

Workers! This Is Not Our War!  
It Is a War for Boss Profits!  
Join Hands in Independent  
Labor Action Against the War!

# LABOR ACTION

We Say—  
Conscript War Industries  
Under Workers' Control!

AUGUST 18, 1941

ORGAN OF THE WORKERS PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

THREE CENTS

## FIGHT THE RISING COST OF LIVING BY FIGHTING FOR INCREASED WAGES!

### North Shore CIO Council Asks Murray to Fight for Higher Wages for Draftees

Special to Labor Action

PEABODY, Mass.—The North Shore Industrial Union Council, representing the 25,000 unionists in the CIO unions of Salem, Lynn, Peabody, Beverly and surrounding towns, voted at its regular meeting to write a long detailed letter to Philip Murray, president of the CIO, demanding that the CIO develop a complete program in regard to the draftees.

Delegates spoke of reactions of draftees toward the unions for doing nothing to aid them, how Coughlin and others are taking advantage of this feeling, and recalled experiences after the last war when soldiers came back and broke strikes. J. G. Poulos, president of the Council, presented the resolution and spoke at length on it. B. Fishman, secretary, insisted that if the soldiers are taught that the trade unions are with them, their attitude when asked to break strikes, even now, will be different.

A reporter for one of the local newspapers covered the meeting and reported it thus in the August 10 issue of the Lynn Telegram-News:

At its monthly meeting Friday evening in Peabody, the North Shore Industrial Union Council, CIO, voted to write to President Philip Murray and ask him to take steps toward setting up a legislative program toward improving the lot of draftees.

The council went on record as favoring higher pay for draftees so that their earnings while laboring in the nation's conscript army would more nearly approximate the earnings they would obtain if they had remained in private employment.

Several union leaders reported that members of their locals who have been drafted are undergoing changes in sentiment because of their change to army life. Many of them are said to be disgruntled because they were snatched from their jobs at union wages and forced to become soldiers at \$21 a month, and some of them have since come to the conclusion that they have been forsaken by their former trade union associates.

Decrying the situation, which the council delegates declared could well become "fertile ground for the seeds sown by American fascists," President Murray is being urged to take immediate steps to provide better conditions for draftees to prevent them from becoming enemies of the trade union movement.

Delegates pointed out that the technique employed by Hitler in rising to power in Germany was to get thousands of young workers into the army and instill into them a hatred and jealousy of the working class which led eventually to the complete smashing of the trade union movement in Germany and a consequent reduction in the living standards and virtual enslavement for all the German people.

**We Demand: Higher  
Wages and Workers'  
Rights for Conscripts!**

### UAW Resolution On Jobs for Negro Workers

RESOLUTION No. 120  
Submitted by Local Union No. 3  
(R.C.)

EQUAL RIGHTS FOR NEGRO  
WORKERS

Whereas: The Negro workers in the auto, aircraft and defense industries are discriminated against in hiring, denied promotions and transfers to better jobs, denied enrollment in factory apprentice and training schools and denied transfer to aircraft and defense by the large auto manufacturers, and

Whereas: The policy of the CIO as stated in our Constitution is in opposition to discrimination in any form, race, creed or religion, and

Whereas: President Roosevelt called upon all manufacturers to cease discrimination against Negro workers,

Be it therefore resolved: That the convention go on record as instructing all locals of the CIO and International Union to gain from the manufacturers, fulfillment of the following program:

1. Hiring of Negro workers in all departments in all auto, aircraft and defense plants.
2. Equal opportunity for transfers, promotions, and training in all auto, aircraft and defense plants.
3. Negro and white workers displaced from the auto industry because of the curtailment of auto-production shall be transferred and hired into aircraft and defense plants solely on the basis of their seniority in the auto plants before any new people are hired into the same plants.

### Both Ends Against the Middle . . .



### N. Y. Party Mobilizes for Shachtman Petition Drive

The Workers Party drive to put Max Shachtman on the ballot as the anti-war candidate for Mayor of the city of New York gets under way this Saturday with an all-out mobilization of the party membership for the collection of signatures. It is expected that at least 1,000 signatures will be procured that evening. The legal requirement is 7,500.

The Young Peoples Socialist League, youth section of the Workers Party, has decided to devote its entire forces to this work for the six week duration of the petition drive. The youth organization is rarin' to go into action.

Achievement of the goal in this drive will mark a notable step forward in the history of our movement. There has not been a revolutionary candidate for Mayor on the ballot in the city since the days when the Communist Party was more than just a Charlie McCarthy of the Soviet Foreign Office.

Last year the Workers Party went into the councilmanic elections in the Bronx, also with Max Shachtman as candidate, and succeeded in putting his name on the ballot. That action was, and remains, a landmark for the movement. This year will see our first full participation in a city-wide election, especially important now in view of the fact that the

fight against Jingo La Guardia is necessarily a struggle against the whole Roosevelt war setup.

The Workers Party appeals to all readers of LABOR ACTION, to all its friends and sympathizers, to help put Max Shachtman on the ballot. While the members of the party and the YPSL will be devoting every spare ounce of energy to this project, YOU CAN HELP.

- (1) Get a petition sheet from us and fill it up among your friends and acquaintances.
- (2) Contribute to the Shachtman Campaign Fund! The party intends to issue a steady stream of campaign literature. Your dollars are essential to a strong campaign.

### The Way to Resist Taxation And Keep Pace with Prices Is by Organized Union Action

The cost of living is shooting skyward. Since the beginning of the war, prices have shot up at least 15 per cent.

They are still rising from month to month.

With every rise in prices, REAL wages are lowered in the same proportion.

With every rise in prices, wage increases won in militant battle are correspondingly lowered.

While prices rose 15 per cent, wages rose only 10 per cent. That doesn't mean that every worker got a 10 per cent raise; far from it. But even those who did get the 10 per cent increase actually suffered A 5 PER CENT WAGE CUT!

On top of that, the government is now preparing to cut another slice out of the worker's income by various taxation schemes.

Proposals now being debated in Congress would lower the basis of direct taxation to \$750 or \$800 for unmarried workers and to \$1,500 for married workers.

Other proposals, which are almost certain to pass, will spread the number of excise and sales taxes—digging still deeper into the workers' pockets.

What can we do about it?

There is only one thing we can do: **fight for higher wages to keep pace with the rising cost in living; resist any inroads into workers' income through taxation.**

It isn't our business to worry about the bosses' profits. We don't care if they make less profit, or no profit. Our concern is limited to our own needs: decent wages, a decent income.

But the fact remains that profits keep on spiraling upward. Look at almost any quarterly profit report. It will show that profits rose in 1941 above 1940; and in 1940 they had risen substantially above 1939.

Profits rose despite all the wailing of the big bosses about higher wage rates and taxes, despite the large reserves which virtually every corporation has set aside.

For example: in the second quarter of 1941 General Motors and subsidiaries "earned" a consolidated net profit of \$53,579,-568, compared to \$46,546,999 in the corresponding quarter of 1940.

You can go on indefinitely that way, naming company after company.

Yes, prices and profits are going up. Wages haven't even trailed along.

We've got to demand more wages; and we've got to demand contracts that will provide for wage increases with every rise in the cost of living.

A few such contracts have already been signed in scattered industries. That isn't enough. We must make that apply to every industry in the land.

And as for taxes: here too we must get our unions to act aggressively in our interests.

President Murray of the CIO has warned that "Labor is threatened with a growing drive to cut wages by taxation, while the cost of living is rising with increasing rapidity." President Murray has pointed out that the House bill "increases the burden on working class incomes."

That's what the bill will do. But what will WE do about it? Protest in our newspapers? Pass resolutions? Make speeches?

Yes, all this must be done. But it won't stop the rising cost of living; it won't stop the tax bill; it won't get us higher wages.

WHERE ARE THE MIGHTY DEMONSTRATIONS, THE PICKET LINES, THE ORGANIZED UNION DRIVES?

These are actions that bring results. We can talk ourselves blue in the face and we won't change a boss politician's mind. We have got to show him that we mean what we say—that we mean it by TAKING ACTION!

There is only one language a boss understands: THE LANGUAGE OF THE PICKET LINE!

President Murray has the right idea. But let's do something about it! Let's reinforce our demands by a demonstration of our strength!

A picket line before Congress will make the congressmen think twice before they pass their foul tax bill.

A picket line before Congress and organized action throughout the country will show Congress that we mean business when we say: if you need money for your boss war, get it from a 100 per cent excess profits tax, a steeply progressive tax on high incomes, a capital levy on accumulated wealth!

