

CIO-AFL ASSAIL LABOR DRAFT BILL; FIGHT EFFORTS TO CRIPPLE UNIONS

WDL and NAACP Blast Conscription of Workers

NEW YORK CITY—Sam B. Eubanks, chairman of the Free Labor Committee of the Workers Defense League, which the New York Herald Tribune called the "spearhead" of the opposition to draft-labor proposals, replied to the President's call for a national war service act by firmly reiterating the opposition of labor to the Austin-Wadsworth bill and similar national war service proposals.

Excerpts from the statement of Mr. Eubanks, who is executive vice-president of the American Newspaper Guild, follow:

"The President's proposal for a national service act is a big step on the road toward a native American totalitarianism. The Thirteenth Amendment forbids 'involuntary servitude.' But what else can we call the application of legal compulsion to millions of Americans working for private employers, who make private profits out of this labor?"

"The emphasis supplied by the daily newspapers on the President's call for national service legislation betrays the desires of selfish interests to further exploit labor under the guise of the war emergency. It is certainly worthy of note that national service legislation is seized upon as the number one point of the President's five-point program. It recalls the parallel treatment of the President's recommendation for a wage stabilization act as part of his seven-point program of April, 1942. We cannot forget that the wage stabilization point of that program as it has been applied particularly to the small wage earner is the only point ever made effective."

"The President points out that this bill is not necessary to win the war. This is a tremendous under-statement. A compulsory labor act has no connection with industrial efficiency. Competent engineers, labor leaders and business managers have almost unanimously testified that such an act would introduce confusion into American industry and hinder war production. Furthermore,

any attempt to impose a labor draft will destroy national unity and set off bitter conflicts in every walk of American life. It will be an extension of governmental bureaucracy into vast new sections of our society. "I most emphatically do not agree

Negro Manpower Not Utilized

NEW YORK CITY—Opposition to a national service act, as suggested by President Roosevelt, and as embodied in the present Austin-Wadsworth bill, was voiced January 12 by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Last April 1, two representatives of the NAACP, Walter White and Charles H. Houston, testified before a Senate committee on the Austin-Wadsworth bill, opposing it on the ground that (a) thousands of Negroes were still excluded from employment on account of prejudice; (b) other thousands of Negroes were employed below their skills; and (c) the enactment of such a bill would result in freezing Negro workers in certain categories and areas of the country.

"The situation has not changed materially between last April and today," said Roy Wilkins, assistant secretary of the NAACP. "Negro workers available in the Atlanta, Ga., area were by-passed, with few exceptions, and white workers imported when a Bell Aircraft factory was opened there in 1943. An assembly plant for four-engined bombers in Texas has refused so far to employ Negro skilled workers."

"There are thousands of examples of Negro skilled workers drawing the pay of 'helpers' as assistants to white men they have trained in the skill. "This Association believes that voluntary manpower allocation cannot be said to be a failure as long as more than one-half million Negro workers, at a conservative estimate, are either refused jobs or are underemployed."

with the President that this is the democratic way to win the war. Such a statement is either cynicism or demagoguery, or both. Borrowing the tactics of totalitarianism will, on the contrary, undermine our democracy and make our government similar to the ones we are fighting.

"It is amazing that this measure is proposed when steel mills are no longer required to operate at capacity, and the Aluminum Workers' Union president, Nick Zonarich, has to plead with the government not to lay off aluminum workers.

"We are confident that labor, liberal and church groups will continue their unalterable opposition to draft-labor legislation."

Mr. Eubanks' statement was approved by the National Administrative Committee of the Workers Defense League.

The Free Labor Committee of the Workers Defense League, which Mr. Eubanks heads, was called "the spearhead of organized labor's opposition" to the Austin-Wadsworth bill in an editorial by the New York Herald Tribune on July 27. It includes among its members: Sal B. Hoffman, president of the Upholsterers International Union; James B. Carey, secretary of the CIO; James Myers, industrial secretary of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ; John Chamberlain, New York Times book reviewer and director of Freedom House's Bureau of Labor Industrial Relations; Victor Reuther, assistant director of the National War Policies Division of the United Auto Workers; Willard S. Townsend, president of the United Transport Service Employees; A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; George Schuyler, associate editor of the Pittsburgh Courier; Broadus Mitchell, research director of the ILGWU; Louis Hollander, vice-president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; Ed Benedict, secretary-treasurer of the International Woodworkers of America.

By SUSAN GREEN

There is no doubt at all that the purpose of a national service law, or conscription of labor, proposed by the President, is a strike-breaking device.

Only the uninformed can believe that this measure is proposed to solve the manpower question. The simple fact is that the "manpower situation" has turned into the beginning of an unemployment situation.

Nine Men Named 'Wilson'--

According to the "United Automobile Worker"—and it knows—the General Motors Corporation made net profits in 1943 of \$364,312,000, after payment of taxes and deducting all allowances. Yes, sir—free, clear and wrapped up in tissue paper—\$364,312,000.

The share of the du Pont family alone in this war melon is a big slice—\$60,791,760.

C. E. Wilson, president of GM, comes in for a cut of \$502,605. That breaks down to an hourly "wage" of \$213.

The UAW-CIO discovered that GM employs eight other men named Wilson, namely, a heat treat operator, a press operator, a shear helper, a foundry worker, three unskilled laborers and a sweeper.

It can easily be seen that these Wilsons are representative workers absolutely indispensable to the production of the things GM turns out.

But the wages of these other Wilsons who are not the president of the company range from 87 cents to \$1.07 an hour. Get a microscope to see that as against the \$213 "hourly rate" of Wilson, the big shot.

Even if you add up the hourly rates of all the eight little Wilsons, it comes only to \$8.07 an hour for eight men—still hardly visible as against that \$213 an hour taken by Wilson, the big boy.

For each one of the little Wilsons to earn \$213, he has to put in around two hundred hours—or, roughly speaking, five forty-hour weeks, as against just ONE HOUR of the big shot's time.

This is how the wealth produced by labor is distributed under the system of "free enterprise."



'Scrap the Union' Is GM Reply to UAW Demands

By MIKE WYLIE

The General Motors Corporation, colossus of American auto and war production, has revealed its master plan to smash the United Auto Workers Union.

Appearing before a Detroit panel of the War Labor Board, especially set up by the national WLB to hear the dispute between GM and the UAW regarding the union's proposal to abrogate the Little Steel formula and set up a post-war security fund, Harry B. Coen presented the following counter-proposals for the corporation:

Destroy the shop steward system in all GM plants.

Abolish seniority as the basis for promotions and transfers.

Reintroduce piecework and the speed-up through an "incentive pay" plan.

On the first point, the company wants the present contract changed to make it mandatory for the individual worker to discuss his complaint with his foreman before certification of grievance and before he can call on his steward or commit-tee man for help. Walter P. Reuther, UAW vice-president and union representative at the hearings, charged that the compulsory provision demanded by the corporation would "eliminate collective bargaining at the lowest level in the bargaining procedure."

GM Seeks to Break Union

As spokesman for the auto industry and corporate wealth in general, the General Motors Corporation proposal constitutes a threat to the balance of power in the industry. (Continued on page 2)

Steel workers are being laid off because of cut-backs in war orders. The same is true of aluminum workers and many others. As R. J. Thomas, president of the United Automobile Workers, stated: "Great numbers of our war workers are being laid off. Others are denied full-time employment."

With this development in unemployment, there are no two ways about the meaning of the proposed conscription of labor: IT IS AN ATTEMPT TO TAKE AWAY FROM LABOR ITS BASIC RIGHT TO STRIKE. And the President said as much in his message to Congress.

A further fact that makes it quite clear that labor conscription is not prompted by a manpower shortage is the fact that thousands upon thousands of capable and skilled Negro workers are kept out of jobs for which they are suited.

It may, therefore, be confusing to some workers why there should be opposition in Congress to the President's proposal to conscript labor as an anti-strike measure. Opposition in Congress is pretty strong. The latest news from Washington, as LABOR ACTION goes to press, is that the House Military Affairs Committee voted to "postpone indefinitely further consideration of such legislation" as recommended by the President.

In the Halls of Congress

Does this perchance indicate a pro-labor attitude in the halls of Congress? Banish the thought. What the anti-labor contingent in Congress is looking for is to put more teeth into the Smith-Connelly bill. Mr. Smith—one of the authors of that boss law aimed at the very heart of labor and that specimen of capitalist politician known as a Southern Democrat—has already proposed a brand new bill that "would outlaw strikes for the duration through the application of sanctions."

In a word, while the President, in his usual suave way, seeks to take away from the working class the right to strike in a round-about fashion, his opponents in Congress want no monkey-shines, but a direct, definite and unmistakable anti-strike law with sharper teeth than the Smith-Connelly law has.

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND HIS CONGRESSIONAL OPPOSITION IS ONE OF METHOD—AND NOT ONE OF PURPOSE

An Attack on Unionism

Naturally every attempt to take away from labor its strike weapon is also an attack on unionism itself. Very bluntly this angle is covered by Phelps Adams, reporting in the New York Sun on the new Smith bill. Mr. Adams stated: "The effect of the legislation would be to wipe an offending union out of existence for the duration of the war."

No less than that—"to wipe an offending union out of existence"! At least that's stated so every worker can understand its meaning.

But how about President Roosevelt's way? Is his way less anti-union? Let us see what Presidents Green and Murray of the AFL and CIO have to say about that?

These misguided labor leaders who have been so busy around Washington pointed out that the Senate committee considering the Austin-Wadsworth national service bill—which is (Continued on page 2)

FDR's Message to Congress

By DAVID COOLIDGE

In his message to Congress, demanding the passage of a national service act, President Roosevelt makes the statement: "Although I believe that we and our Allies can win the war without such a measure, I am certain that nothing less than total mobilization of all our resources of manpower and capital will guarantee an earlier victory, and reduce the toll of suffering and sorrow and blood." In other words, the act is not considered a win-the-war measure but only a means of bringing the war to an end sooner than could be expected without this act.

Bringing the war to an end with military victory for the United Nations involves many factors. There are the political and strategic aspects of the war, which are handled by Roosevelt and Churchill. There are the tactical and technical military aspects, which are under the care of the general staffs. There is the question of financing the war, which is under the supervision of the fiscal and legislative bodies. There is the matter of production, which is in the hands of the government production boards, the owners of industry and their hired technical, research and managerial staffs.

The other factor in production is labor. But labor has no control or appreciable influence in the determination of political decisions, strategy, appropriations for the war, research, planning, supervision, organization or military tactics. All of these matters are in the hands of the government and the owners of industry.

