

The Fundamental done. That is why we have sent a **Orient . . .** The trade which now **trically bound together in one sin-**
fact about these wars is that they force of American soldiers to pro- **flows' across all national frontiers** **gle world economy. These wars are**
are being waged to decide who is tect the bauxite deposits of Dutch **is essential to the maintenance of** **deciding how that economy will**
going to control business in the Guiana, and why American war- **an industrial economy. All the** **operate in future years!**
future, and how it is going to be ships guard the sea lanes to the **nations of the world are inex-**

From the Cleveland Trust Co. Business Bulletin
December 15, 1941.

Now
One Cent

LABOR ACTION

We Say—
Conscript War Industries
Under Workers' Control!

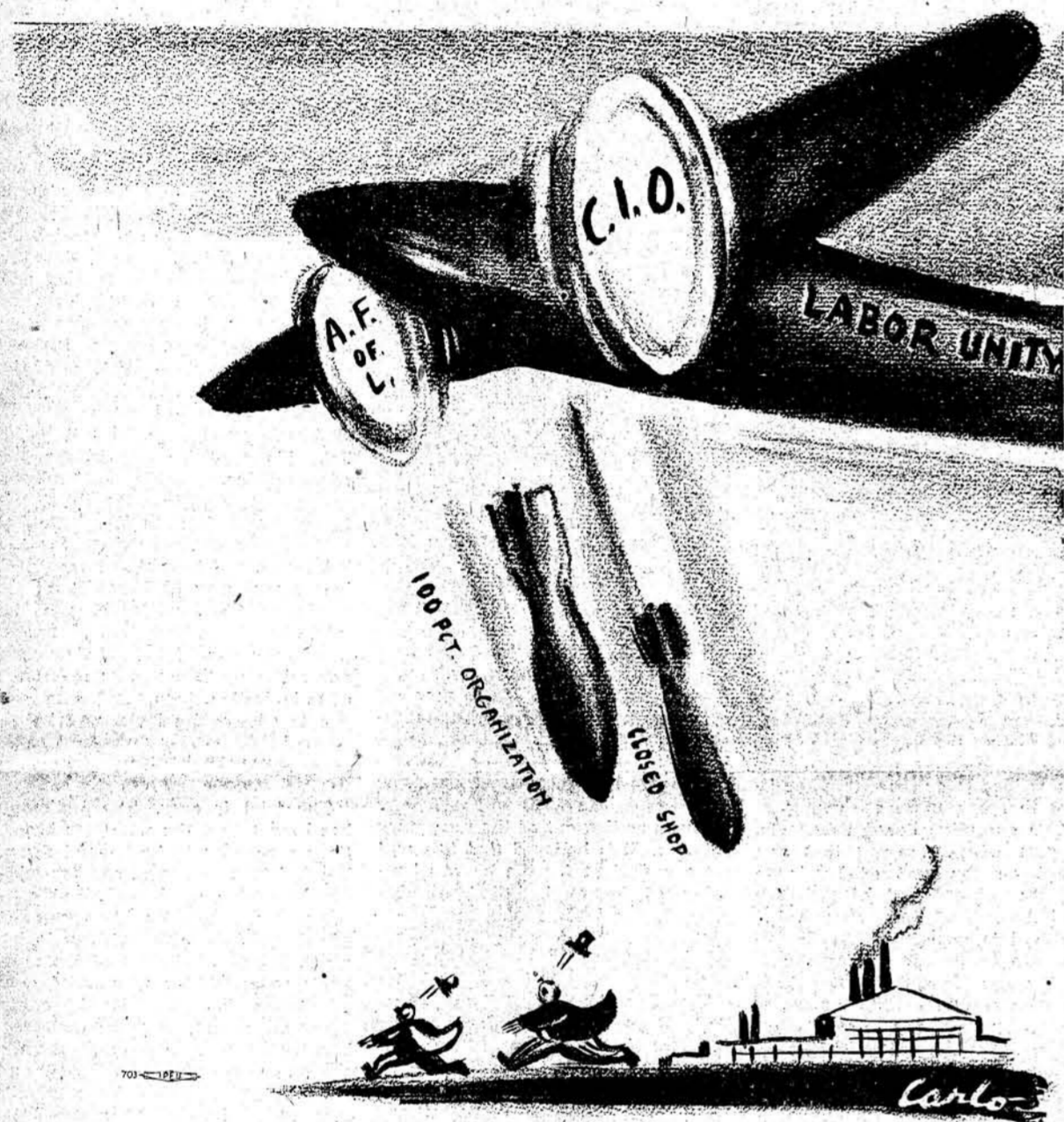
FEBRUARY 2, 1942

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

ROOSEVELT TRIPS UP LABOR UNITY

LABOR NEEDS THIS FLYING FORTRESS



Coerce Budd Men Into Joining ERA Company Union

Special to LABOR ACTION
PHILADELPHIA—The testimony presented at the NLRB trials of the E. G. Budd Mfg. Co. has shown that all workers at the plant who voted in ERA elections automatically became members of the company union. However, for some reason, the witnesses against the company failed to point out the procedure whereby the Budd workers were coerced into the company union.
 When elections were held, the foreman of each department worked feverishly to herd the workers to the polls. At the voting booth, as the worker received his ballot, his
 (Continued on page 2)

THE WORLD AT WAR Pearl Harbor Report Shows Brass Hat Incompetence But Ignores Washington's Role

By SENTINEL
 Whatever awe the common man may have had for military idols must have been badly undermined by the publication of the Roberts report inquiring into the causes of the Pearl Harbor defeat. Seldom has a story of such gross incompetence and complacency been unfolded.
 The report reveals that in all leading American circles: political, diplomatic and military, there was unanimous conviction for months prior to December 7 that a clash

with Japan was impending. What was it that caused this feeling in the ruling circles of America? The report supplies the answer. "For months prior to December 7," it says, "the Secretary of State was repeatedly in contact with the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy and on the occasions of those contacts discussed negotiations with Japan and the growing tenacity of the relations of the United States and Japan . . . all three of these of"
 (Continued on page 3)

The Dollar-A-Year Men Work For "Patriotism" Plus Profits!