A picket line before every factory that refuses to yield to our wage demands is the way to victory!

LET US ORGANIZE OUR STRENGTH TO FIGHT THE RISING COST OF LIVING BY FIGHTING FOR HIGHER WAGES!

### Delegates, Alive to the Union's Problems, Insist On Having the Final Say at UAW Convention

By DAVID COOLIDGE

BUFFALO—The sixth annual convention of the United Automobile Workers of America (CIO) has just completed its first week of deliberations. The name of the organization is now the "International Union, United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Workers of America" (UAW-CIO). Aside from changing the name of the organization the convention has performed more significant tasks.

For one thing, the delegates to this assembly of 1,000 workers, all elected from locals of the union, have demonstrated a firm determination to have their say and vote as they see fit on the important matters that come before the convention. The convention is not "bossed" in the sense that AFL conventions and the CIO steel workers conventions are bossed. This proves the advantage of having a real international and not just an "organizing committee," such as exists among the steel workers.

There are "factions" in the convention and numerous attempts on the part of some of the leaders to dominate the delegates, but in every instance where the delegates understand the issues clearly they do not hesitate to talk, act and vote as they see fit and as they understand. They are insistent on their democratic union rights and on strict adherence to the international constitution.

This was made very clear when the constitution committee, headed by Victor Reuther, recommended that the constitution be changed to provide for biennial conventions. Virtually the whole of the international leadership favored this change, including Thomas and Addes. The

reasons given for recommending the change were that it would be better to have the convention in the spring. Also, it was argued that it would be better not to hold the convention at the time when car models are being changed. Addes argued that year did not give the GEB time to carry out the mandates of the convention and really get things done before another convention was upon them.

The delegates had other ideas. One delegate said that the international representatives and organizers could stay in the field and keep organizing activities going while the

rank and file of the union came to the convention and transacted the business for the international. Frankenstein argued for taking "politics" out of the question. He favored the recommendation of the committee. "Take the politics out of it," said Frankenstein, "take the personalities out of it and come together on issues, meet and discuss policies of the International Union, and in that way you will have a union that goes forward, not on the basis of politics, but on the basis of building our International Union."

Addes remarked that the cost of conventions was very high, there being a "direct cost of \$16,270.23 and an indirect cost of \$23,500—approximately \$39,770 to convene and hold a con-

(Continued on page 3)

## Of Special Interest To Women

By Susan Green

"Inflation" is one of those scary words about the meaning of which many women are a bit uncertain. In practice, however, nobody knows better than the working class housewife what inflation means.

When for the same amount of commodities they have to pay a good deal more money—or, conversely stated, when for the same amount of money they get a great deal less commodities—THAT'S INFLATION.

Obviously, for the housewife who wants to keep her family on at least the same standard of living, the only solution for inflated prices is for the earner in the family to get "INFLATED" WAGES!

But the National City Bank doesn't think this is the solution—which is exactly what to expect from that Wall Street bigwig.

You see, the bosses and bankers have an awfully good profit report for the first six months of 1941. Leading capitalist concerns have made about 20 per cent more profits in those six months than in the first six months of 1940. After peeling the juicy onion down to its very heart by deducting taxes, deficits, depreciations and this and that, in cold cash they have a profit of about \$800,000,000 for the six months just passed. Naturally, if more wages were paid the workers to meet inflated prices, the profits report would be a bit less.

So the National City Bank has a different solution for inflation.

YOU think you need MORE money to meet inflated prices. The National City Bank is of the opinion that you need LESS MONEY!

It wants the government to reach into every workingman's pocket and leave it practically empty—first by compelling him to "lend" the government more and more money to carry on the boss war, and second by making the poor pay even more in taxes than is now proposed by the bill in Congress.

The brilliant idea of the National City Bank is that if the working people don't have much money to spend, there will be no demand for goods and thereby the prices will be kept down.

The only thing is that housing, food and clothing—like water and air—are always in demand. UNFORTUNATELY, WITHOUT THEM, PEOPLE JUST CAN'T LIVE. And if they don't have the money to buy them, they must just get MORE MONEY!

You have read all about the silk-stocking raids. You have also seen the candid-camera shots of mobs of women around store counters doing battle for the wherewithal to keep their underpinnings sleek. Maybe you have been one of the raiders.

All that was rather foolish.

It gave the manufacturers and merchants the green light to raise prices up to 100 per cent on merchandise that cost them not one cent more.

It also gave the newspapers and the radio a chance to play up the wrong angle.

The important aspect of the shut-down of silk manufacturing for civilian needs is that 175,000 silk workers are threatened with temporary or permanent unemployment.

The ground has literally been removed from under these workers and their families. The cause of their calamity is that the competition between the Japanese and American bosses over the rich resources of the Far East has brought these countries to the verge of war and the consequent cessation of the normal silk trade.

There is much talk about converting the silk factories into rayon manufacturing plants. What it takes time to make such extensive alterations. What about the silk workers and their families in the meantime? How will they be provided for?

Furthermore, in the reshuffling process, many workers are due to lose their jobs permanently. This invariably happens in large-scale industrial readjustments. What about the workers who will be thrown into the army of permanently unemployed? What will their dependents do?

Some thirty billion dollars have been appropriated by the boss government to change this country into an arsenal of war.

In the course of carrying out its total war program it is throwing out of their jobs hundreds of thousands of workers employed in civilian industries. Not only the silk workers, but great masses of auto workers, gas station men and others are due to pace the pavements.

PAYMENT OF THEIR REGULAR WAGES TO THESE WORKERS UNTIL THEY ONCE MORE GET JOBS SHOULD BE A LEGITIMATE EXPENSE OF TOTAL WAR. The Administration should be made to pay for its blows against these innocent workers.

Why should they be reduced to the pittance of unemployment insurance and then to the dry crust of home relief?

Instead of raids at silk-stocking counters, the situation calls for mass picketing by the working women threatened with abject poverty by the boss war schemes. Picketing Congress for an appropriation to pay their regular incomes so that they can continue to feed their families—THAT WOULD BE SOMETHING!

In France, babies are born weighing two or three pounds. Imagine it! Adolescent boys and girls are small, thin, spindly, entirely undeveloped. Thus grow the children of starvation—in a world that has so much wealth that hundreds of millions of dollars of it are daily uselessly blown to smithereens.

Our capitalist masters would like this heart-rending picture of the deterioration of the human race to arouse in our hearts hatred for Hitler—AND NOTHING MORE. Then they could use our hatred to push us into this war which they want to win to get the lion's share of the markets of the world.

But we must not stop at merely hating Adolf Hitler. He is only a superlative example of the ruthless boss politicians and militarists everywhere who stop at nothing to gain their ends. Hitlerism is nothing more than universal bossism developed to the Nth degree.

In a sense, the working class has itself to blame for the appalling situation that bossism has brought to France, to all Europe, to the whole world.

We did not wipe our capitalist masters off the face of the earth during the first dreadful World War. We allowed them to remain, to bring forth their Hitlers and their Hitlerism, and to plunge us into this second holocaust!

WHAT WE FAILED TO DO THEN, WE MUST DO NOW!

## No Government Contract Without a Union Contract!

## A Letter to a Comrade "Mixed Wars" and the War Today

By Max Shachtman

We reprint below a brief excerpt from a lengthy letter sent to a comrade on the question of defensism in Russia and the nature of the war:

We used to speak a great deal in our movement, before the war broke out, of the "mixed war." It arose in connection with the Stalin-Laval pact in 1935 and it meant this: If Russia and France are allied in a war against Germany that would make it an imperialist war on the one side but not on the other. More concretely, while we would not be defensists in imperialist Germany or in imperialist France, we would be defensists in Russia because it is a workers' state. This conception was based upon analogy and hypothesis. But when the "mixed war" took place in reality, it did not correspond to our original suppositions. That is the fact. You know, perhaps, the origin of the "mixed war" business and the historical circumstances of the Soviet Republic to which Trotsky referred in 1935-36. It would be well if every comrade understood these circumstances concretely and in detail.

Early in 1918, after the Bolsheviks had offered peace to the entire imperialist world, the Germans proceeded to march deeper into the territory of the Soviets. Negotiations with the Germans were started up and toward the end of February the Kaiser resumed the offensive against the Bolsheviks. Noulens, the French ambassador to Moscow, thereupon telegraphed Trotsky an offer of military and financial support "in your resistance to Germany." The Social Revolutionists were against accepting any support. So were many of the Bolshevik leaders. Trotsky was in favor of it. So was Lenin, who sent the following note to the Central Committee: "I am in favor of accepting potatoes and arms from the robbers of Anglo-French imperialism."