Labor Gives—Capital Takes

Labor's role is to go into the plants, mills, mines and on the means of transport for the purpose of working under the supervision and direction of the government and the employers. It is admitted that labor has done this so well and to the extent that over 60,000 planes were produced last year. The steel industry produced up to capacity. Ships slid down the ways so fast and in such quantities that finding names and sponsors became a problem. Tanks rolled out in such huge quantities that the commanders on the fronts called for a let-up. Ammunition has been piled high all over the country. The workers have put hundreds of millions into war bonds, the Red Cross and the USO. Millions of workers are in the armed forces. This is what labor has done. What

have the capitalist owners of industry done? Their most outstanding feat has been to increase their profits, raise the salaries of their corporation executives without limit, pay more dividends than ever before in history and keep up an insistent demand for more rigorous control of labor by the government, for an increase in working hours, for a reduction in wages, and for higher prices. This has been the chief contribution of the big capitalist owners of industry toward winning the war or guaranteeing "an earlier victory" to "reduce the toll of suffering and sorrow and blood."

FDR's Little List

But Mr. Roosevelt calls for a national service act aimed solely at and against labor. This is the fact. Let the labor leaders explain this away if they can. To be sure, Mr. Roosevelt has other "demands" in his list of five: "a realistic tax law which will tax all unreasonable profits," "a continuation of the law for the renegotiation of war contracts," "a cost of food law," "early re-enactment of the stabilization statute of October, 1942," "This last is the infamous 'anti-inflation' law which was to 'stabilize' wages, prices and salaries."

Salaries went up, prices continued to rise and the only thing "stabilized" was wages. With the rise in prices, the real result was to lower wages.

Roosevelt says that he would not recommend a national service law "unless the other laws were passed to keep down the cost of living." This means that the national service law probably will not be passed, and Roosevelt must know this. Congress may pass a law for the more stringent regulation of labor but it will never pass a law that will be equally rigorous with their masters, the capitalist employers and bankers.

The capitalist government of Franklin D. Roosevelt will not and (Continued on page 3)

Food Stamps No Substitute For Jobs and Good Wages

By NANCY NATHAN

Everybody remembers the food stamp plan of depression-days. The families of the unemployed and on relief think of food stamps with a bitter taste in their mouths.

There were many protests against this humiliation of the poor on two scores. The stamp plan branded them publicly, in every store they went, with the stamp of poverty. The stamp plan did not allow the poor to buy what they wanted and needed, but compelled them to buy what they could get for the stamps.

Very few indeed of the recipients of food stamps under that first plan considered it a substitute for jobs and decent pay or for cash relief.

This old and unwelcome acquaintance has again bobbed up. Last July a bill was introduced in the Senate for a food stamp plan for low income families. On January 6, 1944, the War Food Administration came out with an endorsement of such legislation. So Congress will be considering the matter at this session.

The basic reason for the new food stamp plan is the same as the basic reason for the one that came in with the depression—namely, there are millions of people who are not getting enough to eat. In the interest of what is known as "public health" something had to be done about it then—and something has to be done about it now.

It is a sad commentary on the capitalist system that millions of people are insufficiently fed, not only in depression years but also in boom years.

Milk and Honey—For Whom?

Nobody can deny that the United States is today in the biggest war boom period in all its history. In fact, the capitalist press—without blinking an eyelash—assures us that the working people are getting rich out of the war, not the capitalists.

And yet, in the midst of this flow of milk and honey, the War Food Administration estimates that 18,000,000 American people cannot afford a minimum stand diet. That would be about fourteen per cent of the population. Other estimates run as high as twenty per cent of the population in the class of underfed—or 26,000,000 people.

The WFA further states that for a family of four to be able to buy the

food required for a minimum diet for health, it would have to spend around \$12 a week. While the war is making a crop of war-profiteering billionaires, wages are not high enough to allow the whole working people a food budget of only \$12 a week for four.

If the food stamp plan was a pain in the neck during the depression, when there was no shortage of food and the object was rather to get rid of surpluses, imagine what a pain in the neck it would be now.

When many people cannot get many foods because of shortages, black market cornering and high prices, what do you suppose will be left for the housewife who comes with the badge of poverty, offering food stamps?

Another Angle

The bill for food stamps introduced in the Senate and endorsed by the WFA also opposes price subsidies. Now we can see another angle—in fact, the real motive behind the new food stamp plan.

The big business food monopolists have been fighting price subsidies. They don't want to be "stabilized," even if they are paid plenty by government subsidies to do so. They want to be able to raise prices without any restrictions—all the war traffic will bear.

Ah, but how about the low income groups who will starve if prices go up further? Oh, them? Well, let's give them a few stamps and stuff up their complaining mouths.

Neither food subsidies nor food stamps nor both will solve the food problem embracing the issues of shortages, black markets and mounting prices. The big business monopolists must be stopped from mulcting the food industry upon which depends the very life of the whole people. And nobody will do this except the people themselves through committees of organized labor, of housewives and of working farmers.

Furthermore, there is no substitute for steady jobs and ever higher wages. The struggle for uninterrupted employment and adequate pay for all to provide a really civilized life, is the fundamental thing. Let the capitalists and their supporters who obstruct this aim of the working people, have a try at food stamps.

Pravda 'Peace' Story Stalin Maneuver

Amid all the fuss and fume that has developed around the "Pravda scandal," one thing stands out crystal clear. Stalin is again giving warning that he will brook no interference from anyone in the settlement of eastern European affairs—the affair now before the house being the boundaries of Poland.

Stalin sounded the same hands-off signal when Pravda recently came out with a blast against his devoted friend, Wendell Willkie, who seemed to be too worried about Polish affairs.

Now Stalin wants to make assurance doubly sure that there will be no British-American-Polish-Russian conferences over the Polish question, as desired by the Polish government in exile.

What is more to the point, then, than to let out a rumor that the British are negotiating for a separate peace—to throw a bone of contention among the contenders?

This sort of "diplomacy," however, is so ruthless that it cries out loud and everybody sees the game.

What is so tantalizing about such peace rumors, from the point of view of the working people, is that peace is what they desire more ardently than anything else. But to the rulers, "peace" is today something to be manipulated and bent to the uses of imperialist aims and world power politics.

A Case of Faulty Arithmetic

In April, 1942, President Roosevelt came out with his so-called seven-point stabilization program. Remember? The only point actually carried out was the wage freeze. All points involving a cut in war profits were either muffed or dropped altogether.

ONE PLUS NOTHING DOES NOT EQUAL SEVEN!

In January, 1944, President Roosevelt comes out with his brand new stabilization program, involving five points this time. The only point we can really expect to be carried out—judging by what happened once before—is anti-labor action. For today the capitalists and their representatives are opposing more obstinately than ever every effort to cut their war profits by higher taxes, price ceilings or anything else.

ONE PLUS NOTHING DOESN'T EQUAL FIVE, EITHER.

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

How Will Labor Get An Annual Minimum Wage?

By GERTRUDE SHAW

Among the demands that the United Steel Workers of America, CIO, are making upon the steel barons with whom they are now negotiating for a new contract, is one for an annual minimum guaranteed wage. The idea is that for every week during the life of the new contract each employee should get a minimum weekly wage, regardless of whether he is working that week or whether he has been laid off.

For instance, if a steel worker's straight time rate is \$1.00 an hour, \$40 for a forty-hour week, or annual wage of \$2,000 for fifty-two weeks, the company would pay this annual wage to the worker whether he is actually employed twenty, forty or fifty-two weeks in the year.

The aim of this demand obviously is that the wages of the workers should not be cut by part or full time layoffs, which never were and cannot be the fault of the workers.

A very urgent demand it is—since human life goes on and must have its needs satisfied whether the capitalists keep their plants going at 100 per cent of capacity, at fifty per cent or not at all.

Philip Murray, president of both the CIO and the USW, stated: "This is the first time in the history of the United States or any other country that a labor organization has undertaken to seek the establishment of an annual minimum guaranteed wage through collective bargaining."

The demand is not confined to the 155,000 steel workers of the USW, which says it intends to ask the War Labor Board to order a clause in the new steel contract in case the steel corporations refuse it. The whole CIO is also behind it, not only as an economic demand, but also as a political issue.

President Murray has referred to the annual minimum guaranteed wage as the "major issue for the 1944 elections," and the CIO Political Action Committee will try "to enlist all possible support" for this demand.

A Share in Accumulated Profits An annual minimum guaranteed wage would, without a doubt, keep the wolf of hunger away from the worker's door when unemployment begins to stalk the land. In effect, the CIO is asking that the workers share to some extent in the \$42,000,000,000 post-war reserves of big business, in the \$19,000,000,000 undistributed profits accumulated since 1939, in the billions of tax refunds the government will make to the industrial overlords. And rightly so! An annual minimum guaranteed wage would mean that the capitalists would have to disgorge a little of their war profits so that workers need not sell apples on street corners.

Will the Capitalists Be Willing? Will the steel barons be willing to pay their workers wages for periods when they are not working? Will other industrialists do this? Will they sit down with labor leaders and through the medium of collective bargaining slice off a bit of their war profits in the interest of preventing privation among their workers?

The idea of a full-time wage hits at the very foundation of the wage system—according to which the workers are given a wage at the end of a work period for creating wealth far greater than the wage they receive. Rather than allow their basic profit structure to be weakened, the capitalists will shirk the responsibility of unemployment and save their consciences by having the government hand out some WPA jobs and the dry bone of relief payments.

It will, therefore, be necessary for labor to be ready for an all-out fight. It will take much more than collective bargaining to get that annual minimum guaranteed wage!

Will the War Labor Board accede to the demand of the USW when the steel corporations refuse it—which they almost certainly will. The public members on the WLB are entirely with the capitalist members in protecting every hair of the profit system.

In a word, the CIO has definitely got something in its demand for an annual minimum guaranteed wage—but it will be necessary to use labor's full economic and political might to get it. The idea is reasonable enough that the industries that workers built and where they create the stupendous wealth appropriated by the industrial masters, should pay an all-time wage so that workers won't starve during periods of unemployment.

Such a demand, however, cannot be carried through in the ordinary channels of collective bargaining and the WLB—nor through the politics-as-usual of the Hillman committee. An annual minimum guaranteed wage is indeed a major issue for the 1944 elections, as Murray says. But it can be a realistic issue only on the platform of an independent Labor Party—acting not with the capitalist parties and capitalist interests, but against them. This point cannot be emphasized too much.

Similarly the whole problem of unemployment is a burning issue for the coming election, and there are practical measures directly applicable to the solution of the unemployment evil. One is a thirty-hour work week to spread the available jobs, with pay commensurate with the productive capacity of the most advanced country on earth.

Another is the opening up of idle plants and factories under the control of the workers themselves for the production of things for consumer use, regardless of capitalist profits. The ultimate goal, of course, is to turn all production away from the profit motive to supplying human needs as the only permanent solution for unemployment.

These are all issues that only an independent Labor Party can honestly and earnestly work for—because the capitalist parties and capitalist interests will not really support any measures that put human welfare above profit-making.

Yes, the CIO has a good idea in its demand for an annual minimum guaranteed wage. It is indeed something new—and necessary. To fight for it and for similar working class aims requires not only militant industrial action by the workers, but also class-conscious political action through an independent Labor Party free from all capitalist politics.