Here are some more facts on how the dollar-a-year men in the Washington war program are seeing to it that their own companies are getting the fattest contracts:

Listed below are some of the biggest companies which have gotten the lion's share of war contracts, together with the amount of contracts they got until June, 1941, and the name of their dollar-a-year man who helped siphon them in their direction:

- Bethlehem Steel:** \$71,449,442—George F. Hocker.
- Chrysler Corp.:** \$34,179,529—Edmund S. Chapman.
- Crucible Steel:** \$14,184,481—Frank Spencer.
- General Electric:** \$106,754,743—F. B. Cliffe and Carl Lyng.
- General Motors:** \$324,403,009—William Knudsen, E. F. Johnson, Frederick Horner, Benson Waderlow, Bayard B. Kunkle and John Pratt.
- Procter & Gamble:** \$24,720,000—Rich Duepree.
- United Aircraft:** \$186,439,438—George J. Mead.
- Westinghouse Electric:** \$37,747,430—E. C. Brandt.

These are but a few examples of how big business is using the war program in order to line its coffers. They talk about patriotism but for them the war means profits. They're right about that: That's what imperialist wars are for, profits.

His Spurious 'Peace Plan' No Substitute for Labor Unity

By JACK WILSON

Fearing the independent power and vast influence of 10,000,000 organized workers unified into one organization, President Roosevelt brazenly maneuvered last week to block labor unity between the CIO and the AFL, and to substitute in its place a spurious peace plan.

His direct intervention, as President and as a capitalist politician, into the internal affairs of the labor movement, in order to carry out a "divide and rule" policy, set a most dangerous precedent for the union movement, and one which should be repudiated by labor.

Workers' Real Wages Decline

In its current issue, Business Week, a magazine printed for the boss class, writes:
 "Although wage rates have been going up rapidly the cost of living has been going up even more rapidly.
 "As a result workers are getting more money each month in pay envelopes, but they have less to show for it in their market baskets; their 'command' over goods and services has not kept pace with increases in hourly earnings."

The prospects of immediate labor unity frightened the Roosevelt regime and the big industrialists, primarily because they realized that the attractive powers of a unified labor movement would bring millions of more workers into the unions.
 Roosevelt also knew he would have much more difficulty in controlling such a vast union movement, so he rushed to counteract the effects of John L. Lewis' proposal that labor unity be achieved promptly.

The big majority of the capitalist newspapers and magazines, as part of the drive to block labor unity, twisted and turned the issues involved so that they might confuse the ranks of labor.