TROTSKY'S RESOLUTION ON "ALLIANCES"

Against the left Bolsheviks, who advocated a revolutionary war against Germany, Lenin later pointed out that while a peace treaty with Germany would help German imperialism, continuation of the war would help Anglo-French imperialism, and that in this very narrow and restricted sense Russia could not escape helping one or another of the bandits. But listen for a moment to the resolution presented by Trotsky to the Central Committee and adopted on February 22 by a vote of 6 to 5:

"As the party of the socialist proletariat, which is in power and is conducting war with Germany, we apply, through the medium of the state organs, all means of equipping our revolutionary army in the best possible way, with everything that is necessary, and in order to acquire them (the equipment—M.S.) wherever it is possible also from the capitalist governments. In doing so, the Social Democratic Workers Party of Russia (that was then the name of the Bolshevik Party—M.S.) retains its complete independence with regard to its foreign policy, obligates itself in no wise to the capitalist governments, and in every single case considers their proposals from the standpoint of expediency."

## And the Price of Food Will Go Up!

By FRANK DEMBY

The first witness to testify before the House Banking and Currency Committee concerning the Price Control Bill was Leon Henderson, administrator of the Office of Price Administration and Civilian Supply. When Mr. Henderson got to the question of agricultural prices, he was questioned about the reason for the bill containing the provision that the ceiling on farm prices be 110 per cent of parity instead of the Administration's long-sought goal of 100 per cent of parity.

While Mr. Henderson hesitated and looked toward Chairman Steagall, who took credit for this change in a press interview, Representative Ford of California interrupted: "I answer—votes." Never was a truer word spoken by a congressman. All the legislation in regard to the economic controls to be established under the war economy has been subject to an old-fashioned log-rolling process. But the provision for 110 per cent of parity on farm prices represents one of the greatest triumphs of the congressional farm bloc has ever scored in long years of pressure politics and, by the same token, a tremendous blow at the standard of living of the vast majority of the working population of this country.

The Background

To understand what is involved, we must first briefly consider the meaning of "parity" and the situation of the farm population, particularly as affected by World War II. Parity, according to the dictionary, means equality. The word first came into prominence during the 1920's when farm lobbyists and farmers' organizations, especially the Farm Bureau, an organization representing the more well-to-do commercial farmers, used it to describe their goal for farm recovery.

The farmers of the United States, for a series of historical reasons, had entered into an era of permanent depression following World War I. The Armistice of 1918 left them with terrific surpluses on hand, particularly in the staple crops, wheat and cotton. The colonial areas of the world—Canada, Argentina, Australia, Brazil, India, Egypt—had greatly increased their production of these commodities under the stimulus of war-time demand. Cheaper production in these new territories and imperialist trade rivalries meant the steady loss of foreign markets for

Read over this resolution carefully. It established a principled foundation upon which alone the Soviet government could make any agreement, even a military agreement, with an imperialist government. From these words, to which corresponded the practice of the Bolsheviks, you can, so to speak, determine the character of the war the Bolsheviks would have carried out even if the "alliance" with Anglo-French imperialism had materialized, which it did not.

The mixed war did not take place in 1918 because imperialism could not make an alliance with a workers' state under the terms of Trotsky's resolution. At least not in my opinion and in the past 21 years life seems to substantiate this opinion. Lenin and Trotsky knew that even a circumscribed agreement with the imperialists was an extremely perilous business. But, precisely by the terms of Trotsky's resolution this hazard was more than sufficiently compensated. By what? By the provisions of the second sentence of the resolution. Why? Because in practice Lenin and Trotsky would have more than cancelled out the effects of their "support" of one imperialism against another by the revolutionary activity which the Bolshevik state and the Bolsheviks conducted precisely in the ranks of their imperialist "ally." This is no mere hypothesis. It is borne out by the facts. Example: After signing the imposed Brest-Litovsk treaty with Germany and thereby "supporting" German imperialism against Anglo-French imperialism, the effects of this were more than cancelled out by the unceasing revolutionary propaganda of the Bolsheviks which resulted a very few months later in the overthrow of German imperialism.

A "MIXED WAR" NOW?

We cannot stand still in our own conceptions or be bound by the fetishism of words or memories. We must allow life to influence our conceptions. Life has proved that the degenerate Stalinist regime CAN NOT fight a "mixed war" as a progressive or revolutionary war. By its very nature its agreements and alliances without quotation marks this time—with imperialism are reactionary through and through. And that again brings us to the character of the present war and the character of Russia's participation in it, even in the present stage of the war.

Again and again I repeat, we must judge our position of defeatism or defensism in any country by the interests of the socialist world proletariat and not of the workers of one country. The victory of German imperialism in the war would have nothing but reactionary effects. The victory of Anglo-American imperialism over Germany, likewise. We are for the defeat of German imperialism—not by Anglo-American imperialism but by the German proletariat. We are for the defeat of the British Empire—but not by Hitler. From the standpoint of our basic criterion, what are the objective consequences of "defense of the Soviet Union" now? Taken on a WORLD SCALE, and that is the only way we can take it, since we are not Russian nationalists, it means the imperialist

victory of Washington and London over German imperialism, with all the tragic consequences that flow from that. Why? Because of the VERY NATURE of the Stalinist alliance with London and Washington, which is FUNDAMENTALLY and in PRINCIPLE different from the "alliance" that Trotsky proposed to make in 1918.

A few examples: The victory of Stalin in Poland was undoubtedly a "victory" for nationalized property, if considered as an isolated national phenomenon. In the realities of present world politics and the present World War, however, this victory was a victory of German imperialism over its rivals. That is the fact and even children ought to know it. The same is true of the invasion of Finland. Trotsky said it was carried out at the dictate of Hitler. Correct. Did it help protect Lenin-grad? Of course. But from the international point of view, which is decisive, the invasion was a necessary part of the war strategy of German imperialism.

What has changed now is that concretely "defense of the Soviet Union" means promoting the grand strategy of Anglo-American imperialism—objectively, to be sure. Hence the dilemma of the defensists. I mean, of course, of revolutionary defensists like some of our comrades and the Cannonites. What, CONCRETELY, do they propose to DO that we do not propose? I would like very much to hear that. In 1935-36 we used to say that in the hypothetical mixed war we would be for facilitating shipments to Russia but not to France or Germany. In the present real and not hypothetical war I ask the following question of the defensists: Are you for facilitating American shipments to Russia today? Alas, the accused realities of the war show that shipments to Russia mean convoys and that convoys, as our good President says, mean a shooting war. Is that a fact or not? Even Goldman is compelled to acknowledge this in "The Militant." He tries to get around the dilemma by the poor lawyer's argument that he doesn't "urge" shipments, because that means convoys and they mean war, but his party will not oppose them. Isn't that a beat of a position? Or will the defensists be proposing, for example, tomorrow, that we demonstrate before the Japanese consulates if hostilities break out between Japan and Russia? I doubt it. Because even they understand that such demonstrations, given the REAL and not hypothetical situation, would only be grist to the mill of American imperialism.

Or what will they do in the not at all conceivable situation which may confront them tomorrow morning, so to speak, where British and Russian troops are fighting side by side in Afghanistan or Iran? Where do the British troops end and the Russians begin? Where does defensism end and non-defensism begin? Every intelligent observer knows that this is an entirely practical and immediate possibility. And where are the revolutionary compensations for the inevitably reactionary effects of Stalin's war, compensations which the Lenin-Trotsky regime could and did provide for? They do not exist and in the nature of the case cannot.

truly forgotten people of America.

The first attempts to achieve parity under Coolidge and Hoover were miserable failures. They are important only as confirmation of the necessity for government intervention in solving the problems created by a declining capitalist order. The onset of the great depression of 1929 only made matters worse for the farmers.

In 1933 came the New Deal, promising all things to all men. Recognizing the strategic situation of the farm bloc in Congress and the great voting strength of the farm states, the New Deal political strategists promised parity to the farmers. Their first effort, the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933, was a colossal blunder and a crime against humanity. They tried to raise the prices of farm products by ordering the farmers to plow under every third row of cotton and wheat—at a time when millions were going ragged for want of clothing and starving for want of food. The slight increase in farm prices which followed was largely due to the subsequent droughts.

The only important result of this first New Deal attempt to solve the farm problem was to strengthen the farm bloc in Congress. The farm bloc was now in the position of being able to blackmail the Roosevelt Administration on any important measure that it wanted to pass. Time after time, the farm bloc, in return for votes supporting the general Roosevelt program, received important concessions in the form of desired subsidies to the CAPITALIST farmers. It has been horse trading on a grand scale.