Of course, candidates may promise—before the elections—to sponsor such a law in Congress. To get the votes of labor, politicians will support anything by word of mouth—before election. However, to suppose that capitalist politicians will pass a law that really would change the basic concepts of the profit system is to be more childish than any grown-ups have a right to be.

Similarly the whole problem of unemployment is a burning issue for the coming election, and there are practical measures directly applicable to the solution of the unemployment evil. One is a thirty-hour work week to spread the available jobs, with pay commensurate with the productive capacity of the most advanced country on earth.

Another is the opening up of idle plants and factories under the control of the workers themselves for the production of things for consumer use, regardless of capitalist profits. The ultimate goal, of course, is to turn all production away from the profit motive to supplying human needs as the only permanent solution for unemployment.

These are all issues that only an independent Labor Party can honestly and earnestly work for—because the capitalist parties and capitalist interests will not really support any measures that put human welfare above profit-making.

Yes, the CIO has a good idea in its demand for an annual minimum guaranteed wage. It is indeed something new—and necessary. To fight for it and for similar working class aims requires not only militant industrial action by the workers, but also class-conscious political action through an independent Labor Party free from all capitalist politics.

Of course, candidates may promise—before the elections—to sponsor such a law in Congress. To get the votes of labor, politicians will support anything by word of mouth—before election. However, to suppose that capitalist politicians will pass a law that really would change the basic concepts of the profit system is to be more childish than any grown-ups have a right to be.

Similarly the whole problem of unemployment is a burning issue for the coming election, and there are practical measures directly applicable to the solution of the unemployment evil. One is a thirty-hour work week to spread the available jobs, with pay commensurate with the productive capacity of the most advanced country on earth.

Another is the opening up of idle plants and factories under the control of the workers themselves for the production of things for consumer use, regardless of capitalist profits. The ultimate goal, of course, is to turn all production away from the profit motive to supplying human needs as the only permanent solution for unemployment.

These are all issues that only an independent Labor Party can honestly and earnestly work for—because the capitalist parties and capitalist interests will not really support any measures that put human welfare above profit-making.

Yes, the CIO has a good idea in its demand for an annual minimum guaranteed wage. It is indeed something new—and necessary. To fight for it and for similar working class aims requires not only militant industrial action by the workers, but also class-conscious political action through an independent Labor Party free from all capitalist politics.

Of course, candidates may promise—before the elections—to sponsor such a law in Congress. To get the votes of labor, politicians will support anything by word of mouth—before election. However, to suppose that capitalist politicians will pass a law that really would change the basic concepts of the profit system is to be more childish than any grown-ups have a right to be.

Similarly the whole problem of unemployment is a burning issue for the coming election, and there are practical measures directly applicable to the solution of the unemployment evil. One is a thirty-hour work week to spread the available jobs, with pay commensurate with the productive capacity of the most advanced country on earth.

Another is the opening up of idle plants and factories under the control of the workers themselves for the production of things for consumer use, regardless of capitalist profits. The ultimate goal, of course, is to turn all production away from the profit motive to supplying human needs as the only permanent solution for unemployment.

These are all issues that only an independent Labor Party can honestly and earnestly work for—because the capitalist parties and capitalist interests will not really support any measures that put human welfare above profit-making.

Yes, the CIO has a good idea in its demand for an annual minimum guaranteed wage. It is indeed something new—and necessary. To fight for it and for similar working class aims requires not only militant industrial action by the workers, but also class-conscious political action through an independent Labor Party free from all capitalist politics.

Of course, candidates may promise—before the elections—to sponsor such a law in Congress. To get the votes of labor, politicians will support anything by word of mouth—before election. However, to suppose that capitalist politicians will pass a law that really would change the basic concepts of the profit system is to be more childish than any grown-ups have a right to be.

Similarly the whole problem of unemployment is a burning issue for the coming election, and there are practical measures directly applicable to the solution of the unemployment evil. One is a thirty-hour work week to spread the available jobs, with pay commensurate with the productive capacity of the most advanced country on earth.

Another is the opening up of idle plants and factories under the control of the workers themselves for the production of things for consumer use, regardless of capitalist profits. The ultimate goal, of course, is to turn all production away from the profit motive to supplying human needs as the only permanent solution for unemployment.

These are all issues that only an independent Labor Party can honestly and earnestly work for—because the capitalist parties and capitalist interests will not really support any measures that put human welfare above profit-making.

Yes, the CIO has a good idea in its demand for an annual minimum guaranteed wage. It is indeed something new—and necessary. To fight for it and for similar working class aims requires not only militant industrial action by the workers, but also class-conscious political action through an independent Labor Party free from all capitalist politics.

Of course, candidates may promise—before the elections—to sponsor such a law in Congress. To get the votes of labor, politicians will support anything by word of mouth—before election. However, to suppose that capitalist politicians will pass a law that really would change the basic concepts of the profit system is to be more childish than any grown-ups have a right to be.

Similarly the whole problem of unemployment is a burning issue for the coming election, and there are practical measures directly applicable to the solution of the unemployment evil. One is a thirty-hour work week to spread the available jobs, with pay commensurate with the productive capacity of the most advanced country on earth.

Another is the opening up of idle plants and factories under the control of the workers themselves for the production of things for consumer use, regardless of capitalist profits. The ultimate goal, of course, is to turn all production away from the profit motive to supplying human needs as the only permanent solution for unemployment.

These are all issues that only an independent Labor Party can honestly and earnestly work for—because the capitalist parties and capitalist interests will not really support any measures that put human welfare above profit-making.

Yes, the CIO has a good idea in its demand for an annual minimum guaranteed wage. It is indeed something new—and necessary. To fight for it and for similar working class aims requires not only militant industrial action by the workers, but also class-conscious political action through an independent Labor Party free from all capitalist politics.

Of course, candidates may promise—before the elections—to sponsor such a law in Congress. To get the votes of labor, politicians will support anything by word of mouth—before election. However, to suppose that capitalist politicians will pass a law that really would change the basic concepts of the profit system is to be more childish than any grown-ups have a right to be.

Similarly the whole problem of unemployment is a burning issue for the coming election, and there are practical measures directly applicable to the solution of the unemployment evil. One is a thirty-hour work week to spread the available jobs, with pay commensurate with the productive capacity of the most advanced country on earth.

Another is the opening up of idle plants and factories under the control of the workers themselves for the production of things for consumer use, regardless of capitalist profits. The ultimate goal, of course, is to turn all production away from the profit motive to supplying human needs as the only permanent solution for unemployment.

Another is the opening up of idle plants and factories under the control of the workers themselves for the production of things for consumer use, regardless of capitalist profits. The ultimate goal, of course, is to turn all production away from the profit motive to supplying human needs as the only permanent solution for unemployment.

These are all issues that only an independent Labor Party can honestly and earnestly work for—because the capitalist parties and capitalist interests will not really support any measures that put human welfare above profit-making.

Yes, the CIO has a good idea in its demand for an annual minimum guaranteed wage. It is indeed something new—and necessary. To fight for it and for similar working class aims requires not only militant industrial action by the workers, but also class-conscious political action through an independent Labor Party free from all capitalist politics.

Of course, candidates may promise—before the elections—to sponsor such a law in Congress. To get the votes of labor, politicians will support anything by word of mouth—before election. However, to suppose that capitalist politicians will pass a law that really would change the basic concepts of the profit system is to be more childish than any grown-ups have a right to be.

Similarly the whole problem of unemployment is a burning issue for the coming election, and there are practical measures directly applicable to the solution of the unemployment evil. One is a thirty-hour work week to spread the available jobs, with pay commensurate with the productive capacity of the most advanced country on earth.

Another is the opening up of idle plants and factories under the control of the workers themselves for the production of things for consumer use, regardless of capitalist profits. The ultimate goal, of course, is to turn all production away from the profit motive to supplying human needs as the only permanent solution for unemployment.

These are all issues that only an independent Labor Party can honestly and earnestly work for—because the capitalist parties and capitalist interests will not really support any measures that put human welfare above profit-making.

Yes, the CIO has a good idea in its demand for an annual minimum guaranteed wage. It is indeed something new—and necessary. To fight for it and for similar working class aims requires not only militant industrial action by the workers, but also class-conscious political action through an independent Labor Party free from all capitalist politics.

Of course, candidates may promise—before the elections—to sponsor such a law in Congress. To get the votes of labor, politicians will support anything by word of mouth—before election. However, to suppose that capitalist politicians will pass a law that really would change the basic concepts of the profit system is to be more childish than any grown-ups have a right to be.

Similarly the whole problem of unemployment is a burning issue for the coming election, and there are practical measures directly applicable to the solution of the unemployment evil. One is a thirty-hour work week to spread the available jobs, with pay commensurate with the productive capacity of the most advanced country on earth.

Another is the opening up of idle plants and factories under the control of the workers themselves for the production of things for consumer use, regardless of capitalist profits. The ultimate goal, of course, is to turn all production away from the profit motive to supplying human needs as the only permanent solution for unemployment.

These are all issues that only an independent Labor Party can honestly and earnestly work for—because the capitalist parties and capitalist interests will not really support any measures that put human welfare above profit-making.

Yes, the CIO has a good idea in its demand for an annual minimum guaranteed wage. It is indeed something new—and necessary. To fight for it and for similar working class aims requires not only militant industrial action by the workers, but also class-conscious political action through an independent Labor Party free from all capitalist politics.

Of course, candidates may promise—before the elections—to sponsor such a law in Congress. To get the votes of labor, politicians will support anything by word of mouth—before election. However, to suppose that capitalist politicians will pass a law that really would change the basic concepts of the profit system is to be more childish than any grown-ups have a right to be.

Similarly the whole problem of unemployment is a burning issue for the coming election, and there are practical measures directly applicable to the solution of the unemployment evil. One is a thirty-hour work week to spread the available jobs, with pay commensurate with the productive capacity of the most advanced country on earth.

Another is the opening up of idle plants and factories under the control of the workers themselves for the production of things for consumer use, regardless of capitalist profits. The ultimate goal, of course, is to turn all production away from the profit motive to supplying human needs as the only permanent solution for unemployment.

WORLD EVENTS

By Europacus

Russian Imperialism to Swallow Poland

The official pretext for the start of the Second World War was that the integrity of Poland had to be safeguarded.

This war has not yet come to a close and already one of the partners in this crusade for liberty, freedom, self-determination and what-not, has announced its determination to annex a great part of what is officially designated as Poland.

Those delicate souls on the liberal left, who grew indignant in the days of Munich because French pacifists had asked: "Why die for Danzig?" now proclaim quite openly: "Why raise much fuss about Poland? It's a distant country anyway, and then, after all, Stalin must be appeased."

Those who fought vehemently against the appeasement of Munich now just as vehemently support the appeasement of Stalin.