In explaining why the press turned against the Lewis proposal, James S. Twohey Associates, a service which specializes in studying and reporting newspaper editorial opinions, said it resulted from four factors:

- 1) Fear of too powerful a labor group.
 - 2) Fear that Lewis would control all labor.
 - 3) Fear that labor would be in a better position to press for the closed shop.
 - 4) Fear that labor was not sufficiently aware of its own responsibilities to warrant one federation.
- The main factor of these four, according to the survey, was the basic fear that labor would become too powerful!

Most Convincing Argument
 Could there be any stronger, more convincing arguments for labor unity, as outlined in last week's LABOR ACTION, than the openly expressed, almost hysterical fear the bosses have of labor unity?
 There is a historical parallel between the ways the newspapers reacted to John L. Lewis' proposal for labor unity and his moves to form the CIO in November, 1936.

At that time, fearing industrial unionism, the newspapers sought to confuse American workers and alienate them from the CIO by saying that the only effect of the growth of the CIO would be to make Lewis a dictator.

Events showed, however, that the advantages to the rank and file
 (Continued on page 2)

Vinson Report Exposes Boss Profiteering But Concludes with a Vicious Attack on Labor Unions!

Another in the now steady series of reports regularly exposing the war profiteering of the boss class appeared this week—the report of the Vinson Naval Affairs Committee. This report, in the words of the committee, exposes the "excessive and unconscionable profits" that have been rolling into the pockets of big

business (with the aid of occasional gentle shoves from their dollar-a-year men).

The report showed that 54.4 per cent of the net profits reported to it were in excess of 7 per cent, that one company made as much as 247 per cent on a small order and that profits may be expected to increase in the near future. What gave the report added point was the announcement this week that the great mass of workers and consumers, who are not profiteering on the war, will soon have to submit to rationing of certain foods and other articles, notably sugar.

BREWSTER WORKERS, ATTENTION!

One of the disclosures of the Vinson Naval Affairs Committee investigating profiteering of the bosses is that the Brewster Aeronautical Corp., on a contract amounting to \$1,995,721, has realized a profit of \$368,180, an 18 per cent profit!

The most ironic part of the Vinson report was that after listing a long series of bosses' profiteering, it suddenly launched into an attack on labor unions and urged that they be regulated! These capitalist politicians could give the facts on how the bosses were profiteering, but nothing could take them away from their first love—going after labor's scalp!

The committee said that 15 companies had contracts totaling \$2,342,

705,137, completed and uncompleted. The profits averaged 8.2 per cent of the cost of the contracts, with completed profits averaging 5.4 per cent, and profits on uncompleted contracts 8.7 per cent. These figures show that the rate of profits is on the upgrade.

Cases were found in which profits ran up to 24.5 per cent on completed contracts.

The committee declared: "General Motors Corp., Cleveland Diesel Engine Division, on 15 competitive and negotiated contracts, all in excess of \$1,000,000 and ranging up to more than \$18,000,000 shows profits ranging from 12 to 27 per cent."

Bethlehem Steel Co. which has one of the largest contracts with the government, made such large profits—totaling 20.7 per cent—that it even offered to refund (out of the goodness of its heart, no doubt) \$750,000 in profits to the government. That Bethlehem had no motives of altruism in this offer, but rather was afraid that publicity about such vast profits would result in unfavor-
 (Continued on page 4)

Democracy Wins the Battle of Sikeston, Missouri

By Irving Howe

American democracy won a battle last week. Not in the Far East; not in the Atlantic; nor on any battlefield. American democracy won a battle in Sikeston, Mo.

It was the battle of American democracy vs. Cleo Wright and American democracy won.

Cleo Wright lost.
 It was a great battle while it lasted—fought with that spirit of fair play and good, clean fun which is so typical of American democracy.

Cleo Wright, aged 30, was a mill worker in Sikeston. That immediately makes him suspect; a mill worker. Cleo Wright was a Negro. That makes him even more suspect: a worker and a Negro, too.

Cleo Wright was accused of having stabbed and attempted to attack a white woman. The policeman who arrested him wasn't going to bother with the formality of a jury trial, or an investigation. He wanted im-

mediate justice. So he shot Cleo Wright three times.

Chalk up a round for American democracy.

The upholders of law and order of Sikeston, Mo., a city which has only the greatest respect for law and order, since it believes in American democracy and is ready to send its sons to lick those yellow Japs and fight for freedom in the Pacific—the upholders of law and order took Cleo Wright to jail.

