He didn't give it teeth. Now that the FEPC has issued a directive, no matter how weak, no matter how incomplete, it can do more.

In answer to American criticism of Britain domination, the British quite correctly point out that America is following exactly the same policy in North Africa. These are the main elements of American-British trade competition in that section of the world.

Sparks in the News...

By JOHN BERNE
Freda Kirchwey, of The Nation, reporting her personal experiences among British workers, wrote, among other things: "The American miners, I think, have become a symbol in Britain, not of irresponsibility or indifference to duty, but of aggressive, independent labor action..."

dia, has put in the shade developments in the Caribbean colony of the United States, namely, Puerto Rico. However, unemployment and actual hunger are so rife in Puerto Rico that its Roosevelt-appointed governor, Rexford Tugwell, has warned Congress "it must either provide help or face the possible necessity of suppressing an angry people who may feel that they have been wronged."

"A Tennessee sheriff had deputized two hundred company guards in an effort to break a strike of copper miners at Copper Hill, Tenn. When two power lines feeding the copper mine were blown up, the sheriff and his company guards, aided by two FBI agents, rounded up more than fifty strikers and held them incommunicado in a YMCA building on the company's grounds until the confessions were obtained. Some of the men were held and questioned for ten days before being taken to court." No, not in Nazi Germany. Right here in the good old USA.

Indian Famine --

(Continued from page 1)
what the British imperialists oppose, as they have always opposed the "pampering" of the colony. The present situation in India indicates how absolutely necessary is the freedom and independence of the country now. British rule has brought nothing but misery, poverty, slavery,

exploitation and starvation to the people. The British government, which has only recently freed the fascist Sir Oswald Mosley from his three-room apartment prison for ill health, keeps Gandhi, Nehru and thousands of other Indians in jail who demand the national independence of their country. This is not because Great Britain has any intention of granting such independence after the war. Churchill already made that clear when he said that he was not the King's Prime Minister for the purpose of presiding over the "liquidation of the British Empire."

Georgia Justice

No one knows where Precious E. Grant, taken out of a county jail in Georgia by two "unknown" men, is. The Negro press reports the widespread belief that he has been lynched and his body left for carrion birds in the nearby woods. Grant, a Negro, was arrested last March on a warrant sworn out by a white woman charging him with attempted rape. The woman failed to identify Grant as her assailant, saying that a man whose racial identity she did not know grabbed her from behind and instantly released her after she screamed. Police officials in the small town of Cedartown, Ga., claim that "two unknown white men came and removed him from his cell and he has not been seen since." The dispatch does not say that the officials resisted this jailbreak, nor does it say what efforts have been made to find the lost man. Grant was a veteran of World War I. He was considered good enough to fight, but not good enough to defend against "two unknown white men" in a small town where usually everyone is known.

India in Revolt
By Henry Judd
25 Cents Postpaid

WORKERS PARTY
114 West 14th Street
New York 11, N. Y.

NAACP Asks Hull's Help For Randolph to Speak

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Secretary of State Cordell Hull has been asked to use his influence "as one of the most distinguished citizens of Tennessee" in the matter of the denial of free speech in the city of Memphis to A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Mr. Randolph was scheduled to speak in Memphis on November 7, but on November 6 Sheriff O. H. Perry sent deputy sheriffs to the homes of fifteen leading Negro citizens, ordering them to appear in the sheriff's office at three o'clock that day. When they assembled he told them bluntly that Randolph would not be permitted to speak and that the meeting must be cancelled. The NAACP, which made the appeal to Secretary Hull, wrote:

"It is to be presumed that the sheriff, mayor and governor are familiar with the constitutional guarantees of the rights of free speech and assembly. The issue involved in this flaunting of the federal and state constitutions... is one which is closely allied with the principles for which the United Nations are fighting this war... When you as Secretary of State attend international conferences such as the one at Moscow... the bona fides of American pronouncements regarding democracy are measured by what is actually occurring in the United States. "We therefore suggest and strongly urge that you use whatever influence is yours with the governor of your state and with the officials of Memphis and of Shelby County to correct this flagrant violation of the Constitution. We suggest that one specific step would be for the state of Tennessee and the officials of the city of Memphis and Shelby County to join in inviting Mr. Randolph to speak in Memphis with the full protection and authority of responsible officials."