Stalin annexes parts of Poland, and doesn't he have nice arguments to cover up this rape: Most of the population of Eastern Poland is not Polish but Ukrainian and White Russian. Poland has been a "people's prison," a reactionary, oppressive state, where big landlords and a parasitic military class oppressed workers and peasants and where those of them who were not of Polish stock were oppressed even harder. Quite true, Mr. Stalin, quite true.

But what does this prove as to their willingness to join your empire? Russia today happens to be not less of a "people's prison." Our liberals may have forgotten that Stalinist Russia uprooted millions and millions of Ukrainians and White Russians from their home country and transported them to Siberia in cattle-wagons. We did not forget.

Stalinists claim that after the first annexation of Poland—this time in conjunction with Hitler Germany, not yet with the United Nations—Stalin organized a plebiscite and ninety-nine per cent of the population voted for joining the empire of Marshal Stalin.

What a mockery! These plebiscites were as faked as Hitler's; they were conducted under the threat of the GPU guns and the concentration camp. In no way did they allow the people of these territories to express their free opinion.

Polish Underground and Socialism

As to the Polish underground it is dominated by socialists of the Polish Socialist Party and of the Jewish Bund. The Polish underground today is certainly the most to the left of all European underground movements. It is permeated with a socialist ideology. The socialist workers of Warsaw defended the city when the Nazi armies had already swept over nearly all of Poland, and the army of the reactionaries had been swept away. It was again socialists of the Jewish Bund who recently fought the heroic battle of the Warsaw ghetto.

Right after the Nazi invasion in November, 1939, the Polish socialist underground adopted a manifesto which up to this day has been the guiding line of thought of the socialist underground in Poland.

Are these reactionaries? Are these the people who must be taught the principles of democracy by Stalin's gang? The Polish annexation is a test case. Much more is to come. Attitudes toward Poland today are indicative of attitudes toward Europe tomorrow. Poland's freedom and independence can only be fully guaranteed in a federation of socialist nations of Europe and against all imperialisms, the Russian as well as the Western.

When the Czar, at the beginning of the century, visited Paris, he was welcomed by the French workers with the defiant cry: "Long Live Poland." Again today against the new Russian oppressor our cry should be: "Long Live a Free Socialist Poland."

Nazi Paper Admits Workers Oppose Labor Front

The German Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung of September 13, 1943, printed a long article on the spirit among factory workers which is of the utmost importance. This article confirms what we have stressed all the time: many workers have never been won over by the fake Nazi Labor Front.

In the factories there exists an unofficial, unappointed system of workers' representatives who are spokesmen of the workers. It consists of workers in whom their fellows have confidence and who represent them wherever possible against the official Nazi bureaucracy. This article proves that the Nazis have never been able to fully work their way into the factories, that solidarity of the workers in the factories has been stronger than many believed.

While political consciousness is naturally retarded under a regime of terror lasting for a great number of years, it has been proved by the recent Italian events, as by the facts revealed in this article, that solidarity generated by common work and common oppression cannot be rooted out. (The article in question was first reprinted by The Call.)

"In the hierarchy of the factory, there are many leaders, from the factory straw boss down to the master workman and the foreman. All these leaders and sub-leaders are superiors and delegates of the factory leader. This is interpreted by the workers—especially as far as they still believe in old trends of thought—as a representation which is one-sided only.

"If one tries to look into the true mood of the factories without prejudice, then even today one will find a certain antagonism of interests between the leadership of the whole factory and their 'followers'... In the factory there are always just a few in the shops and departments who set the style and whose opinion is the opinion of everybody. They are the unappointed spiritual leaders and spokesmen of the factory."

The class struggle is not dead in Germany.

But Stalin uncovers his own virtuous phrases about self-determination and national integrity in the same breath: if the Poles are good boys, if they accept Uncle Joe's Gauleiters, then they will get a nice, big reward: they will have the whole of Eastern Prussia and a free access to the Baltic Sea.

Eastern Prussia? Is this province inhabited by Poles? Not at all. The only Poles who have lived in this purely German province for the last couple of centuries have been the migrant Polish workers who crossed the frontier during the summer season to help with the harvest. Eastern Prussia is inhabited by Germans. But Stalin, unmindful of the nice declarations on self-determination of the Ukrainians, offers East Prussia to a docile Poland. If you hand me this territory I'll hand you some other territory—which does not belong to me either. This is in the good old imperialist tradition.

Stalinists and fellow travelers try to cover up the rape of Poland by proclaiming that the Polish government is dominated by a reactionary clique. Even if this were a hundred per cent true, and we have no doubt it is, since when does the fact that a government of a country is reactionary justify its annexation by another country?

Furthermore—and we say this in spite of the fact that we have often enough criticized the Polish government in exile—this Polish government is much less reactionary than all its predecessors since Pilsudski. It includes many social-democrats and peasant leaders who were in prison during the Pilsudski dictatorship. True, reactionary army officers still play a predominant role, since the Polish army of the Middle East is about the only real force this government can dispose of. But the Polish government in exile is not a bit more reactionary than, for example, the French Committee of National Liberation, with which the Stalinists have until very recently been on the very best of terms.

Like the case of Finland in 1939, it is precisely the imperialist aggression of Russia which will strengthen the reactionary militarists as against the progressive elements.

ist underground in Poland. Are these reactionaries? Are these the people who must be taught the principles of democracy by Stalin's gang? The Polish annexation is a test case. Much more is to come. Attitudes toward Poland today are indicative of attitudes toward Europe tomorrow. Poland's freedom and independence can only be fully guaranteed in a federation of socialist nations of Europe and against all imperialisms, the Russian as well as the Western.

When the Czar, at the beginning of the century, visited Paris, he was welcomed by the French workers with the defiant cry: "Long Live Poland." Again today against the new Russian oppressor our cry should be: "Long Live a Free Socialist Poland."

The German Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung of September 13, 1943, printed a long article on the spirit among factory workers which is of the utmost importance. This article confirms what we have stressed all the time: many workers have never been won over by the fake Nazi Labor Front.

In the factories there exists an unofficial, unappointed system of workers' representatives who are spokesmen of the workers. It consists of workers in whom their fellows have confidence and who represent them wherever possible against the official Nazi bureaucracy. This article proves that the Nazis have never been able to fully work their way into the factories, that solidarity of the workers in the factories has been stronger than many believed.

While political consciousness is naturally retarded under a regime of terror lasting for a great number of years, it has been proved by the recent Italian events, as by the facts revealed in this article, that solidarity generated by common work and common oppression cannot be rooted out. (The article in question was first reprinted by The Call.)

"In the hierarchy of the factory, there are many leaders, from the factory straw boss down to the master workman and the foreman. All these leaders and sub-leaders are superiors and delegates of the factory leader. This is interpreted by the workers—especially as far as they still believe in old trends of thought—as a representation which is one-sided only.

"If one tries to look into the true mood of the factories without prejudice, then even today one will find a certain antagonism of interests between the leadership of the whole factory and their 'followers'... In the factory there are always just a few in the shops and departments who set the style and whose opinion is the opinion of everybody. They are the unappointed spiritual leaders and spokesmen of the factory."

The class struggle is not dead in Germany.

Negroes Want Jobs - - - Not 'Perfect Justice'

The railroads continue to pursue their policy of discriminating against Negroes. They are aided and abetted in this policy by the railway unions. Sixteen roads were ordered by the Fair Employment Practices Committee to discontinue this practice and to expand their employment of Negroes. The roads as much as told the FEPC to go to hell.

After appointing a committee to investigate the situation, Roosevelt said that "obviously in such a complicated structure as the transportation industry we cannot immediately attain perfect justice in terms of equal employment opportunities for all the people." This is nothing more than eyewash and nonsense. No one is asking for "perfect justice." No worker, not even the white worker, can get "perfect justice" under capitalism. Even the stupidest white railroad workers know this now after what happened to their wage demands.

Negroes are not asking for perfect justice. They only ask that they have such justice as the white workers have. They want to come up to the level of the white workers. A Negro railroad worker wants to be a fireman if he is competent. A Negro fireman wants to be promoted from fireman to engineer. Why shouldn't a Negro train porter be made a brakeman. Many porters, in the South especially, do all the work of a brakeman in addition to their own duties. Why shouldn't Negro waiters in dining cars be made stewards?

That is what Negroes are demanding. That is what the railroad companies and the railroad unions are opposing. All this bunkum from the White House about "perfect justice" has no meaning except to say to Negroes: "Be patient, and perhaps in the sweet bye-and-bye you may get one Negro fireman to represent your race on the railroads."

Plan to Combat Sperry Layoffs

By ROCCO

For their hard, untiring efforts, long hours and short pay, Sperry employees are being rewarded with layoffs. Always in the forefront, Sperry is now up ahead with the best of the big war plants. Twenty per cent of the present working force face permanent layoffs. One out of every five!

The bosses are openly taking the blame. Inefficient and high-priced management has created high costs and poor production. Rumor has it that Sperry produces a great amount of scrap. Since the government is now cutting production in many industries, Sperry is one of the first to lose contracts and is having difficulty securing new ones.

A Weapon Against the Union Regardless of the causes, there are indications that the layoffs are being deliberately used against the union. With thousands fired, reclassifications held up as a consequence, buildings shut down, transfers and terminations, the new draft replacement schedule, the company hopes to imperil the development of the union.

Time studies and efficiency experts show preparations for new contracts and speed-ups. When ready, the company may well hire a new labor force, but non-union. A Sperry representative has been interviewing job seekers at the offices of the United States Employment Service for some time.

The union must protect itself and its members against this company conspiracy. Only one avenue of defense is open in this situation. The union can prevent the dispersal of its members into the swollen New York labor market by raising the simplest slogan of the labor movement: "Spread the Work."

Shorter Hours—Same Pay This means, no overtime until production picks up. It means to cut the work week to the contract agreement of forty hours—less hours if the situation requires it. This is the only way to prevent seniority rules from working a tremendous hardship on those scheduled to be fired.

Of course, the company will point out that this means smaller pay checks. This, too, the union CAN answer: the union must point out that its members do not have post-war reserves as the company has; its members do not have their profits guaranteed and their expenses taken care of. They face, on the contrary, high living costs, higher taxes, great expenses over Sperry transfers. A pay cut now for any reason is unthinkable and unwarranted. Sperry can well afford to continue to pay, out of its war profits, the same weekly wages even for shorter hours. The union should call for:

Shorter hours with no cut in pay! This is the way out for Local 450 and its membership.

NOTE TO G. C., BERKELEY, CALIF.

Thank you for your note and poem, which latter we are not, however, printing for two reasons. First, as you doubtless notice from reading LABOR ACTION, we do not go in for poetry, not having the space in a four-page paper. Second, we socialists have a much more hopeful outlook upon human history than your parable portrays. So we could print it only with a long "We beg to differ"—and the whole point would be lost.

"Scrap the Union" Says GM

(Continued from page 1)

fund equal to the amount set aside for the corporation for post-war "contingencies." The proposed security fund would be administered jointly by the union and GM for the benefit of unemployed GM workers and former GM workers returning from the armed forces. (GM's post-war rehabilitation fund as of September, 1943, totaled over sixty-five million dollars.)