But why wait for the courtroom? So though some of the city's more upright citizens—the two-bit crackers, the courageous storekeepers, the noble drunkards, the indomitable street bums—and the respectable, law-abiding middle class citizens—who decided that it was time to take justice into their own hands.

They did.
 They dragged Cleo Wright, already riddled and bleeding to death with three bullet holes piercing his

skin, and tied his feet to the back of a car. There were 600 of them—600 upright citizens thirsting for justice (and "nigger blood") who came to do their duty. They wanted to make sure that justice would win—so they figured that odds of 600 to 1 would be just about right.
 (Those who thought that the odds might still be too small took a few nips of whiskey—to give themselves courage.)

They tied Cleo Wright's feet to a car—he was still conscious—and towed him through the section where the city's 3,500 Negroes live. ("Here, you dirty niggers," they cried, these crusaders for justice, "here, take a look at what we're doing" to Cleo Wright.)

Here was the majesty and beauty of American democracy, with justice and freedom for all.
 The driver sped the car 70 miles an hour through several blocks, outdistancing the shouting followers.

They couldn't keep up with the car . . . but they could follow it by tracing the stream of blood—Cleo Wright's blood—through the streets.

When the mob caught up, considerably grown by this time and finally feeling that it was now powerful enough for real business, someone got an idea. Let's finish it up! They got a five gallon can of gasoline and poured it over Wright's body. A ringleader applied a match, and there was an explosive burst of flame.

That was the end of Cleo Wright, millworker and Negro. Nothing remained except some torn flesh and charred bones.

American democracy came through. "It was great stuff while it lasted," they said as they dispersed.
 The police took charge of the body. No Negro undertaker would bury Cleo Wright's remains. They were afraid. No Negro dared go out of his house that night in Sikeston, Mo.

where every red-blooded American is preparing to go out and fight for democracy in the Pacific and the Atlantic and the Indian Ocean and Magellan's Straits and Iran and Burma and Cyrenaica and Balik Papan.

The district attorney gave out a statement the next morning. He said he couldn't apprehend the mob, or its leaders. No, there wasn't much that would or could be done. Why rake up old sores?

American democracy won. Yet—why were they so shy, so reticent, the trumpeteers and champions of American democracy? Where was the august and stately New York Times, with a majestic editorial hailing the victory of Sikeston, Mo.?

Where was Archibald MacLeish, head of the Office of Facts and Figures, whose job it is to describe the victories of American democracy?
 And where was that peerless champion of American democracy, Secretary of the Navy Knox, who has so

often proved himself a friend of justice and freedom, who in fact is today a leader in the war for justice and freedom . . . in Timbuctoo and Malaya, in the Pacific and the Atlantic, in Iran and Cyrenaica?

And where was the head of them all, the Great White Father, the President of these United States, the proclaimer of the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms, whose voice quivers with indignation as he describes the horrors of racial persecution . . . in Germany?

Why were they not proclaiming unto the skies the victory of Sikeston, Mo.?

You, Sacco and Vanzetti; you, victims of the Ludlow massacre; you, victims of Chicago's Memorial Day; you, the lynched and beaten—move over and make room . . . for Cleo Wright, who lost the battle of Sikeston, Mo.

Shachtman Speaks Before 250

Speaking before an audience of over 250 people in Irving Plaza on January 25, Max Shachtman, national secretary of the Workers' Party, denounced the increasing burden imposed upon labor as the war progresses.

Citing the imperialist issues involved in the war, Shachtman informed his audience that out of the pockets of the workers—and only the workers—come the necessary funds to carry on this capitalist struggle. Instead of making the rich shoulder the financial burden of the war by means of excess profits taxes, the government has increased the taxes that hit the workers.

The audience responded with enthusiasm and interest and a considerable part of the meeting was taken up with asking questions of the speaker and his answering them.

Europe in Revolt

News from the Socialist Third Camp

RED VIENNA STILL LIVES!

The British Independent Labor Party has received a report from the illegal organization of the Austrian revolutionary socialists which contains some very interesting material. It is the first report from that country since the outbreak of the war.

The young people who were relatively most under Nazi influence (they had been given work by the Nazis, after years of unemployment under the Dollfuss and Schuschnigg regimes) have been gradually eliminated from the factories and sent to the front, so that now the older generation of workers who never abandoned their socialist ideas and traditions are again a major factor in the big industries. The opposition to the regime begins to take more direct forms. The transportation workers attended en masse, with their uniforms on, the funeral of the old socialist leader, August Foerster. This was clearly an anti-Nazi demonstration.