World War II

The failure of the Roosevelt farm program was emphasized by the election of 1936, which showed the farm belt clearly swinging away from the Democratic Party back to its traditional Republican allegiance. This called for heroic measures, and finally resulted in the passage of the AAA of 1938, which incorporates the goal of parity into existing legislation. Nobody quite knew how this goal was to be achieved, but the act, sometimes referred to as the Omnibus Act, contained every possible scheme that capitalist politicians could think of. It was rapidly being demonstrated a failure, in spite of the addition of the Food Stamp Plan, when, in September, 1939, World War II broke out.

The immediate effect of World War II on the farmers was the reverse of

World War I. In World War I, when Europe turned its fields into human slaughter houses, the Allies bought huge quantities of farm products in the U.S. This time, however, the newly developed colonial areas of the world could more than supply the needs of England and France. Moreover, the Allies, particularly the English, found it necessary to conserve their cash for the purchase of American munitions and planes. England actually reduced its normal purchases of cotton and tobacco from the U.S. As a consequence, the government warehouses have accumulated huge surpluses of the staple crops. The situation has been further aggravated by the so-called "Hemispheric Defense Policy." In the long run, this means that American imperialism will import agricultural raw materials from Latin America (products like wheat, cotton, meat, hides and copper, which, for the most part, compete directly with the American farmer) in return for its exports of capital and industrial commodities.

The pressure from the farm states to relieve the situation grew tremendously. Every step of the Roosevelt war program, in order to pass Congress, has had to be accompanied by concessions to the farm bloc. Meanwhile, the expenditure of billions of dollars for war by the government has had an inflationary effect on all prices, particularly farm prices. Mr. Henderson, in his testimony, stated the following percentage relationship of farm prices to parity as of July 15: rice 102, cottonseed 120, butter fat 112, milk, equivalent 102, chickens 100, hogs 106, beef cattle 127, veal calves 114, lamb 117, Maryland tobacco 188, wool 149, corn 81, wheat 73, oats 62, and cotton 87. THE WHOLESALE COMMODITY INDEX OF THE BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS SHOWS THAT FOOD PRICES ARE RISING EVEN FASTER THAN THE GENERAL LEVEL OF PRICES—WHOLESALE FOOD PRICES HAVING RISEN ABOUT 60 PER CENT SINCE THE OUTBREAK OF WORLD WAR II.

Price Control Bill

Under the terms of the Price Control Bill, as introduced in the House of Representatives, agricultural prices will have a ceiling 110 per cent of parity—that is, 10 per cent more than the farm propagandists ever dared to demand. From the figures quoted by Mr. Henderson, it will mean a tre-

(Continued on page 3)

## Resolution Hits Poll Tax Laws

Adopted by UAW

RESOLUTION No. 151  
Submitted by Local Union No. 155  
POLL TAXES

Whereas: The poll tax, now existing and in full force in several of the Southern states of the United States, is a notorious blemish on the democratic processes of our country, and

Whereas: Political and economic democracy is stifled, undermined and corrupted by the use of the poll tax in denying the right of franchise to millions of southern citizens, and

Whereas: There is serious question as to the constitutionality of the poll tax in any form, now

Therefore be it resolved: That this convention vigorously denounce the use of the poll tax as a means to continue corruption, dictation and fear over those whom it affects, and

Be it further resolved: That this convention immediately request the Department of Justice to try and test before the federal courts of law the constitutionality of such poll taxes and to continue summary hearings until the United States Supreme Court has duly heard and decided on this case.

The committee recommends concurrence.

The motion was duly seconded, and was adopted unanimously.

RESOLUTION No. 198  
Submitted by Local Union No. 51  
FREEZING WAGES

Whereas: The various corporations, companies or trusts in any given industry have in the main made all necessary provisions to maintain their super-profits during the present national emergency, and

Whereas: This is particularly true in our auto and aircraft industries, and

Whereas: The present high cost of living and continuing rise in all commodities, rents, etc., is directly due to the "economic royalists" who dominate and control our national economy, and

Whereas: Freezing clauses in collective bargaining contracts in exchange for wage concessions are endangering the future living conditions of all working people, now therefore be it

Resolved: That this sixth annual convention of the UAW-CIO instruct all future international executive boards and all future international officers not to allow any freezing clauses in any future contracts on wages, hours or working conditions.

It is the committee's recommendation that this is a matter for contract negotiations and not a convention resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

## Aircraft Workers Win Pay Increases

By JACK WILSON

LOS ANGELES—While the Auto Workers convention used the North American Aviation strike as a factional football, over 80,000 aircraft workers on the West Coast began to receive wage increases as a result of that militant strike!

Already, 32,000 employees at Douglas Aircraft were given wage increases retroactive to July 1, which brought them near to the 75-10 standard won by the North American strikers.

And 28,000 Lockheed and Vega employees were offered the same contract but refused to accept it at present. They are organized in the AFL machinists.

Vultee's 6,700 production workers got retroactive pay increases, also 2,700 men at Northrop.

From Seattle comes word of new and large wage increases at the Boeing plant. Consolidated's huge plant in San Diego is likewise expected to follow suit.

In most cases the wage increases give beginners 80 cents an hour, which are increased five cents an hour every month until a 75 cent minimum is reached.

For skilled workers, wage reclassifications along lines of the North American contract are going on, and the men will get back pay and increases.

This upward swing in wages comes directly from the North American strike victory. Only real wage increases at that plant could alleviate the terrible resentment created by the use of the troops and the breaking of the picket lines.

Once North American workers achieved their new standards, the underpaid workers at Douglas and other plants showed signs of getting down to action for wage demands. They joined the CIO. The federal government thereupon called the bosses together and suggested they standardize wages on the West Coast.

But the new wage increases give the bosses only a brief breathing spell. The way costs of living have mounted recently, demands for a dollar an hour minimum will gain a sympathetic ear among the workers.

LABOR ACTION  
114 W. 14th Street  
New York City

Dear Friends:

I am interested in learning more about the Workers Party and its fight against the bosses' war plans.

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_

# First Week of UAW Convention

## Delegates Guard Union's Interests As Power Caucuses Play Politics

(Continued from page 1)  
vention of the Automobile Workers." Adde also felt that one year was not sufficient time for the officers to carry out the instructions of the convention; they should have more time before another convention rolled around. But a delegate, speaking for the opposition, answered that "from what has happened in the last two days on this floor, you are hearing arguments from one officer and then another officer, and I think we had better make darned sure that we do

not stay out of conventions for more than a year, so that we can see just exactly what is going to happen after this convention."

When the vote was taken not a single delegate voted in favor of biennial conventions and the matter was referred back to the committee, according to the rules of the convention. This means that conventions will be held annually as the sentiment of the delegates was so strongly against any change.

### REJECT PROPOSAL ON STAFF

The next recommendation of the committee was also rejected. This concerned the national organizing staff of the International. The committee recommended that "the Organizational Staff of the International Union shall consist of international representatives, regional representatives and organizers. . . ." Chairman Victor Reuther explained that at present there are only international representatives with the same authority and the same credentials. The committee proposed that this be changed so that there would be a difference in authority. Some would conduct "negotiations in the top stages with the large corporations, while others with far less organizational experience are laying the groundwork in new organizational campaigns, distributing leaflets, ringing doorbells and button-holing prospective members."

The delegates had another idea. They began to talk about "class

distinctions" and "second-class citizens." They didn't want any A, B, and C classifications for their organizers. As one delegate put it, "I believe one classification here and one title of international representative would be sufficient, and I like the name 'representative' better than 'organizer,' only that we understand a representative is an organizer." Another delegate said that "a guy that goes out in the field and fights on the picket line, agitates organization, should fall in as good, if not a better class, than the guy that sits in negotiations."

Another delegate wanted to know the classification of an international representative "who serves in a capacity of a bodyguard, a traveling companion or chauffeur." The chairman replied that he was out of order and that no reference had been made to such classifications.

The recommendation of the committee was lost with no votes in favor of it.

### SEVERAL PROPOSALS WITHDRAWN

Numerous proposals made by the Constitution Committee were withdrawn before coming to a vote when it was seen that the delegates were overwhelmingly against the proposals. Most of these were recommendations for changes in the present constitution. One was a proposal to change the eligibility for delegate to the convention. The committee had a proposal to change eligibility from continuous good standing for one year prior to the nominations, to continuous good standing for each 12 months prior to the nominations. This would mean that a member who had been in the union for two years, for example, and who had been in continuous good standing for the 12

months preceding the nominations but who was not in good standing at some time, say 15 months before, would not be eligible for nomination.