In support of this demand, Reuther introduced testimony on GM profits and salaries to prove the corporation's capacity to fulfill easily the

Addes and Frankenstein Knife General Motors' Workers

White WLB hearings between the General Motors Corporation and the union were STILL IN PROGRESS, George F. Addes and Richard T. Frankenstein, international secretary-treasurer and vice-president, respectively, of the UAW, moved to the company side of the fence!

At an International Executive Board meeting held three weeks ago in Chicago, the two notorious fellow-travelers of the Communist Party policy of sell-out and betrayal of the workers to the bosses, announced the opposition to the "unreasonable and fantastic demands" of the GM division of the UAW.

This can only be interpreted as a stab in the back to the 350,000 GM workers who are demanding establishment of a post-war security fund.

To get a few cracks at Walter P. Reuther, with whom they have been feuding, Addes and Frankenstein will stop at nothing—even to stabbing the GM workers in their backs in the midst of contract negotiations!

job and potential for further advancement shall be the determining factors." In other language, this means preference to stool-pigeons, career boys and relatives of supervision. The gains won through years of militant struggle would be wiped out if the corporation succeeds in obtaining a victory on this particular point, as well as the others.

Countering the union demand for pay increases to meet the tremendous rise in the cost of living, the corporation offered the infamous "incentive pay" scheme which was condemned and rejected at the October convention of the international union.

Company Profits Soar One of the hottest debates at the hearings was touched off by the union's demand for a post-war security

justified desires of GM workers for post-war security.

For Post-War Security In the light of these facts, the union's request for the establishment of a post-war security fund is justified to the hilt. The enormous profit of the corporation is the fruit of the labor of over 350,000 GM workers who are as grossly underpaid for their "services and know-how" as the parasite coupon-clippers are overpaid for theirs. Substantial increases in pay for GM workers have been on the order of the day ever since and before the Little Steel freeze went into effect.

To obtain their demands, the members of the GM locals of the UAW must exert the firmest pressure on both the WLB and the international leadership. The GM bosses should

town in denunciation of the President's labor conscription plan. But still it cannot get over the deep hurt it feels that Roosevelt has gone back on the workers. It makes the point: "It was incomprehensible to them that the man who, since he was first elected Governor of New York in 1928, has been the recipient of the support and devotion of American workers, could, in all seriousness, urge that these workers be subjected to involuntary servitude."

not be permitted to cloak their attack on the hard-won living standards of the auto-workers by hiding behind the authority of their stooge agencies in the government.

The GM workers would do well to ponder the testimony offered by other locals in the international which came to the national convention in Buffalo last October with the complaint that the "bosses sat back and laughed at us and said: 'What are you going to do about it?'" Now Reuther himself is in this position and his opposition to the efforts of the UAW militants to rescind the no-strike pledge is proving a boomerang.

Only the spectacle of a shackled labor movement could inspire the GM bosses and their Wall Street masters to counter the union demands with such bold union-busting proposals of their own. The fight for pay increases and maintenance and extension of union security is dangerously weakened by the absence of proper weapons for the struggle.

The General Motors Corporation is laughing fit to bust at the demands of the union—and the WLB will add to this gaily

Herlands Reports On Anti-Semitism in New York City

Slum Poverty "Discovered" As Cause of Hoodlumism

By JESSE KAAREN

Commissioner of Accounts William B. Herlands and his large staff of experts, statisticians, accountants, lawyers and social service workers spent a year investigating anti-Semitic attacks in New York City. The commissioner then handed his report to Mayor LaGuardia, took newspaper photographs showing a broad smile and leaned back in his easy chair.

The report reveals nothing new and its recommendations are absolutely senseless. But it does throw the spotlight on some pretty degrading conditions. It states that police indifference and the anti-Semitic campaigns of the Christian Front and the Christian Mobilizers are only secondary causes for anti-Semitic attacks.

Primarily, the street attacks, the desecration of synagogues and Jewish cemeteries are carried out by juvenile delinquents whose behavior is conditioned by the poverty that their families suffer from.

The mountain labored and brought forth a mouse. To anyone with eyes to see, it has always been apparent that acts of vandalism and rowdiness stem from the venom and misery engendered by degrading home conditions. A background of poverty and ignorance breeds youthful criminals who fall a prey to the demagogic appeal of native Hitlers. What an astounding discovery!

The sudden alarm which the liberal press expresses over conditions that have existed as long as poverty itself has existed makes one ashamed for their stupidity. And the hundreds of useless committees that are formed to express high indignation are just as sickening. The remedies for this condition that are proposed by the Herlands report sound like the story about the little Dutch boy who tried to prevent the dikes from crumbling by plugging a hole with his finger. Except that in the case of the Herlands proposals, it can be safely predicted that his suggestions will be totally ineffective. The short-sightedness of the measures proposed make one ask: "Could Hitler have been stopped from coming to power in Germany by committees on intolerance?"

Perhaps these weak-minded committee members would say: "Yes." But we who analyze poverty much deeper than they do and understand what breeds crime must propose far more vigorous action to overcome anti-Semitism and anti-racialism.

Case Histories Presented

Acts of an anti-Semitic and anti-racial nature are increasing because economic conditions are becoming more critical. There is something basically rotten about a system which compels the mother of a large family of children to leave them home alone, so that they must substitute a street life for a home life. There is something basically wrong in a system that forces children to abandon their education at the age of eleven, twelve or even sixteen. A city officialdom which ignores the fact that a large majority of children have no other place than the streets in which to develop a cultural life, has no right to get indignant when the children become delinquent.

Here are some case histories of delinquents arrested for anti-Semitic actions as listed by the Herlands report:

H. X. left school in the sixth grade after doing fair school work.

E. D. may be found in the neighborhood poolroom every night. His family had been on home relief.

T. D. was the son of parents who were separated. His mother was employed.

M. C.'s family was on relief. There was a lack of food and clothing at his home which sometimes kept him from attending school. He was arrested twice.

A. B. left school in the sixth term to take a job. At the age of twenty, he already had a record of two arrests.

E. D. dislikes Jews. Some Jewish people use words too big to understand. E. D.'s family is on home relief.

T. D. at the age of twelve had a court record. His mother and father were separated and his mother was employed.

Another bit of interesting research which the Herlands report publishes concerns a typical neighborhood where anti-Semitic vandalism is frequent. Of the population of 78,000 persons, only eight per cent are Jewish. In May, 1943 (a year of "prosperity"), five per cent of the total population were on relief. The area contains mostly old, dilapidated tenement houses. For thirty-nine miles of streets there are only seven playgrounds, six play streets, seven public schools and three high schools. There is one public library and 279 bars and grills, dance halls and cabarets.

In 1939, the Christian Front held sixty-five meetings here. Most of the meetings held in this district during 1940 were by the Christian Front and Christian Mobilizers, but in 1941 the America First Committee began meetings on the same streets.

Herlands Propositions

What does the Herlands report propose?

"More effective police action and special police measures." (The police department itself is now under a strong sympathy for being strongly sympathetic to Father Coughlin movements such as the Christian Front and Christian Mobilizers.)

"Appointment of city-wide inter-racial and inter-faith committees." (If the names of all the committees of that type that have been in existence for the last ten years were laid end to end they would bridge the Atlantic Ocean.)

"Local community coordinating councils."

"Bring home the fundamental responsibility of parents."

"Further cooperation of parochial education authorities."

"Additional assistance from church and religious leaders to cooperate with probation officers."

"Increased participation of war veterans' groups."

"Attention of the Office of War Information to the problem."

"Increased responsibility of various community organizations," and so on ad nauseum.

Even PM is disappointed. PM, which goes in for such brilliant cures as securing signatures for an anti-hate pledge, says that unless the committees proposed by Herlands have a semi-official standing, they will not be worth their salt.

Do we mean to imply that nothing

can be done to cure the disease of anti-Semitism and anti-racialism until the disease of poverty itself is cured? No. There are specific measures that if taken today would go a long way toward teaching children and adolescents a healthier outlook toward their neighbors. There should be a network of recreational centers and youth culture clubs numerous enough to take every child off the streets. A government which spends millions every minute for bombs, ammunition, torpedoes and other apparatus of destruction, can certainly afford the funds for such a program.

Labor Is the Real Force

Secondly, the labor unions must initiate a much broader program of education on anti-Semitic and anti-racial issues than they have hitherto done. They must have an educational plan that will include more workers than anything previously attempted. Every worker and through him his family and his friends should be taught to understand that the millions owned by Rockefeller and du Pont are just as ill-begotten as the millions owned by Baruch and Morgenthau.

Only the labor forces are capable of disseminating genuine ideas on democracy because they are the most forward-looking and socially healthy elements of our national life. For how can a public school which has to explain the "justice" of a poll-tax, teach democracy? How can a school which must explain President Roosevelt's labor conscription plan as coming within the frame of "democracy," teach a broad-minded view to children? How can a State Board of Education which allows less than \$500 a year for a teacher's salary (more than half the states in the country employ teachers at an annual salary of less than \$600), be father to a well-educated population?

The main responsibility for correcting the evil conditions resulting from bigotry must rest with the only people who are capable of carrying through a program that will insure a decent living wage for every worker, sufficient and modern housing for every person in the country, a good education for every child, and enough playgrounds, schools and youth club houses to give every boy and girl a healthy start in life.

A Nazi Bund demonstration in Madison Square Garden was protected by a cordon of police. The demonstration outside, led by the revolutionary socialists, was attacked by the police, who were determined to preserve law and order for the Nazis. Inside the Garden, a member of the Jewish War Veterans chal-

Unions Should Organize Defense Against Attacks

By WILLIAM GORMAN

The most noteworthy fact about the recent anti-Semitic violence in New York City is the attitude of the police. William Herlands, commissioner of investigation, in a report, sampling fifty cases, said that the police were negligent in twenty-five per cent of the cases. But even this does not tell the whole story.

Ever since the rise of an arrogant Christian Front movement in New York the police force has built up a shameful record of indifference to anti-Jewish attacks, while carefully protecting the life and health of Father Coughlin's followers.

This pattern is familiarly tragic to the Jewish people of Europe. In Czarist Russia, Poland and Germany the police always arrived late when Jews were attacked, let the assailants get away, and hurried to arrest the Jews who defended themselves.

The police of New York have not yet arrived at such perfect cooperation with the anti-Semites, but the alarming tendencies in that direction are already apparent.

Before the War

In 1939, tens of Coughlinites were peddling their hate-sheets on New York street corners. The New York police made every effort to see that their anti-Jewish propagandizing would go on un molested.

In May, 1939, a girl carrying an anti-Coughlinite sign in Times Square was arrested for "disturbing the peace." At least ten Coughlinites were selling Social Justice in Times Square that very day.