In the factories the Nazi leaders are now often interrupted in their speeches by "funny" and "disrespectful" remarks of the workers. For example, the workers get up every few minutes to cry "Sig Heil" so as to completely drown out the speech of the Nazi. This method has been employed even against the head of the German Labor Front, Ley, at one of the biggest Austrian factories, and in such an efficient way that he was compelled to discontinue his speech.

Many militants who had refused to cooperate with the illegal organization, calling the work "too dangerous," now come spontaneously to the illegal comrades, asking to be given some work to do for the organization.

Since the days of Dollfuss, the Viennese workers have elaborated the technique of utilizing big sporting events for political demonstrations. One cannot shoot a mass of 60,000 spectators who manifest "enthusiasm" at a football match. The Prater Stadium has been converted into a fighting ground against the Nazis; many Nazi officers who were caught there got a terrific beating.

FOOD RIOTS IN SOUTHERN FRANCE

The food situation, which has been growing worse and worse in recent months in southern France, begins to stir the population to open acts of revolt. In the cities of Sete, Montpellier and Nimes, big demonstrations have been reported before the offices of the representatives of the Vichy regime. These are the first big popular manifestations which have taken place in unoccupied France so far, and they have been so powerful that even the official press was compelled to mention them. In one instance the crowd went so far as to force the entrance into the office of the responsible official, shouting and asking for food. This is all the more remarkable, since the southern part of France was up till now characterized by relative quietness and apathy. In Sete there was also recently a strike of the fishermen (chief industry of this Mediterranean port). They went on strike when they found out that the fish they had caught were bought up by the Germans and that none of them appeared on the market. Since then there has been some fish again at Sete.

THE RETREAT ON THE RUSSIAN FRONT

A report received from Poland declares: The freight trains now returning from Russia are in very bad condition. The German soldiers escorting these trains are wretched and apathetic and their uniforms are in rags. One can understand this when one considers the terrible conditions under which the campaign is being fought. It is a well known fact that the Germans went for weeks without a single hot dish and that their chief food was potatoes. They were so exhausted that they had only to throw themselves on the ground during an air raid alarm and they fell asleep.

The Nazis have been trying to undermine the health of the Poles by encouraging the sale of alcohol, the price of which has been reduced. Now the tables have been turned and the Germans are the ones to suffer from this criminal action. Together with the relaxation of military and Nazi Party discipline, drunkenness has been on the increase among the Germans now in Poland.

The sight of drunken German officers, soldiers and even party members in the streets of Polish towns is a very common one. The German soldiers, demoralized, alone and surrounded by a hostile population, take refuge in drinking. This is still not at all the state of mind from which any active anti-war action inside Germany is expected, but it shows that the enthusiasm and fighting spirit which have undoubtedly existed in the German army in the first two years are a thing of the past, never to return.

SABOTAGE REPORTS FROM OCCUPIED EUROPE

All reports from the occupied territories which are received through the "governments in exile" are filled nearly exclusively with reports of sabotage in German occupied territories. Roads and railway lines are blown up; electric power stations and essential machinery is destroyed in Norway and Czechoslovakia, in Poland and France. We shall not report about this very often, and this for two main reasons.

First, this is the only part of illegal activity which receives extensive publicity in the capitalist press. Secondly, this is usually not a genuine working class action but in most cases the work of nationalists linked with the government in exile in some loose manner and aimed at supporting the Allied cause.

Of course it might also be the work of sincere workers who want to fight against Nazism and who feel themselves too weak to employ other means. And there is no doubt that nationalist uprising will be linked to and interwoven with the coming proletarian revolutions in Europe. There will not be such a thing as a "pure" workers revolution. But sabotage—unlike the "slow-down" strike, which is a genuine working class weapon—is generally the outcome of political impotence rather than of growing political strength.

Europaews.

FDR Blocks Labor Unity With Fake Peace Plan

(Continued from page 1)

workers in mass production industries by the victories of the CIO far outweighed any personal gains Lewis might try to make out of the situation.

Essentially the same thing holds true today for the proposal for labor unity. The advantages to the ranks of labor, as outlined in our last week's article, far outweigh any personal advantage which Lewis might seek to obtain through his proposal.

Especially since the basic issue between the CIO and the AFL, namely, craft unionism vs. industrial unionism in mass production industries, has been settled in favor of the CIO, and no labor official, of any group,

PROPOSAL REBUFFED



JOHN L. LEWIS

could get to first base if he were to try shattering the industrial unions into helpless craft union organizations.