Another proposal withdrawn by the committee was one coming from the international secretary-treasurer to raise the price of local union charters from \$15 to \$25. Adde said that the cost of supplies was going up. The delegates insisted that they were not going up that much and that fast. They were willing to pay the increase in the cost of supplies, but were insistent that the international make no profit from the sale of charters. It was agreed that the charters be sold to the locals "at cost."

### THE ALLIS-CHALMERS AFFAIR

The Allis-Chalmers affair took up considerable time and stirred up a lot of heat and words from all sides. It revolved around the contention that the delegates from the Allis-Chalmers local had been elected in violation of the constitution. There has been a great wave of talk in this convention about the constitution and living up to the letter of the international constitution. Much of this talk has come from delegates who really want the constitution used to protect the democratic rights of the membership. There are others, however, who use the constitution as a platform only for factional politics and as a club against those who are opposed to certain powerful leaders. This was exposed in the Allis-Chalmers affair.

It was brought out in the discussion that there was no question that the Stalinist leadership of that local had proceeded in the usual Stalinist manner to strongarm the election, to deny democratic rights to the opposition in the local, and to carry on all the filthy tactics that the Stalinists have become infamous for in the labor movement. This traditional Stalinist tactic gave the most reactionary forces in the convention an opportunity to go in for the most vicious red-baiting in the name of defending the consti-

tution of the international. Not only this, but also to make the most demagogic speeches in the name of democracy and workers' rights. This was true of such arch-union political tricksters as the Reuthers and of such extremely reactionary red-baiters as Doherty from Detroit.

Sincere militant rank and filers really didn't understand what was going on. They do want the constitution lived up to, they want democracy in the union, they are correctly against the Stalinists; but they are not political red-baiters of the type of Hillman's stooge, Reuther, or the reactionary representatives of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists. It is on such issues as this that these workers get sucked in and derailed. They talk about "power caucuses" but they do not really understand the meaning of these caucuses in their political aspects.

The delegates voted not to seat the Allis-Chalmers delegates but they were determined that the local should have representation at the convention. Therefore, a committee of three was appointed to go to Milwaukee and conduct a new election so that new or old delegates could be seated before the convention adjourned. This committee went to Milwaukee and did exactly nothing.

### DO NOT DISCUSS THE ISSUE

The committee returned to Buffalo and reported that they had failed to get "cooperation" from Harold Christoffel, president of the local. The reporter for the committee prefaced his report with some irrelevant remarks about the names that Christoffel had called Thomas, Reuther, Nordstrom and Leonard. The reporter, Bioletti, said that Christoffel had called these international officers, "phonies, rats and Hillmanites" and that they were all a bunch of bastards.

It should be said that this was not part of the official report of the committee but it proved to be the issue around which much of the discussion revolved. It was clear that Bioletti intended this to be so. His report on this name-calling (there is no reason to doubt that Christoffel used the words attributed to him) was well flavored and plainly intended to prejudice the situation and cover up the fact that the committee did not make any great effort to have the election. Furthermore, one got the impression that Bioletti was doing

a little twisting and distorting of the facts in order to swing the convention against Christoffel. They were out to get the Stalinists by hook or crook.

The fact that Allis-Chalmers men had gone through a 76 day militant strike against a union-busting corporation and the OPM was prominent in the minds of the delegates. Christoffel had led that strike. The red-baiters wanted to "get" Christoffel and at the same time not give the delegates the impression that they were not sufficiently aware of the real grievances the workers at Allis-Chalmers had.

Also it is important to report that when the committee was sent to Milwaukee it was not instructed how it was to carry on the election and what power the committee had. It was brought out that the one point of disagreement that stuck was the question of determining the eligibility of members to vote and who was to preside at the election meeting of the local. According to the international constitution, the local de-

termines eligibility; according to the by-laws of the local, the president presides at meetings of the local. Christoffel insisted on this procedure.

The committee had not been instructed on the matter of its authority and when agreement could not be reached on the two points in dispute, two members of the committee called Thomas and were instructed to return to the convention. The third member of the committee reported to the convention that he had not been consulted about this step. There had been an agreement with Christoffel that there would be another meeting but this meeting never took place. It seems that at least two members of the committee were anxious to get back to Buffalo to report that Christoffel did not have a very high regard for some of the international officers. They forgot that they were sent to Milwaukee to hold an election so that the Allis-Chalmers local could be represented at their international convention, just a few months after they had gone through a very militant strike.

George Nordstrom, regional director of the Milwaukee region and international board member, did not play a very enviable role in this affair. It was established that Nordstrom had issued press releases to the Milwaukee papers after the committee was appointed, advising the workers at Allis-Chalmers of the action of the convention and expressing Nordstrom's personal opinion in the case. Also that Nordstrom had caused a leaflet to be issued from the regional office advising the Allis-Chalmers workers not to vote for Christoffel delegates in the special election.

It developed that Christoffel had a "representative" in Nordstrom's office. This young lady took a peek in the office waste paper basket one day and saw something that interested her. It proved to be the stencil and scrap copies of the leaflet that was distributed at the Allis-Chalmers plant in connection with the special election. This material of course found its way to Christoffel's hands. He used them as exhibits at the convention.

Nordstrom took the floor to explain his role. Although he went through all the motions, he did not come to the point; and that was why he concluded that he was in charge of the Allis-Chalmers elections. The case was in the hands of the convention. The convention had taken a certain action. A committee was sent to Milwaukee to take charge. No part of the negotiations was in Nordstrom's hands. He, as regional director, had not been authorized to con-

### DISPUTE OVER NORTH AMERICAN

One of the highlights of the convention was the discussion around the North American Aviation strike. This matter was before the grievance committee in connection with the charges against Lou Michener. Before this report was made there were rumors that Frankenstein had made a deal with the Stalinists. He has announced his candidacy for vice-president if that office is restored. He will of course make a fight to have it restored. The delegates expected this to be the big fight of the convention. They had been told that the Stalinists had fomented this strike to embarrass the "defense" program. They had been told that Michener was largely responsible and that his conduct had been reprehensible and anti-union. They were prepared to hear Frankenstein go to town on Michener in the convention and mop the floor with him. But they were in for a strange disappointment. The "power caucuses" had been in session on this question. The Reuther caucus was fully armed and ready for the anti-red, pro-Hillman battle. Hillman's men, Hardman, Kryzski and Daniels, were at the convention.

The grievance committee came in with a resolution. Many of the delegates were stunned at the mildness of the resolution and the fact that they were informed that Michener could run again for international board member. They had been led to believe that this would not be permitted since Michener had been held up to the international and the whole labor movement as a scoundrel who had no business being in the leadership of the international. The Reuther caucus demanded suspension for a year.

Frankenstein was asked to explain. Nordstrom said that Frankenstein had convinced him at the board meeting. "I was convinced," said Nordstrom, "at that board meeting, by the adept speaking of our brother Frankenstein that he did that job [at North American]. Where is that job to be done today on this floor? . . . I only wish that some of the boys who had so much guts on the executive board to do the job . . ." (Nordstrom's time was up.)

Victor Reuther was shocked that the committee has not made one suggestion or recommendation as far as penalties for that individual who dared to tell Phil Murray, R. J. Thomas and the director of aviation, in so many words, to go to hell. Why? Again, as in the Allis-Chalmers, the Reuthers were interested in the moral issues and the niceties of polite social intercourse. They didn't like such words as "bastard" and "hell."

Victor Reuther said that he believed that "Phil Murray lies sick today in a Pittsburgh hospital because such individuals put him there by their constant disruption of the activities of the CIO." Readers will realize that Reuther is not only a moralist but also a medical man. Murray got heart trouble because of Michener's activities at the North American strike. He demanded that Michener be suspended "for at least a period of a year."

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### UAW Delegates in Session



A general view of the sixth annual convention of the UAW-CIO in Buffalo as delegates heard reports of an unprecedented year in organizing and wage gains

the Reuther local had a resolution in asking the convention to permit them to hold membership meetings once a year. (The convention voted for monthly membership meetings.) One delegate said that he had been to a caucus where pictures had been shown of Communist activities at North American. These people made "pledges to the delegation they will bring that same information to the

convention floor and let the entire delegation know about the matter, suddenly overnight have a change of heart and change their entire line. . . . If a few days ago the actions in the North American situation and the actions of Michener were detrimental to our union. . . . I would like to call on Frankenstein to present what has happened in the past two weeks." (He should have said, past two days.)