At a Coughlinite meeting in that same month, Professor Gill of Union Theological Seminary made an unsympathetic remark. He was immediately attacked and beaten. The police intervened—and arrested Professor Gill. Two salesmen of an anti-Coughlinite magazine were arrested that same evening.

A Nazi Bund demonstration in Madison Square Garden was protected by a cordon of police. The demonstration outside, led by the revolutionary socialists, was attacked by the police, who were determined to preserve law and order for the Nazis. Inside the Garden, a member of the Jewish War Veterans chal-

lenged one of the vicious lies that Fritz Kuhn was orating in best Hitlerian style. He was immediately assaulted by uniformed storm troopers. The police ran up—only to carry his bloody body outside.

Thus no one was surprised when various inquiries conducted among the New York police showed that the number of sympathizers of the Christian Front ran into the hundreds. But Mayor LaGuardia, very brave in his speeches against Hitler, who was thousands of miles away, did not care to come to grips with the anti-Semites in his own police force.

Six Months—150 Assaults

There were at least 150 assaults on Jewish lives and property in New York City in the last six months. In approximately ONE OUT OF EVERY FOUR CASES the police failed to make any serious effort to arrest the anti-Semitic attackers.

One particular story in the Herlands report shows what kind of "protection" the Jews of New York can expect from anti-Semitic policemen. A Jewish watchman at the Inwood Center was abused and attacked by anti-Semitic hoodlums almost every night between the 28th of March to the 3rd of May in 1942.

He called the police frequently, but finally gave up since the police would either arrive too late or not at all. After a while his phone calls were accompanied by the chanted advice of the hoodlums: "You're wasting your time. The police won't come." The pogromists were obviously well acquainted with the "defenders of law and order."

The Drew Case

We bring the story up to date with some details on LaGuardia's miserable, squirming defense of a well known Christian Fronter in the Police Department, Patrolman Drew. Drew admitted contributing money to the Christian Front and keeping anti-Semitic literature in his home but was later cleared by Police Commissioner Valentine. The Jewish labor and liberal organizations, stirred by the recent anti-Semitic wave, protested strongly.

Mayor LaGuardia promised another investigation of Patrolman

Drew. For this task he appointed three old political wheelhorses, who, without publishing a report, simply echoed Valentine's decision. But their clumsy, transparent whitewash was no great help to LaGuardia.

Acting to defend his own political prestige, the Mayor defends the anti-Semitic members of the police force. Drew was invited to speak on the radio and beg for sympathy. So his friend of Christian Front Chief Joe McWilliams made a short speech saying he was a father of five children, that he didn't hate Jews and ended by apologizing for any trouble he might have caused.

Anyone acquainted with Drew's record could have asked some very pertinent questions. What did he do with the anti-Semitic literature in his home—use it to light the furnace? And the contribution to the Christian Front, did he perhaps mistake that organization for the Anti-Nazi League?

But it was all LaGuardia's show, and he made sure to ask no questions which would embarrass Drew or the anti-Semitic elements in the police department. In this manner, LaGuardia is crudely trying to pull the curtain down on this tragic farce.

Workers Defense Guards

The unreliability of the New York police only further encourages the anti-Semitic hoodlums. But there are at least 100,000 Jewish members in the trade union movement in New York united with all the other union workers of every creed and nationality. These workers could organize groups of defense which would stop the Christian Front dead in its tracks.

The situation in police departments and the professional politicians' preoccupations with their "positions," call for the use of Workers Defense Guards without delay. This will prove to be the only effective way of protecting all persecuted minorities from fascist attacks.

The anti-Semitic hoodlums are really cowards. They roam in gangs, beating up individual Jewish victims. At the sight of flying squadrons of Workers Defense Guards, these anti-Semitic rats would put their tails between their legs and run back to the holes where they belong.

Tresca Murder Still Unsolved

One year has elapsed since that valiant fighter against fascism, Carlo Tresca, was struck down at the hands of a bloody assassin. It is one year since this spirited working class leader was torn away from the radical labor movement. And yet, the hired assassin has not been apprehended.

The New York City police department and the office of the district attorney, which are so very adept at solving crimes of "passion," have had no "success" in solving this crime against the labor movement.

Why was Carlo Tresca assassinated? Surely there can be only one answer. He was murdered because he was ever in the vanguard of the struggle of the American labor movement, especially its Italian section, against fascism. Who, then, was his assassin? He was undoubtedly a gunman in American-Italian fascist, semi-fascist and reactionary circles. Even the police department has said as much. Yet Police Commissioner Valentine, District Attorney Hogan and His Honor the Mayor have taken all year to hunt for the murderer but announce that their efforts have been "in vain."

In spite of this lack of success, the bulletins dealing with the case that have come from the offices of District Attorney Hogan and Commissioner Valentine have been legion. Every so often it is announced that new suspects are being investigated. But nothing ever happens.

Why have the city authorities shown such incompetence and laxness in solving this murder, which is a crime against all militant anti-fascists? Is the police department really incapable of solving this murder? Are there any high "authorities" who are interested in preventing a solution of this case?

An efficient investigation into the activities and followers of the Italian-American fascist groups in order to smoke out the assassin would undoubtedly lead to some conclusion to the case.

The labor movement must not allow this case to remain unsolved. It is a challenge to all labor. The dismissal of the life of one of the world's outstanding anti-fascist fighters as of little value, cheapens the lives of all progressives, and all militant fighters against fascism.

The labor movement must demand action. Mayor LaGuardia, Commissioner Valentine and District Attorney Hogan must be informed that the labor movement and the workers of the city of New York will not rest until the murderer of Comrade Carlo Tresca is apprehended.

FDR's Message to Congress Analyzed ---

(Continued from page 1)

cannot pass a law that will effectively control prices or salaries. Such laws will only be passed and enforced when the workers are politically independent and have control of government themselves.

Here are some gems from the President's message.

"National service is the most democratic way to wage a war." This would be true of a real democratic war, of a genuinely people's war, of a war being waged by the masses in their interest and in the interest of the nation as a whole. It is not and cannot be true of an imperialist war.

Imperialist wars are wars waged by one imperialist ruling class against another for the purpose of world domination and the exploita-

tion and robbery of the workers and colonial peoples.

"It does not mean reduction in wages..." It does not mean that any substantial numbers of war workers will be disturbed in their present jobs." This is nonsense. Any law "which... will prevent strikes" will act as a bludgeon for reducing wages. The main reason that employers are against strikes is because strikes are mass pressure against that boss that forces him to yield to the workers' demands for more wages or against a reduction in wages.

Hunger and Dictatorship

There is one part of Roosevelt's message that labor should study again and again. He says that "true individual freedom cannot exist without economic security and in-

dependence... People who are hungry and out of a job are the stuff of which dictatorships are made." The first sentence is true, the second is a very dangerous half-truth.

For real individual freedom, economic security is certainly necessary. That is, to be really free, human beings must be secure from economic want, the fear of unemployment, poverty and the misery that the masses are heir to today. They must be free from the oppression of the boss. They must be free, too, from the necessity of serving in the ever-recurring wars of capitalist society.

Is Mr. Roosevelt trying to make us believe, however, that his national service law is a step in the direction of "true individual freedom" for the working class? How will such a law

contribute toward "economic security and independence" for labor? A law which has been called "quack medicine" by Philip Murray and a law through which "the President wants to conscript labor for private profit," according to spokesmen for the railway unions?

When the President of the United States makes the statement that "people who are hungry and out of a job are the stuff of which dictatorships are made," he leaves out the main point. We presume that Mr. Roosevelt means fascist dictatorships. Very few even hungry and unemployed workers succumb to the rantings, ravings and trickery of fascist demagogues, and not just out of a clear sky or because they are stupid, or perverse, or because they are against democracy.

Workers, except for rare exceptions, are not supporters of fascism. If any follow the fascist scoundrels, it is because they are the victims of capitalism, of capitalist oppression, of capitalist wars and of all the miseries suffered at the whipping posts of capitalist society.

A working class which is defeated by fascism is also the victim of bad trade union and political leadership. It is a working class which has been miseducated by its trade union and political leaders to support imperialist wars, the capitalist bosses and the capitalist government. It is a working class which has failed to take the road to independent political action. It is a working class which has failed to understand the need for a mass independent Labor Party and a workers' government.

Stalinist "Liberation" of Poland An Imperialist Grab

By MAX SHACHTMAN

The war with Germany was justified by the Allied spokesmen, among other things, on the ground that Hitlerism violates the national sovereignty of nations and peoples, does not allow them to live as they see fit and to rule themselves. There is no need to prove this case against Hitlerism beyond the use of facts which are known to every child.

Now that the Allies are beginning to speak of an early victory over Germany, the question rises: what is to become of the countries overrun by the Nazis once the latter have been put to the sword? Is their national sovereignty to be restored, at least to the extent that they enjoyed it before the war began?

If we are to judge by the fight developing over Poland, there is no reason to believe that the Allies hold out any such hope. The fight over Poland is not just a battle over the eastern territories of the former Polish Empire, it is a fight for that part of Europe which is unmistakably and unchallengedly Polish by tradition, common language and culture and all the other recognizable traits of a nation.

So far as the eastern territories are concerned, the claims of the government in exile are as notoriously fraudulent as they are old. They are today's remnants of the old dream of a Greater Polish Empire "from sea to sea"—from the Baltic to the Black. Inhabited principally by non-Polish peoples—White Russians, Ukrainians, Lithuanians and Jews—who have neither cultural, linguistic nor even religious characteristics in common with the Poles, the only claim that the Polish "Pans" and their colonels ever had to rule over them was the need to satiate an imperialist greed.

The persecutions these peoples underwent from the day the Versailles map-makers concocted an "independent" Poland constitute one of the cruelest and bloodiest chapters in the annals of modern oppression. Nobody can say exactly how many of the people in these lands were murdered, how many sent to rot in prison. What can be said, because it is common knowledge, is that the cultural aspirations of these peoples were trampled under foot with the same cynicism and the same methods employed in the days of the Romanovs, their religious feelings and institutions were sys-

tematically offended (the anti-Semitic outrages of the Polish ruling class preceded Hitler's), their political rights were never taken off paper and, above all, their economic status was kept at the lowest possible level. Only the most rabid Polish imperialist could expect any allegiance from these peoples. The blusterings and stuttings of the government in exile, a gang of authentic reactionaries and pupils of the colonels, plus a handful of social-democratic house-pets, will be pointed out to future generations as typical of imperialist effrontery and hypocrisy.

STALINIST "LIBERATION"

It does not follow in any way from this that the territories properly belong in what is sardonically known as the "Soviet" "Union." By virtue of what right? The fact that these territories once formed part of the Czarist Empire? Or the fact that they once were part of the Soviet Republics—without quotation marks—and were wrested from the workers' state by the superior force which Pilsudski's armies imposed upon the weak and exhausted Red Army? Such a right would exist and be valid, provided the incorporation of these territories into the Union meant the liberation from oppression, or the beginning of such a liberation, of the people inhabiting them. That would have been the case in 1920. It is in no sense the case today.