The actions of the CIO executive council in rejecting Lewis' proposal were reactionary because they placed the CIO formally under the thumb of Roosevelt and they failed to answer clearly and honestly the issues involved in labor unity.

Few newspapers reported that Lewis proposed to the CIO council a special convention to debate the issue, or else hold a national secret referendum of the rank and file of the CIO. No matter how demagogic the motives of Lewis in making these proposals might be, and Lewis is no stranger to demagoguery, they deserve a serious and direct answer for the benefits of the ranks.

Both the CIO and the AFL executive

councils, under the thumb of Roosevelt, went counter to the interests and views of the vast majority of organized workers in America, as emphasized again in the recent Gallup Poll on the question of labor unity. The ranks are overwhelmingly for it.

The CIO has a very simple way to assure its continued domination in the mass production industries, in the event of any unity negotiations. Get a closed shop in Big Steel, in autos and elsewhere. Fighting for this demand is not something apart from unity. It is part and parcel of the trend toward unity, which is strengthened by having all labor back the steel and auto workers.

Short-Sighted Approach

The short-sightedness and bureaucratic approach to the labor unity question on the part of CIO leaders was expressed crudely by R. J. Thomas, president of the CIO Auto Workers: "I am not interested in the American Federation of Labor. I am willing to cooperate in avoiding jurisdictional disputes, but I am still not willing to sit down with a bunch of racketeers."

That there are racketeers in the AFL leadership is no secret. To use this as an argument against taking steps, together with AFL representatives, is nonsense, and comes with poor grace from labor leaders who sit down like a flash with imperialist war-mongers to discuss how to keep labor's nose to the grindstone during the war. The argument, in another form, of course, is often heard from AFL bureaucrats who "won't sit down with communists."

Isn't Thomas interested in 5,000,000 organized workers who comprise the AFL? He is getting to sound like one of those diehard reactionaries in the AFL who spend a lifetime not being interested in the interests of the millions of industrial workers.

The best methods of avoiding jurisdictional disputes is not to take them up piecemeal as they arise, but for the unions to settle this question fundamentally during any unity negotiations.

As for the question of racketeers in the AFL, the CIO would be in a drive for labor unity, would be in an excellent position to help the AFL rank and file clean out any racketeer elements.

If the CIO executive council would call for labor unity and put on the agenda as one of the points of negotiations, cleaning them out, the AFL leaders who cover up those elements would be unable to get away with the present disgraceful situation.

And by the way, Thomas and other CIO leaders find no difficulty whatever in sitting down with Dan Tobin, of the Teamsters Union, which has none too healthy a record, nor with William Green, AFL president, who has gone to one AFL union convention after another without lifting a finger to help out the racketeers from power.

The needs of the working class as a whole demand a class approach to the labor unity question, not the narrow bureaucratic approach of the various cliques in the trade union leadership.

Speculation about the future course of John L. Lewis does not concern us greatly. His actions, as head of the powerful United Mine Workers Union, have considerable

importance but are not decisive in this question.

Against this spurious peace plan of Roosevelt, which makes the three

CIO PRESIDENT



PHILLIP MURRAY

CIO and AFL leaders on the new six-man board his bootlicking flunkies, the ranks of labor must continue to struggle for labor unity, for democracy in the trade unions, for organization campaigns, and to make the rich pay for their war.

The main purpose of the new board, as openly admitted by the CIO and AFL leaders, and by Roosevelt, is to tie the labor movement more closely to the imperialist war machine.

Experience will demonstrate again that the only real weapon labor has in obtaining its rights is its own independent power and strength. And that labor unity is the way to concentrate this power and strength most effectively.

Explanation!

My attention has been called to a sentence in an article I wrote last week for LABOR ACTION which is open to misinterpretation. It reads: "Even if Lewis does not appear this week before the CIO executive board, the ill-concealed threat he has of pulling the miners, and other unions he influences, out of the CIO into a unified labor movement is sufficient to speak more eloquently at the CIO executive board than," etc. It goes without saying that any attempt on the part of Lewis to "pull the miners" out of the CIO would be an outrage perpetrated upon the interests of the labor movement as a whole and an act of disloyalty and split not less reprehensible than the one committed some time ago by Dubinsky in withdrawing the ILGWU from affiliation to the CIO.