### A DEAL WITH THE STALINISTS

With such tremendous pressure on him, not from the "reds" but from his own side, so to speak, Frankenstein was forced to take the floor several times to "explain." The Stalinists sat quietly and were prepared of course to accept the resolution. (Had they been instructed?)

Frankenstein said that the report was a complete vindication of himself, Thomas and Murray. "I don't want blood in this situation. I don't want somebody's hide in this situation. . . . (all he wanted was the vice-presidency) . . . the way to get a clean labor movement on the West Coast is not to bind them. Yes I have been bitter on this case, very bitter. I agree with what has been said. There has been Communist domination on that West Coast situation. I am not pulling my punches one single bit on that. Brother Michener made bad mistakes on this situation, but I do not think it is the thing to do to go out and crucify him because he made those mistakes. Brother Michener will go back to that West Coast and cooperate, as he did

before this situation, and will cooperate again." (At this Frankenstein was greeted with boos.)

Frankenstein continued with a hope that the "fair-minded delegates will forget their factional politics."

The report of the grievance committee was rejected and sent back. Every delegate who understands these things is convinced that Frankenstein and the Stalinists have made a deal. They know that there is something phony about the whole ill-smelling mess. Frankenstein was on the spot and still is. The committee must bring back another report. I suppose that there will be an effort to compromise the matter. (The convention finally barred Michener from his present post for a year, though allowing him to work for the union in a lesser capacity.—Ed.) There is much unfinished business at the time this report is written; much that has not come before the convention at all and many things that have been returned to committee and must come out again. More on this and the rest of the convention agenda next week.

## On the Picket Line IN LYNN

### GARMENT WORKERS:

A one week strike by the 225 workers employed at the Smith Dress Co. brought them a closed shop agreement, a 13 per cent increase in wages and a 37-hour week. The ILGWU has been attempting to organize this shop for the past three years and up to a month ago seemed to be making very little progress and then almost overnight all the workers joined the union, and, when negotiations failed, conducted a 100 per cent effective strike.

Immediately after the Smith workers returned to work under a union agreement, the workers at the Siren Dress Co. walked out on strike and are demanding the same wages and agreement as the workers at Smith's.

### SHOE:

In order to induce shoe companies to move to Lynn, the Chamber of Commerce a few years ago helped to set up a company union known as the Independent Shoe Workers Union. This week the 350 members of this company union employed by three different companies unanimously voted to dissolve the "dummy" and they all joined the CIO. Three days after the workers had joined the CIO, agreements were signed by the union for a 10 per cent increase in wages with two of the companies. The third, the Bradley Shoe Co., required a three-day strike to be convinced that the workers were not bluffing, then signed the union agreement.

### FOOD:

Local 701, Food Workers Union, CIO, this week won one of the most important gains that a union can hope to achieve at this time, a 1 per cent increase in wages every time the cost of living rises 1 per cent. In

reopening the Hunt's agreement, covering 180 workers, the union obtained a 4 per cent increase to cover the rise in the cost of living since February and an agreement was signed that the workers would no longer suffer while the cost of living was reaching upward another 4 per cent, but would receive their increase every time there is a 1 per cent rise.

### TEAMSTERS:

The 75 employees of the Morgan Memorial Co. are striking for a wage increase and a union agreement. All the workers are members of the AFL Teamsters Union. The Morgan Memorial Co. is a modern streamlined Salvation Army. Under the excuse that they "rehabilitate the unemployed," they are given second-hand furniture and clothing which is repaired and sold.

### PAINTERS:

The North Shore Painters District Council, AFL, signed an agreement with the Master Painters Association for a 12½ cent an hour increase, which brings their wages up to \$1.12½ an hour, double for all Saturday, Sunday and night work.

### STEEL:

A two week strike was settled between the SWOC and the Lion Products Co. with the signing of a 2½ cent an hour increase and a closed shop agreement. There seems to have been a disagreement between local unionists and the top SWOC leadership as to how the strike should be conducted and the type of agreement to be signed.

### BOX WORKERS:

The 450 workers at the Hoague-Sprague Box Co. went on a two-day strike to force the company to live

## SWOC Ends Timken Strike

Special to Labor Action  
COLUMBUS, Ohio—The nine-day strike of the SWOC Local No. 2173 against the Timken Roller Bearing Co. here was ended Saturday following ratification of an agreement by the union membership.

The strike, which began over the firing of girls for SWOC union activities, ended with the rehiring of the girls. However, the original union demands that the girls be rehired at the same jobs, at the same pay and with back pay were not met by the company. The girls are to be rehired in positions which the management feels they are competent to fill at the same rate of pay as their previous jobs.

An arbitration committee is to be selected with one representative from the company, one from the union, the latter to be Clinton S. Golden. These two are to select a third arbitrator whose final decision is to be binding on both parties.

During this strike the union was subjected to terrific pressure. The OPM had representatives here, as did other governmental agencies. This probably contributed greatly to the compromise on the union's part. The union hopes that the arbitration committee will get the girls the rest of the original demands. However, experience with arbitration committees of this type in the past makes this a doubtful hope.

## Food--

(Continued from page 2)

menous increase in the price of most of the important food and clothing items in the worker's budget. Moreover, those prices which are above parity as of July 29 will have this higher level maintained as an alternative price ceiling. The price of meats, for example, will remain at the present extremely high levels.

On the average, therefore, the workers are confronted with a bill whose avowed purpose is to prevent higher prices and inflation, but which will guarantee a 20 PER CENT INCREASE IN PRICES. Moreover, it is only the wealthy farmers and big middlemen who will benefit from this handout at the expense of the workers and the poor farmers. All of which only serves to emphasize once again the extreme injustices of the capitalist economic system, particularly in wartime, and the absolute necessity for workers' control of price-fixing.

## Conscript the War Industries Under Workers' Control!

up to certain provisions of their United Novelty Playthings Box Workers Union agreement. Many of the grievances were settled during the strike, those remaining being left to arbitration.

# Editorials

## OUR PROGRAM AGAINST THE WAR

1. Against both imperialist war camps! For the third camp of World Labor and the colonial peoples!
2. For the right to strike! For the defense of civil liberties and all workers' rights! Stop the persecution of aliens. Against the M-Day plans and war-time dictatorship.
3. Thirty hours a week; thirty dollars minimum pay! Time and a half wages for overtime above 30 hours. For increased wages to meet the rising cost of living.
4. Let the people vote on war! For the right of youth to vote at the age of 18—old enough to fight, old enough to vote!
5. Not a man, not a cent for Wall Street's war! A capital levy to cover the costs of imperialist war. No indirect taxes on the people.
6. Conscript the war industries under workers' control!
7. Expropriate the "Sixty Families"—the three per cent of the people who own ninety per cent of the wealth!
8. No government contract without a union contract!
9. Abolish secret diplomacy! Open the files of the State Department.
10. Full workers' rights for conscripts—the right to organize and to bargain collectively with the officers, the right of free speech, press and assembly.
11. \$60 a month minimum for conscripts. Former employers to pay the wage differential and guarantee return of the job.
12. Withdraw all armed forces from territory outside the United States. Free the colonies. Hands off Latin America.
13. Down with Jim-Crow and anti-Semitism! For full social, economic and political equality for Negroes. End discrimination against Negroes in industry and in the trade unions.
14. For Workers' Defense Guards against fascist and vigilante attacks!
15. For an Independent Labor Party.
16. For a workers' government and a people's army! No confidence in the Roosevelt government.
17. For Peace through Socialism. For the Socialist United States of the Americas, for the Socialist United States of Europe, for the World Socialist Federation.

ple uninformed or misinformed except as to accomplished facts. We will do the fighting and the dying. Yet we do not know, in our capitalist "democracy," what commitments and treaties now rest in the secret files of the State Department.

Capitalist politicians cannot tell the people the truth! They must lie! They must keep silent on their aims! They must act secretly! For they cannot subject their actions to the test of democratic decision!

We will know what Roosevelt said to Churchill and what Churchill said to Roosevelt when it is too late—they hope—for us to do anything about it.

## Pure Fakery

If you have followed the congressional debates on the draft extension, you have seen some of our best actors at work. In the Senate and in the House, the same play was staged.

In Act I the Administration presents its request for an unlimited extension based on a national emergency. In Act II the characters in the play flail at each other in a gory fight. In Act III they bury the hatchet in the skulls of the draftees and collect enough votes to assure them a "compromise" on an 18-month extension. And all the congressmen live happily ever after.

We would, however, like one of the star performers to show us how 18 months differs from an unlimited extension. Within these 18 months, the United States will undoubtedly be at war, shooting war. Obviously, the soldiers (those that live that long) will not be demobilized while the shooting war is on. This war will be a long one and the draftees will serve until it is over.