The torments suffered by these peoples under Polish despotism are so widely known that even the bourgeois press refers to them, however discreetly. But they pale beside the organized, systematic, centralized, totalitarian terror against the "blood brothers" of these peoples who have lived for the past decade and more under the rule of the Stalinist autocracy.

The Ukrainian and White Russian "Soviet Republics" are nothing but national fiefs of the Kremlin bureaucracy. They have neither independence in the "Union" nor autonomy. Their rulers are picked and unpicked by this bureaucracy, whom they serve in the same capacity and with the same rights and privileges as the Czar's governor-generals. The economic strength has been sapped so that the bureaucracy might batter on it; their economic position has been reduced to the status of serfs of the regime.

The Polish knout stings no more brutally than the Stalinist knout. The cemeteries of the Western Ukraine are less numerous than those of the "Soviet" Ukraine, filled as the latter are with the corpses of millions of peasants condemned to death in the Stalinist "collectivization drive" alone. It is not without significance that in their initial drive Hitler's legions encountered less resistance from the native population of the Ukraine than from the people of the northern part of the "Union."

HELPLESS ALLIES

The fact that "even" the Anglo-American ruling class has given its sanction to Stalin's demand should cause only a shrugging of the shoulders and not a bending of the knees. What else could it do? Stalin's "moral" position is flawless, from the imperialist standpoint. What could Churchill, for example, possibly say in reply to a blunt accusation from the Kremlin statesmen: "You want us to give up our Poland, but you cling to India like a leech." You want your colonies? We want ours. You have your amusing elections in India? We have our funny plebiscites in the border states.

More important than the "moral" position is the military position. Neither Churchill nor Roosevelt has as much as a toe-nail on Polish or ex-Polish soil. Mikolajczyk & Co. are better off only in so far as the Polish underground gives them reluctant and suspicious support. Stalin, however, not only has good, solid boots on more and more Polish (or ex-Polish) soil, but has the power to extend a friendly hand to Hitler if an Allied attempt is made to challenge the rights of his boot.

Stalin is not, however, interested in Western White Russia and the Western Ukraine alone. Those territories are taken for granted, and he leaves it to Eden and Hull to find a convenient formula—diplomatic archives are filled with all kinds of them, like the "Curzon line," which can be tapped for each particular occasion—to justify his seizures and to make the Mikolajczyks toe the mark—or else. Stalin wants Poland as well, if he can—directly; if he cannot—then indirectly. If he gets that fustest with the mostest men, Mikolajczyk might just as well retire to Cleveland, like the recently-deceased Smetona of Lithuania. Then, *finis Poloniae!* There is no question about it: the Polish government in exile is worried far more about Poland itself than about her former eastern territories.

More accurately, its apprehensions over the eastern territories are due to its apprehensions over Poland.

TWO IMPORTANT IDEAS

The fight over Poland underlies what may be called the two most important ideas of our time: The struggle for national independence and freedom cannot be conducted in a progressive spirit and with consistency and honesty except by the proletariat and its peasant allies. The others are interested in anything but national freedom for all peoples. Conducted by the proletariat, the fight for national freedom must be linked with the fight for social freedom, in which it would find its highest realization. Its highest realization, finally, can come in Europe only in the form of a Socialist United States of Europe, freely entered and equitably and jointly ruled by the independent workers' governments that alone can save Europe from the disintegration, subjugation and chaos to which capitalist barbarism is dooming it.

And second, the seeds of the Third World War are being sown already. World War II is not yet over, decidedly not yet, and the conditions for speeding World War III are being laid. This idea is not peculiar to the revolutionary Marxists. Many capitalists understand it. Many even fear it, for the bourgeoisie does not want war, and especially it does not want the revolutions that come with it. But it is helpless to prevent it, as utterly and completely helpless as it proved to be in 1939. The military struggle between the two big camps is accompanied by a feverish political struggle inside the Allied camp. The attempts made in it to come to an agreement on the division of the spoils are condemned in advance to the failure which the essentially temporary character of any imperialist agreement bears from the moment it is adopted. They agreed before, once, twice and ten times. Their very agreements contained the germ of conflict. The agreement over Poland simply injects one of the many germs of tomorrow's conflict.

The two most important ideas of our time are simply the reverse of each other. The continuation of capitalism means war and barbarism. The struggle of the working class, consistently developed, means peace and socialism. The time for the choice was long ago. But even now, it is not too late.

Editorials

Frank, Joe-- And Harry

All prominent labor leaders—soft as they are about their "friend" in the White House—have nevertheless loudly protested the President's proposal for a labor conscription law. Therefore, the endorsement by the International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union of the labor-enslaving legislation asked for by FDR stands out like a sore thumb.

Never before in all labor history has a union come out in favor of making industrial slaves of its members. But the ILWU is that unfortunate phenomenon known as a Communist-dominated union—completely dominated by Browder boys, with Harry Bridges as gang leader.

It is no surprise that these political parasites on the labor movement should brazenly declare: "The President's program is a progressive, democratic program which can unite the service man and worker and win their respect for each other..." And this is the language used by all Communist-controlled unions and the anti-labor position taken by Joe Curran and the rest of the Browder boys.

This sort of language of course is a fake, attempting to hide the real meaning of the anti-labor stand taken by the Browder boys. The Bridges approval of conscription for American labor was dictated by the bureaucrats in the Kremlin—not by the interests of the American worker and soldier, nor of any other workers and soldiers.

The spiel about "respect" of worker and soldier for each other is trying to rub soap into the eyes of both. For the soldier is going to come back to working conditions as good or as bad or labor at home makes them.

Allowing a labor conscription law to be placed on the statute books will mean that the soldiers will return to a form of industrial slavery little better than the chattel slavery of former days. Regimenting the workers under pretext of war necessity is exactly the precedent the alert capitalists would like for use in the post-war period.

It is not the soldier that the Browder boys have in mind—no, and not the worker. It is the new-found "friendship" cemented between Stalin and Roosevelt in Tehran that speaks through Stalin's stooges. Whatever Frank wants in America is all right with Joe—provided what Joe wants for himself in Europe will be all right with Frank. So the Browder boys embrace free enterprise—the political system of the two capitalist parties, with labor conscription thrown in—and to hell with what's good for the American workers!

Parasites are creatures of which healthy organisms rid themselves as soon as possible. The ILWU and other similarly situated unions have a delousing job to do. So-called leaders who advocate anti-labor policies must be booted out of the unions by the rank and file.

Something to Get Mad About

Following the example of the ultra-reactionary bloc in the Senate, the House Elections Committee last week voted—seven to five—against federal balloting for soldiers and supported the "States' Rights" measure passed by the Senate. The complicated procedure involved in soldiers voting according to the requirements of forty-eight different states makes it a foregone conclusion that only a handful of overseas men and women will be able to vote in the 1944 elections.

Political observers in Washington unanimously state it will take a miracle to get a law passed in Congress to enable the soldiers to exercise their rights as citizens in the coming elections.

While Congress busies itself disfranchising millions of its citizens, the country is being prepared for the big push which is expected to take a toll of lives estimated at 500,000 in the next three months. What is the big push for? Every ultra-reactionary congressman who voted to take away the vote of the soldiers will tell you that those undemocratic Nazis must be taught a lesson in "democracy."

However, democracy—like charity—should begin at home. It is something to get mad about that the American men and women in arms, of whom half a million will give up life and limb for what they are told is "democracy," will be disfranchised American citizens.

Latest French Developments

Two news items coming from the French National Committee of Liberation and the Consultative Assembly meeting in Algiers are of outstanding importance.

One is the "request" to de Gaulle from Washington and London that the trial of fascists and fascist collaborators, like Flandin, Peyrouton and Boisson, should not be held now but should be postponed for some future time. It is noteworthy that de Gaulle is reported not unwilling to yield to the not too gentle pressure on French politics exercised by his allies.

The other news item is that representatives of the French underground coming to Algiers have set up a hue and cry for more arms for the resistance movements. This demand does not come from de Gaulle and his aides, but directly from the angered underground movement, which wants to know how it can help in the coming big push against the Nazis—without arms.

The Allies refuse to supply more war material to the French underground. Pertinax, in a North American Newspaper Alliance dispatch, states by way of explanation: "Some members of the Consultative Assembly believe political reasons are back of the Allies' refusal. The resistance movements not only wage a form of war but attempt to reform French institutions and public life. They believe Washington and London disapprove of the political implications of their work."

Now what do these latest French developments add up to?

In the first place, de Gaulle is again revealed as a reactionary politician. This is indicated not only by his failure himself to ask for arms for the French underground, but also by his apparent willingness to comply with the demand of Washington and London to keep hands off the French fascists and fascist collaborators.

In the second place, Washington and London are seen at their old game of favoring the fascist collaborators as a bulwark against the people themselves. If the sentences quoted above mean anything at all, they signify that the powers in this country and in England are afraid that the French people, among whom the tradition of revolution is strong, will once more take revolutionary steps to solve their tremendous problems.

Therefore, the great "democrats" are afraid to arm the French people, even though those arms will help defeat the Nazis. Therefore, they prefer to have the Flandins, Peyroutons and Boissons handy to use against the people.

Workers Relief Organizations to

Take Politics Out of Relief

By HARRY ALLEN

"Immediately upon the liberation of any area by the armed forces of the United Nations, the population thereof shall receive aid and relief from their sufferings, food, clothing and shelter... to the end that people once freed may be preserved... for the tasks and opportunities of building anew." (Preamble of the United Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.)

But there is no Santa Claus. Actually, food and other relief is dispensed as a political weapon by the United Nations; more precisely, by those of the United Nations which must provide the supplies.

Such relief as is now being issued in "freed Sicily" (which represents less than 1.5 per cent of the population under Axis control) is meager and a demonstrated failure.

On the island of Ischia, for instance (population 32,000), the people are "eating far less and a smaller variety of food than they had before the armistice." (Chicago Daily News.)

Throughout Allied-occupied Italy, emergency feeding continues to limp to this moment. Inflation and the black market aggravate the miserable situation of the hungry masses.

At the outset AMG announced that TAXES in Sicily would be CONTINUED and tax revenues used to help pay for relief. Thus the expectation of the starving people that relief would be unconditional was soon shattered. They began to see that American intervention butters no parsnips. For food is a weapon of the counter-revolution in Europe, of which the United States is the spearhead.

Relief a Political Weapon

As a matter of fact, no one should have any illusions about American objectives in relieving Europe from "freedom from want." Ex-Governor Lehman's first declaration, upon assuming direction of the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation was to the effect that relief was a matter of feeding people to prevent revolution.

AMG indicated its role with equal clarity: To prevent "anarchy," to restore "order," to "establish" local authorities, to suppress any possible clash of rival political groups aiming for power (that is, to suppress any revolutionary uprisings), AND THEN to feed the population. And that is the way AMG and other agencies have actually functioned in Africa and in Sicily to date. Moreover, AMG, Washington's instrument, further exposes its role, with subsequent discreditment among the masses, because of its reliance on and association with the upper Italian bourgeoisie and fascist elements.