It is equally obvious that for the miners to split from the CIO and join the AFL would not at all signify that the labor movement has been genuinely and effectively united. I want to emphasize this as heavily as I can, just because the loosely worded phrase in last week's issue may have given rise to a misunderstanding of our real position.

Jack Wilson.

Budd Workers Coerced Into Joining ERA Company Union

(Continued from page 1)

name and badge number were crossed off a prepared list. The lists contained the names and badge number of every worker in a department. Thus, at the end of the day the company had a complete record of the names and badge numbers of every man who had not voted in the elections.

The conclusion to be drawn from this procedure is obvious. The worker who declined to vote in an ERA was definitely not interested in the ERA. Hence, not being interested in the ERA, he is not, according to the management's ideas, interested in the company's association but prefers perhaps other types of associations, namely, trade unions, especially the UAW-CIO. Such a

man the company is not interested in either and sooner or later finds himself dismissed.

Unfortunately, this interesting method of indirect coercion was not stressed at the trial, but everyone of the 10,000 workers toiling at the Budd plant knows that this method is a gigantic spy system that Budd has inaugurated to force his men to join the company stooge organization.

General Works Manager Mahan inadvertently gave away the company's attitude toward the ERA on the question of pay rises. Mr. Cuniff, the NLRB examiner, asked Mr. Mahan what the ERA's reaction was to the company's offer of a 7 per cent raise when the men were demanding a 15 per cent increase. Mahan, taken momentarily off guard, looked at Cuniff in astonishment and exclaimed: "What did they do about it? Why, they took it of course, they had to take it."

The dismissed union workers sitting in the audience roared with laughter. The ERA lawyer, however, did not think Mahan's unwise blurring so funny and demanded that his remarks be stricken from the record. The trial judge refused it, and so the whole world can get a first-hand view of what the management considered the ERA's role when it came to dealing with the matter of wages. The ERA takes what the company gives, or else!

Milton Davis, one of the dismissed trade unionists, showed how he had worked as a square shaver operator for seven years. No sooner had he joined the union than he was fired. Laid off for lack of material was the excuse. Twenty times he went back and asked for his job. Each time the same excuse was given to him and yet, during that entire period, Budd's advertised consistently in three large daily papers, asking for square shaver operators. Such is the attitude of the Budd corporation toward unionism. Industrial democracy has no place in Budd's "arsenal of democracy."

In his final summation for the company, Mr. Van Dusen, the Budd lawyer, admitted that the UAW-CIO is a powerful force in the plant, that the workers in Budd's are for the UAW-CIO and hate the stooge ERA.

He admitted that Mr. Budd is afraid of the CIO. (And well he might be, for, when the workers at Budd's finally arise in their wrath and make the Budd plant a fortress of unionization, then the tremendous profits of the Budd Co. will be siphoned off into the pockets of 10,000 workers, who will thereby be able to live a better life!)

The trial is over. The testimony has been taken, the witnesses heard. Soon a report will be handed down. We feel that an honest and unprejudiced decision would definitely condemn Mr. Budd for his terrorist dictatorship over the workers in his plant. We also believe that the company union, which now stands exposed and condemned by the entire labor movement, must be dissolved. The road will then be clear for the workers of the plant to go ahead and organize themselves into a mighty association of CIO militants.

We believe this is the road that the Budd workers will take. We know it is the only road they can follow to united success. From being the citadel of open shop and reaction, the Budd plant will become the greatest pillar of unionism in the city of Philadelphia.

Waller Appeal Goes To Supreme Court

The Workers Defense League announced last week that it intended to appeal the death sentence of the Negro sharecropper, Odell Waller, to the U.S. Supreme Court on the grounds that his conviction by a poll-tax jury was unconstitutional. Not only will this case receive its final judicial test here, but the entire question of the legality of the discriminatory Southern poll-tax will be tested.

Waller's lawyers will argue that barring of non-poll-tax payers from jury service in Virginia makes his conviction unconstitutional since he was not tried by a jury of his peers.

Two years ago a white jury, consisting of planters and business men, sentenced Waller to death for the self-defense slaying of his white boss. The poll-tax prevented Negroes from being certified as voters and hence from serving on the jury.