Where, then, is the difference? There is none, and the Administration knows it and the Congressmen know it. But it looks better and it's easier to put over. Roosevelt uses the same staging every time. Draw fire on an extreme proposal, "exhaust" the opposition, and settle for a milder proposal that amounts to the same thing.

We're against the extension, whether it's for 18 months or 18 weeks. We're against it for the same reason we were against the draft. We are against forcing working class youth into the bosses' army so that they may be trained to fight in the bosses' war.

## Plausible

Boake Carter, New York Mirror columnist, reports Alben W. Barkley, majority leader of the Senate, as having "astounded observers by launching into a full-blown defense of Joseph V. Stalin as an uplifter of his people who had stood staunchly against world revolution. He (Barkley) placed sole blame for any attempt to spread communism throughout the world upon the late Leon Trotsky recently slain in Mexico. His defense of the present Communist regime gave rise to speculations as to whether it portended closer ties with Soviet Russia than trade and supply agreements announced recently by the State Department."

We don't know if Boake Carter, an anti-Administration Hearst columnist, is reporting Barkley's words accurately. But it certainly is plausible. However much the imperialist governments have in the past few years raved against the Stalin government and however much they may do so today, the know that Stalin does not represent a revolutionary threat.

Nobody takes the capitalist politicians for a bunch of dopes. They may try to fool the masses, but they at least know the truth—and the truth about Stalin is what Trotsky always maintained: Stalin is the mortal enemy of the revolution and the world working class. We disagree with Barkley's estimate of Stalin only as it relates to the meaning of "uplifter." Stalin has "uplifted" the Russian people the way a hangman's rope "uplifts" a condemned man.

This report ties in with plans for a post-war world discussed in our "World at War" column this week. Majority Leader Barkley apparently was speaking the Administration point of view.

**For Labor Action--  
Join the Workers Party**

## THE WORLD AT WAR Belligerent Nations Grapple With Problem of Russia's Role in the Post-War World

By MAX STERLING

Though the end of the war is nowhere in sight, the belligerent nations, plus the United States, are grappling with the problems of a post-war world.

It would be easy to laugh at such a preoccupation on the ground that these nations are counting their chickens before they are hatched. In reality nothing is more natural to imperialism. The aims of the contending imperialists have a direct effect on their respective roles in the war.

Not the Germans, nor the British, nor the Americans can now view the future with an easy optimism. The long road ahead is full of uncertainty. They are therefore considering their relations toward each other and pondering over die-hard conclusions.

### Preparing for "Peace"

The expected German "peace" offensive, for example, is supposed to offer to Britain and the United States the most generous terms. According to all the feelers put out unofficially in the various diplomatic hangouts, the Germans will offer a "peace" that will leave the British Empire intact. For this consideration Germany expects to be recognized as the dominant power on the continent with Russia as the chief victim. Churchill's compensation will be that, thanks to Hitler, he will never need to lie awake at night in fear of the Communist bogey.

However, in anticipation of Hitler's peace offensive, Churchill and Roosevelt have been acting in an extraordinary manner. Rejecting Hitler's position, they have come to Russia's aid in a wholehearted manner. Churchill lost no time in allying himself with Stalin. An important British military mission found itself in Moscow in record time. British military secrets were immediately put at Stalin's disposal. As soon as it was feasible, the RAF joined Russia in a military offensive against the Finns. In Afghanistan and Iran, Russia and Great Britain cooperate toward the establishment of a joint British and Russian front.

Material aid is being sent to Russia by both Britain and America and the latter does not even hesitate to forward such shipments in its own ships. It appears that Churchill is not even alarmed over the prospect, by no means remote, of British and Russian soldiers fighting side by side. After all, Churchill did give his blessing to the Poles and Czechs who are now fighting on the Russian front. Had he wanted to, they could

easily have been transported to join the British in the Middle East. Apparently Churchill views the Polish, Czech and Russian fraternization with the utmost calm.

Churchill and Roosevelt have their own ideas about the kind of a "peace" that they want. They are deaf to Hitler's cries about Russian Bolshevism. The full flowering of Stalinism has taught them a great deal. They know that communism can never come from that source. Neither are they tempted with any offers for joint exploitation of Russia. They may not like Stalin and the Russian setup. They might feel more comfortable with a Kerensky. But granted that such a regime would offer them more advantages, the fact remains that in the absence of any other setup, Stalin is quite satisfactory to them.

If this were not so, how is it that both Churchill and Roosevelt have assigned Stalin a role in the post-war world that is hardly different from that which would be given to a Czar were he now sitting in the Kremlin?

### Imperialist Politics

For Churchill and Roosevelt, the problem of the post-war world is determined solely from the point of view of imperialist power politics. Stalinism has simplified their problem. Were Russia really a source of communism, Hitler would not find himself a world apart from Churchill. There were some people who went so far as to predict that the German invasion of Russia would result immediately in a negotiated peace between Britain and Germany as a prelude to a joint attack on Russia. But events have dealt cruelly with these theorists.

Reality, however, poses the problem another way. To Churchill and Roosevelt it is not Russia, even Stalin's Russia, that constitutes a mortal danger to British and American imperialism. Rather it is their conviction that this danger will come from a Greater Germany and Japan. Their views on these two countries have been unmistakably consistent. It is their joint aim to break Germany with a new and more drastic Versailles. To Japan they have allocated a similar fate in the Pacific.

With Russia it is an entirely different story. Neither Britain nor America regard her as an imperialist competitor. IF PENETRATION OF RUSSIA IS LIMITED, SO ALSO IS HER POWER TO PENETRATE. This is true of Russia not only economically but politically. The revolution is not being exported from Russia; it is not even being produced!

In the Anglo-American bloc, Russia is regarded not only as an ally, but as a future bulwark against Germany and Japan. Russia has come to terms with more than England and America. All of the allies of the latter are her friends now. The beaten creations of Versailles are pledged to reconstitution with the help of Russia.

The London Times, semi-official organ of the British Foreign Office, sketches the reactionary role that Stalin is to play in the coming Anglo-American scheme of things. In black on white, this journal records editorially:

"Peace with the power to make it abiding can be established in Europe for a certainty only by the joint action of Britain and the Soviet Union—assuming, of course, that they defeat Germany. Leadership in Eastern Europe can fall on Germany or Russia, since, neither, Britain, nor, the United States can exercise or will aspire to exercise any predominant role in these regions. British, Russian and American interests alike demanded that Russian interests should not be replaced by German. German power is a factor which may be temporarily eclipsed by *deus*. But it cannot be eliminated or, without grave peril, ignored. Yet the enforced disruption of Germany would run athwart the trend toward a larger and more closely integrated unit and would not be likely to endure."

The plan for the future therefore is in nowise different from the old reactionary Anglo-Czarist alliance which enabled England to maintain her preeminent position in the world in return for which the Czar received eastern Europe as a sphere of influence. It is significant that this editorial aroused misgivings in Turkey, where it was interpreted as an infringement upon Turkish interests. It savored too much of the old Czarist Russian ambitions regarding the Dardanelles.

As though in preparation for the part assigned to Russia as the leader of the Slavic peoples, Alexei Tolstoy broadcasts from Moscow an appeal to the Slavs that they band together to combat Hitler. The appeal was made in the spirit of neo Pan-Slavism, which differs from the old Slavonic nations are expected to conception only insofar as the various Slavic nations are independent countries. However, the RACIAL appeal for Russian leadership of the Slavs is just Czar. Thus we see a new need is as reactionary as in the days of the growing from the seed of Stalinism, the poisonous weed of Slavic imperialism.

## Local 544 Challenges Blair's AFL Bias

Striking back at the rejection by Alfred P. Blair, Minnesota labor conciliator of elections in the furniture industry, Teamsters Local 544, CIO, went into District Court and obtained a writ of certiorari calling for a review of Blair's pro-AFL decision.

Local 544 is going to hold Blair to his own "logic." It he intends to disqualify one union for what he calls an "unfair" labor practice, Local 544 will demand that he disqualify Tobin's union for the many proved and incontestable, unfair and illegal practices of Tobin's hoodlums.

Gilbert Carlson and William K. Thomas, attorneys for Local 544, went before Blair last Monday and submitted a motion that he disqualify the AFL in the wholesale grocery houses on the grounds of proved unfair labor practices by Tobin's goons. They produced evidence that Tobin men had used threats and intimidation to compel drivers and warehousemen to pay dues and to sign AFL pledge cards.