Labor Must Enter Fight

So once more the problem of the Negro is being used as a political football. Two chairmen of the FEPC have already resigned. What is there left for Ross to do? It is clear that only the organized labor movement can provide a committee which can militantly and fearlessly carry on the fight for equal rights for Negroes. Only the force and weight of this movement can gain the confidence of the Negro workers. It remains for the labor movement to take hold on this fight to educate the workers in class solidarity and to help break them from the bonds of boss-inspired prejudice.

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Great Britain's Policy Incites Arab-Jewish Warfare in Palestine

By JESSIE KAAREN
A new wave of arms searches in Jewish settlements has interrupted the short period of comparative quiet which Palestine enjoyed following the previous highly publicized trials for alleged arms smuggling to the Jewish colonists. The latest pretext used by the British police to force their way into the colonies is that of searching for "Polish deserters." In the last two raids, one at the village of Ramath Hakovesh, where one settler was killed by the police when he refused to "co-operate," and another one carried out more recently against the town of Hulda, Polish army troops accompanied the Palestinian authorities! In the first raid, the British police herded the men of the village behind barbed wire enclosures, while they went through the village. After a day-long search, the villagers became restive and one man was killed in the ensuing fracas. About thirty-five colonists were arrested and several people were hurt, including the police. The Hebrew dailies were suspended for publishing "inflammatory" accounts of the raid. Public demonstrations took place all over Palestine following the funeral of the settler and a one-hour work stoppage was carried out by Jewish workers throughout the country. More than a hundred armed policemen participated in the second raid on the small village of Hulda, aided by British and Polish troops. British soldiers again surrounded the colony to assist the Polish army in its search for "deserters." "No deserters were found," the British commander testified later at the trial of the Hulda villagers who were arrested, "but later the police arrived and discovered arms which were lying UNHIDDEN in a shed in the settlement." At the trials now going on involving seven of the villagers, two of whom have pleaded guilty, testimony showed that the village is in an isolated section of the country and that the primitive roads leading to it run through Arab villages. The village was burned to the ground during the Arab riots of 1929, and again three years later it was destroyed with the loss of seventeen inhabitants. At another time, the settlers in Hulda were entirely cut off from the rest of the country by Arab bands and had to be supplied with food by airplane. SAME JUDGE—SAME VERDICT The trial is being presided over by Major Russell Lawrence, the

same magistrate who conducted the first highly advertised arms trial in which a Jewish taxi driver and a soldier, Lieb Sirkin and Abraham Rachlin, were sentenced to ten and seven years respectively for alleged gun running. According to a late dispatch from Palestine, the seven villagers of Hulda were declared guilty and were given the choice of disclosing where they obtained the arms, in which case their sentence would be lightened, or of serving long prison sentences. Counsel at the trial pointed out that the rioters responsible for the death of seventeen villagers during the Arab-Jewish fights of several years ago, have never been brought to trial, while the men who prepare to defend the village against future attacks are being punished. A Conservative member of Parliament, S. S. Hamersley, writing to the London Times, says: "The majority of the Arabs possess arms, and fearing that worse is to come, the Jews have taken steps to defend themselves. Can we blame them?" He adds that the Arabs have used disorders as "an instrument to force the British government to modify the original intention of a home in Palestine for the Jews." He should have said that it is the British government which is deliberately provoking Arab-Jewish riots, as it has done several times before. As Pierre Van Passen puts it in his latest book, they are "steering straight for an explosion." Van Passen, as well as other journalists who wrote eye-witness accounts of the former riots, charges that the British Colonial Office has systematically sabotaged every effort at Arab-Jewish reconciliation as being contrary to British imperialist interests. FIGHT OVER THE WHITE PAPER The present campaign of terror by the British against Jewish colonists is a large-scale expansion of its former riot-provoking efforts. Where in former years the British authorities simply turned a deaf ear to the plea for help when the rioting began, in the present instance it deliberately goes out to the colonies to get some trouble started and then imports journalists at its own expense to give the trials a world-wide flavor. As was pointed out in a previous issue of LABOR ACTION, British policy in Palestine has as its main objective the stirring up of world opinion, particularly American opinion, in support of