Moreover, meager as actual relief is, even potential relief is in an important measure almost certain to be wiped out because numerous government agencies conflict with one another. For instance, AMG expected much of the work would be carried by OFRRO. However, the military quickly stepped in, presumably for ninety days, after which the civilian OFRRO was to take over. However, military control soon extended itself to six months, the prevailing situation. And AMG's policy is to retard, where it cannot suppress, the workers' independent actions and movement.

Further, OFRRO itself purchases food only as allocated by the War Food Administration. When AMG took over, WFA cancelled OFRRO allotments. Besides, other government agencies enter into the picture to help emasculate European relief. There are the representatives of Lend-Lease, the Navy, the Office of Economic Warfare, the Treasury and the Office of Foreign Economic Coordination.

Food... But—

For instance, the policy of Foreign Economic Coordination is especially crude. It objects to food being extended through any political group which does not enjoy the approval of the State Department. Thus it virtually declares that food is being used, and is to be used, as an instrument of international imperialist policy by the United States government. That is, to force starving millions into accepting U. S. policy and objectives in Europe—or go hungry!

But even aside from this, Hallett Abend writes: "When it comes to food, the bald prospects are that in most of the newly liberated lands there will be a full diet only for nursing and expectant mothers and for essential labor. The young, the old and the non-essential elements will have to forgo for themselves."

Further, the government hopes to cover future food relief failure in Europe, in an important degree, by talk of a "food shortage" in the United States. Thus, a report of federal agencies states that food supplies will remain low for at least two to three years after the war, and even says that the United States can "easily sink to the level of downright hunger."

The American workers must strongly register their objection to the policy of the American government, which is ready to permit starvation of great numbers of European workers who are determined to strive independently for their own democratic, social and working class objectives.

To what degree unconditional relief is possible has yet to be fully shown. But certainly, in the circumstances, the American workers must call upon and demand that the United States government provide the fullest relief to the starving European masses without attaching political or other conditions to this relief.

In order to prevent abuse, discrimination and reactionary use of government relief, the American labor movement must demand that the labor unions be assigned responsibility and control of the distribution of relief, in conjunction with any existing and arising bona fide labor organizations in the respective European countries.

The American labor movement must be concerned to try to establish its complete independence of action in this field. It is a fact that the capitalist government will always attach or try to attach conditions to the actions and propositions of the labor movement. The aim is, of course, to curtail or nullify the independent aims of the working class. It is also a fact that war conditions make it more plausible for the government to say that it must control all shipping, all relief, etc. However, there is involved on this issue of relief the right and principle of the independent organization and action of the working class on behalf of its class brothers in other countries.

Moreover, the American labor movement must be concerned with stimulating the independence of the European masses in their struggles and to demonstrate working-class solidarity between the working peoples of all countries. Therefore, even if necessarily limited in resources, the American labor unions and other workers' organizations ought to aim to establish an independent workers relief organization, preferably a single, united labor relief body, to raise money, food, clothing, etc., to aid the starving European workers (and also starving peoples in other countries).

Such workers' relief organizations should demand the right themselves to administer relief to the European masses to insure that there will be no discrimination against European labor. As a minimum, such workers' relief organization should insist on its representatives being on hand in any country receiving relief in order to aid in and guarantee the fairest, most impartial distribution of relief to the workers and peasants.

WLB Has "Principles" - - Witness Its Garment Workers Decision

By WALTER WEISS

The War Labor Board proclaims that it is composed of iron men who never yield on a principle. Not a penny, not a fraction of a penny, will they grant beyond the limits of the "stabilization" program.

Of course, when a lower principle comes into conflict with a higher one, there's an unpleasant situation. The "lower" principles somehow always turn out to be those which benefit the workers.

A recent example is the matter of retroactive pay. It hit the headlines in connection with the wage demands of the steel workers.

The employer members brazenly claimed that there never was any principle on this matter:

"The board has no formal policy—even in its case-by-case approach, the board does not consistently follow such a practice. Its recent decision on the cotton garment industry is sufficient illustration of the absence of such a policy and practice."

There, brothers, was a decision! It didn't hit the headlines, but it should have. There was a truly scandalous decision. The labor members were even aroused from their slumbers, squawked, and dissented.

What "Sub-Standard" Means

The WLB had to admit that wages in the shirt industry were "sub-standard." Now observe what "sub-standard" means. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union proved to the board's satisfaction that forty-one per cent of all workers in the industry were making less than fifty cents an hour—on piecework, at that, where the possibilities for enriching oneself are supposed to be unlimited.

This is terrible, said the WLB. We will set a fifty-cent minimum. The stabilization program is merciful and allows sub-standards to be corrected. Of course, the fifty-cent rate will apply only when a worker has some experience, after six months. The first three months, forty cents; the second three, forty-five cents. Then comes the big money.

The union had also requested a ten-cent general increase. Denied! It would violate the stabilization program. Instead, a staggered increase, very insistent on this.

ranging from two and a half to ten cents (the latter sum to be granted only by the lowest-paying firms), was ordered. And, brother, lowest-paying means exactly that. Workers in shops where the hourly average was seventy cents or more were not to get even two and a half cents—they were to get nothing at all!

An Award and Principle

When should this magnificent award go into effect? Here is the answer:

"The board majority, labor dissenting, has... established an effective date coinciding with the date of the board action, December 8, 1943. In so doing the board has also disregarded ITS USUAL PRACTICE of making wage awards effective as of contract expiration..."

There are two nice points to observe here: (1) In the steel case the industry members, as quoted above, pointed to the garment case to prove that the board had no consistent practice. In the garment case the board admitted that it was "disregarding" its "usual practice." (2) The garment decision was made on December 8. On December 7 the steel workers had asked the board to make any wage increase in their case retroactive. Need we say more?

What reasons did the board offer for "disregarding" its usual practice? It gave a long spiel about a higher principle, the fight against inflation. After all, what good would a few extra dollars do these fifty-cent workers, if every American family had to pay more for shirts? In the interest of the fight against inflation, the garment workers should be willing to "forego" the money. Some of the companies (the real victims of poverty) just couldn't afford to pay it without an extra price increase, and (who knows?) they might get a price increase bigger than the wage increase.

The board concludes by saying that the ruling doesn't necessarily establish a precedent. In that case, what sense does it make? None of the industrialists, to hear them tell it, can afford to grant retroactive pay without raising prices. The steel magnates, wallowing in profits, have been very insistent on this.

LABOR ACTION

A Paper in the Interests of Labor

Published Weekly by the

LABOR ACTION PUBLISHING ASSN.
114 West 14th Street New York 11, N. Y.
(3rd Floor)

Vol. 5, No. 4 January 24, 1944

ALBERT GATES, Editor

Subscription Rate: 60 Cents a Year

7 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.

The Renegotiation Fight

Big Business Hangs Onto War Profits

By V. JENSEN

First and foremost on the congressional agenda is action on the proposed tax bill for the new year. The bill now before Congress is the Senate's scandalously amended version of the Treasury's originally weak enough proposals. The bill as it now stands maintains, and increases the tax burden on wage earning and low income groups, provides for no increase in corporate taxes (though corporations made all-time high profits in 1943!) and—most scandalous of all the provisions—amends the present procedure for renegotiating war contracts on which excessive profits have been made.

These "amendments" to the renegotiation of contracts—which in effect kill the procedure and will mean the government's returning millions of dollars in excess war profits to industry—are so scandalous a gift to the war profiteers that even so conservative a figure as Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau has charged the law makers with opening the door to "truly extortionate profits."

The original law providing for renegotiation of contracts was passed in April, 1942, as a sop to public opinion daily outraged by some new scandal of war profiteering, and to labor, whose wages were frozen while prices were soaring. It was, like most congressional gestures against profiteering, a most feeble measure.

Government contracts with industry (unlike its measures against labor) are made with the full agreement of the contractor and upon his terms. The contract for goods at a price which the manufacturer considers will cover every possible eventuality, always provides for a healthy (known to the government as a "fair") profit and in addition, most of the larger contractors provide for most generous reconversion and

amortization plans at the government expense.

The renegotiation procedure was supposed to determine when the original estimate of the cost of production was too high and then renegotiate the contract on the basis of the lower unit cost—still not eliminating the "reasonable" profit. This was virtually the only anti-profiteering measure passed by Congress and it has been, in the face of notorious profiteering by industry, a most ludicrous and ineffectual measure. In the year and a half since its passage the government has recovered only a billion and a half dollars under its provisions that would not have been recovered by ordinary taxes.

And yet, even that is too much for the greedy friends of the greedy bosses on Capitol Hill. They want to amend this procedure even further. They have five main amendments for putting money into the pockets of the bosses.

Five Profiteering Amendments

The first amendment would exempt contracts and sub-contracts for standard commercial articles from renegotiation. This means that contractors for such articles as blankets, lumber or any manufacturer of any article that he made in peacetime could sell those articles to the government without having his excessive profits reviewed at any time. How this would work out may be seen in the case of the Elastic Stop Nut Corp. This company is continuing its peacetime production of self-locking nuts. After taxes were deducted in 1942, this company made a profit of 122 per cent. Under the amendment, the government couldn't look for "unreasonable" profits.

The second amendment would exempt sub-contracts for articles that do not go into the delivered product, even though the article be absolute-

ly indispensable for production. For example, machine tools, on which exorbitant profits are being made. This clause tries to put over the myth that you can keep down profiteering on, say, a tank, while permitting excessive profiteering on processes necessary to put it out. Just to add insult to injury, this amendment also has a retroactive clause which would mean that the government has to give back millions of dollars of profits, admittedly excessive, that have been refunded to it.

The third directs that in renegotiating the contracts, account be taken of a contractor's position after taxes. In English, that means that the government pay taxes for the company!

The fourth provides that "consideration" be given to the contractor's problems on reconversion to peacetime production. In other words, no profits are too exorbitant, because, after all, sooner or later, the profiteer will have the problem of peacetime adjustment. And after wartime profits, it's tough on a poor contractor to adjust to peacetime.

The fifth amendment is one more kick at the Administration. It provides for the court review of the voluntary agreements already reached between government and contractors. (And will probably mean more profits turned back to the company.)

This is the new "anti-profiteering" renegotiation section of the tax bill.

New York Mass Meeting

Speakers:

MAX SHACHTMAN
NATIONAL SECRETARY, WORKERS PARTY

ALBERT GATES
EDITOR, LABOR ACTION

ADMISSION 25 CENTS

What Does the "Dissolution" of the Communist Party Mean?

The Latest Move in Stalinist Diplomacy!

● Sunday, January 30, Irving Plaza ●
8:15 P.M., Victoria Hall, 15th St. and Irving Place
Auspices: New York Local Workers Party