They also submitted a second motion demanding that the AFL's petition for a city-wide certification be thrown out because of unfair labor practices used by Tobin and on the further ground that there has never been a city-wide certification in the Minneapolis transport industry, the men in each industry being covered by separate contracts.

Charging unfair labor practices, the union's attorneys also moved on Tuesday, at a cement block hearing, that Blair disqualify the AFL from participation in the hearing.

Blair, who has been set back on his ear by Local 544's counter-challenge, took all the motions under advisement. Using his own position, Local 544 has thus turned the tables on Blair.

### Union Statement

Blair's AFL bias was roundly hit as a "gross miscarriage of justice" by the executive board of Local 544 in a joint statement with Frank Barnhart, regional director of the United Construction Workers Organizing Committee. The statement reads in part:

"Contrary to press accounts, it is not true that the furniture employees struck without first serving the necessary strike notice. Such notice was filed and accepted by the conciliator on or about June 1. Since the strike did not begin until 17 days had elapsed, all the objectives sought by the 'cooling off period' requirement of the State Labor Act were fully served. Yet Mr. Blair seized upon the flimsy pretext that the employees had changed their affiliation from the AFL to the CIO as the basis of his ruling that they were guilty of what he terms 'unfair labor practice.'"

"Moreover, overwhelming evidence was produced in the hearings proving the AFL, between June 20 and July 10, by force and threats, intimidated many furniture employees into signing AFL authorizations. Upon this record, why has not Mr. Blair, in accordance with his broad investigative powers, also disqualified the AFL from being the bargaining agent? Impartial enforcement of the law would compel disqualification of the AFL if the CIO is to be disqualified. Such a decision by the state conciliator is an open invitation to the AFL to continue its terrorist tactics against the employees of the industry."

"Local 544, CIO, with the full support of the United Construction Workers Organizing Committee, will continue to vigorously press its demand for democratic elections by secret ballot to determine the bargaining agent for the employees in the furniture stores and all other sections of the motor transport industry."

"We shall use every available channel in our vigorous efforts to defend the legal rights of the employees against Mr. Blair's obvious bias toward the AFL and the unfair decision which he has rendered because of this partisanship."

The 28 militants who were indicted last July 15 on trumped-up charges were to be arraigned on August 11. They will come up for trial in early October unless their attorneys can obtain a postponement. The American Civil Liberties Union is participating in the legal defense.

## British War Profits Soar

The British New Leader, organ of the Independent Labor Party, reports that despite government decrees limiting profits to the best of a standard year selected from among several pre-war years, British war profits are soaring.

Despite a 100 per cent excess profits tax, Rolls Royce Ltd. reached a new high in 1940 of 499,502 pounds sterling, well over the 35,000 pounds sterling of 1939. Dividends were raised from 15 to 20 per cent.

Nor is this the only company. Hongkong Tin and Petaling Tin more than tripled their profits. So for others. As in America, the war is a profitable enterprise for the capitalists.

## "The Old Army Game . . ."

By TED LYONS

Once again the United States Army has demonstrated its unswerving loyalty to the cause of Jim Crow. Once again the reactionary, police-minded officers have struck a foul blow at the few democratic rights conceded to the Negro conscripts. This time Jim Crow, garbed in the official uniform of the U. S. Army, has struck at Fort Bragg, N. C. This time Jim Crow did a thorough job. It killed one Negro soldier, wounded many others, and set the pace for more such outbreaks by encouraging an anti-Negro sentiment among the white soldiers.

It all began when a crowded bus load of Negro conscripts were returning from Fayetteville to Fort Bragg. One of the Negro soldiers was drunk and began to get noisy. The driver tried to get him to be quiet and when he found that impossible, he refused to drive on until the drunken Negro was either quieted or removed.

The bus was stopped at the railroad station by a dispatcher. In the meantime, the driver, seeing two white MPs on the street, called them over and asked them to quiet the drunken Negro.

The MP's boarded the bus. The first one, a 20 year old from Jim-Crow Texas, got to the Negro and smashed him across the head with his club. The MP kept beating the Negro even after he was unconscious and his head crushed by the blows of the club.

### A FELLOW NEGRO FIGHTS BACK

Another Negro soldier, Allen Turman, demanded to know what the MP's were going to do with the unconscious Negro. When informed that the drunken soldier would be taken to jail instead of a doctor, Turman protested. At this the MP dropped his "work" on the drunken Negro and began to attack Turman.

Turman didn't take his beating lying down. He fought back. He managed to throw the MP off balance and then grabbed the gun from out of the MP's holster and shot him through the heart. The other MP drew his gun. Turman fired at him and shot him through the neck, shoulder and hand. Turman was shot and killed and three others injured in this gun battle.

This is the story that started things off. The nation's press with the exception of a few papers here and there completely garbled and distorted this story. Reports tried to turn this incident into "a drunken Negro soldier shot and killed an MP and was killed in turn." No. THAT IS A LIE. A "courageous Negro soldier, sober, but enraged by witnessing the useless brutal attack on his Negro buddy, tried to stop the beating. When he saw that he must kill or be killed, he chose to fight it out. This is what happened on the bus back to Fort Bragg."

### OPEN REIGN OF TERROR

After the shooting the Negro soldiers were treated as if they were an enemy army bent on destroying American democracy. The next bus returning from Fayetteville with colored draftees was stopped by a military police car nine miles from town. A white MP climbed into the bus, a shotgun in one hand and a drawn pistol in the other. He waved his artillery at the busload of Negro draftees, which included two Negro MP's, and ordered everyone to keep their hands up. Every Negro soldier was then searched. The two Negro MP's were disarmed and the bus driver was told to drive to headquarters.

When the bus arrived it was surrounded by about 20 to 30 MP's, fully armed. An MP ordered all of the Negroes to come out with their hands over their heads and anyone who "makes a crooked move, shoot him," the MP told his men.

The Negro soldiers were then marched over to a wall, their hands still over their heads, and searched again. They were then ordered to sit on the ground, and to fold their arms and keep them folded. This occurred at about 2 or 3 in the morning and the soldiers, numbering 40 to 50, were kept sitting in that same position all night.

A Negro soldier who asked why they were being kept there was being made to stand up against the wall for 30 minutes. Another Negro, a corporal(!), asked the same question and then had he nerve to laugh at something. He was grabbed off his feet and taken into the army post. It is reported that the Negro corporal is still in the hospital after a merciless clubbing by the MP's.

The Negroes found themselves in what would seem like a Nazi concentration camp. They were marched around by the white MP's and kicked at and pushed around every time they didn't show any enthusiasm for this type of army "basic training."

### WHAT MUST BE DONE?

There will be trouble brewing soon. The Negro soldiers, surrounded though they are by squads of MP's loaded with shotguns and revolvers, are not going to be treated like enemy-prisoners. No amount of oppression is going to keep these Negroes down for long. And also no amount of soft soap by Mr. and Mrs. Roosevelt & Co. can dispel the fact that the Negro in "democracy's" totalitarian army are being Jim-Crowed and murdered.

What must be done? Listen to the fake Negro leaders and the phony edicts of the Roosevelt government? Hell, no! These double-crossing promises will never help the Negro in his fight against Jim Crow. Mass protests, giant demonstrations in every city from coast to coast, involving all progressive Negro and white organizations, will go a long way toward showing the fascist-like clique who run the army just what the American people think of making lynch-law a part of the draftee's course.

**AGAINST JIM CROW IN THE ARMED FORCES!  
EQUAL RIGHTS FOR THE NEGRO CONSCRIPTS!**

**We Demand:  
Conscript the War Industries Under Workers' Control!**

## Sh-h, a Secret!

The way the newspapers have been making guesses about the rumored Roosevelt-Churchill meeting, it's better than an even chance that the meeting is actually taking place. It appears likely that the government deliberately told the papers to lay off.

Now, why the secrecy? It seems obvious to us that if the head of this government meets with the head of a belligerent government in the midst of a world war the people of the country ought to be informed of it. If Roosevelt is actually conferring with Churchill—and the evidence points to that—their deliberations are of the utmost concern to the people.

What other subject could they be discussing than the progress of the war, and America's participation in it! For all we know, they may be deciding the actual mechanics of U.S. entry into open and total "shooting" war. And the great mass of people, those who will suffer the consequences of any decision arrived at the conference—they are not only kept in the dark as to the nature of the discussions; they are not even informed that the discussion is taking place.

Why the secrecy? The answer is simple: **with the great majority of the people opposed to the war actions of the Roosevelt Administration, the President has to effect his policy behind their backs.** The whole of boss-class diplomacy is carried on with the deliberate design of keeping the peo-

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