the Macdonald White Paper, which bars further Jewish immigration (except with Arab consent) as of April, 1944. The need to bolster up the unpopular White Paper is great because the desperate situation of the refugee Jewish population of Europe, making it imperative for world Jewry and even for national governments to concern themselves about a country to which these refugees can go, causes a great deal of sympathy for the idea that Palestine, the only country that wants them, should be considered as a natural solution to the problem. Thus the pressure is heavy against Great Britain to liberalize its anti-immigration policy, but the British government is just as determined not to yield. It means to exclude Palestine as a place of refuge for the Jews and it is out to prove that Great Britain must prevent them from coming into Palestine in order to avoid a civil war between the Arabs and the Jews. But no policy of arms searches is conducted in Arab villages, where the nationalist movement is strong and militant and undoubtedly well fortified. There is no British persecution against the Arabs, even though the nationalist movement is strongly pro-Axis. Of course, in the early days of the war, when German troops threatened the whole Middle East, the Grand Mufti, who was openly broadcasting fascist propaganda, had to be exiled and some of his followers also had to leave the country. But at the present time Great Britain is love-feasting with the Arabs and is permitting the Mufti's lesser satellites to return from exile. This does not mean that the British Palestinian-mandate government will introduce any benevolent measures to ameliorate the dreadful poverty-stricken conditions of the Arab peasants. This friendship toward the Arabs is merely an attempt by Britain to establish good relations with top nationalist leaders, to corral them into a pan-Arab federation under the "kindly" protection of Great Britain and so maintain the vast Arab territories in a state of quiet, thus removing one serious threat to its continued domination of India and the Far East. WHOM DO THE JEWISH PEOPLE FIGHT? That Great Britain is "appeasing" the Arab leaders, even to ignoring the storing of arms by the Arabs, all at the expense of the Jews, is no new policy, as we have mentioned. The Jewish population is still very bitter over the 1936 events, when the Palestinian

police maintained a very indifferent attitude toward the destruction of Jewish life and property. One hopeful aspect in the present situation is that the Jews have turned their wrath against the British, rather than against the Arabs. Until now, they pursued the tactic of staking their cards with the British against the Arabs. The Zionist movement throughout the world has always played pressure politics with the British and United States governments in the mistaken notion that they could win diplomatic support for their aims, as a specially privileged minority group. Even today, the major emphasis in the anti-White Paper campaign is to appeal to the American government to intercede with Great Britain on behalf of permitting Jewish immigration into Palestine. But the Jews in Palestine proper are having their eyes turned in a different direction by the sharpness of events and by the direct, brutal way that their desire for self-defense is being exploited by the British for their own imperialist aims. Attempts at Arab-Jewish reconciliation are being made. Scientific surveys have been issued to prove that Palestine can absorb millions of new Jewish inhabitants and that this process would build up the country to the point where it can become one of the more advanced small nations of the world. The defense of Palestine and the fight to permit the refugees to enter will shift more and more to the actual inhabitants of the country who are displaying more and more spirit and more and more fight toward their real enemies. The Arab peasants do not have to be weaned away from the British. They do not need to be won away from their narrowly chauvinistic leaders who play around with Axis interests one day and on another day use British imperialism for keeping their poverty-ridden peasants from turning against their own landlords. The need for Jewish-Arab unity is so great that the likelihood is that the masses of Palestine will take matters into their own hands. The young Jewish militants of Palestine who will return from the war will have a clearer conception than before of how to go about developing their land. They will know how to start moving together with the Arab people to oust an imperialist oppressor that keeps millions of peasants in a state of medieval backwardness, that prevents the industrial development of the Middle East, and that permits millions of refugees to die like trapped animals in European barracks while Palestine stands ready to take them in.