The New International may be purchased at the following news stands in midtown New York: Times Bldg. Basement Newsstand, 42nd St. and Broadway; SW corner of 42nd St. and 6th Ave.; SE corner of 42nd St. and 6th Ave.; 42nd St. between 5th and 6th Aves., across from Sterns; SW corner 42nd St. and 5th Ave., 2 stands; SW corner 23rd St. and 4th Ave.; Stationery store, 219 8th Ave. at 23rd St.; SE corner 14th St. and 6th Ave.; Rand Bookstore, 7 E. 15th St.; SE corner 14th St. and University Place; SW corner 14th St. and 4th Ave.; SE corner 14th St. and 4th Ave. (second stand); 14th St. near Jefferson Theater; SW corner 14th St. and 2nd Ave.; Biderman Bookstore, 2nd Ave. near 12th St.; Stationery Store, 58 W. 8th St.; NE corner 8th St. and 6th Ave.; 75 Greenwich Ave.

The Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

Charges Intimidation In Shop Collections

As has probably been the case with workers in all the other factories in this area, workers in our shop have recently been subjected to an expensive "check-off" system which has been misrepresented to the public as a "spontaneous" response to the annual "appeals" from at least three different charitable organizations. The most objectionable feature of this checkoff is the method of intimidation and threat under which they were made, thereby setting a precedent for future extractions for less worthy purposes.

The bosses' agents, exploiting the natural generosity and unselfishness of the workers, approached us on three different occasions over a period of six weeks for "voluntary" contributions to (1) the Community Chest Fund, (2) the National Tuberculosis Association, and (3) the Red Cross Emergency War Relief Fund. They came around on each occasion and requested you to sign a pay-roll deduction authorization for no less than one dollar. You were told that you were not compelled to sign it BUT the company did have a quota to meet and you were given to understand that if you wished to keep in the good graces of your supervisor you had better kick in.

When one worker flatly refused after the third "appeal," he was subjected to such a torrent of warnings and dire threats about what the boss and his fellow workers might think or do that he finally capitulated, but

he was heard to comment afterward: "Humph! and they call it 'voluntary'." Why in hell don't we force a few "voluntary" contributions from the bosses, who can afford it, to help eliminate the necessity for such organizations?

A St. Louis Aircraft Worker.

Labor Action Article Printed in AFL Paper

Dear Editor:

Your readers may be interested in knowing that an article from your December 29 issue was reprinted in the Cincinnati AFL paper, The Chronicle, in its January 23 issue. The article was written by Bill Haines and was on the subject of war profiteering. His chart of war profiteering figures was also reprinted therein. It sure makes a fellow feel good to see a LABOR ACTION article reprinted in another labor paper!

C. W.

Cincinnati.

(Thanks for the news. It makes us feel good, too. And LABOR ACTION readers may be interested in knowing that the chart of war profiteering figures which Reader C. W. mentions was also reprinted in a recent issue of Labor Herald, a Maryland labor paper. Best way to keep LABOR ACTION circulating to a wide labor audience is to get those subs.—Editor.)

Los Angeles Worker On CIO Council

Dear Editor:

I was over at the CIO Council meeting last week and I was particularly impressed by the remarks of Brother Haubrick of the Longshoremen's Union. He got up toward the end of the meeting to speak about the importance of a local CIO committee he heads which is concerned with ways and means of defending labor's rights during the war.

He called attention to the many violations of democracy in this country, as in the case of the Negro people, and said it was up to every union man to see to it that democracy does not become a dead letter during the war. And that union men had to do this not only for themselves, today, but so that they might leave a heritage of freedom to future generations.

I was disappointed that his remarks did not receive greater enthusiasm and attention from the delegates present. (There seem to be a number of people in the union movement today who are so preoccupied with eliminating class strife and sponsoring all sorts of enterprises that they overlook their responsibilities as union men. Some of them talk suspiciously like the Peoples World, the Community Party paper out here.)

But Brother Haubrick really touched the heart of a very vital problem. Especially when he referred to the established fact that there was too often in this country

a justice for the rich, and a justice for the poor. And that, it was the business of organized labor to break down the barriers of repression, discrimination and intolerance.

An L.A. Worker.

Does War Require Shop Regimentation?

Ever since the actual shooting war started the bosses at the St. Louis Curtiss-Wright plant have really been putting the pressure on us workers. I suppose they think they will put the fear of God in us and thereby get more production. If they had a little sense they would realize that they are just storing up a lot of hate and bitterness that is going to blow up in their faces one of these days.

It seems as though we are supposed to work like hell and keep our mouths shut. We are constantly reminded in one way or another that women and kids and old people are going to be trained to take our places, and that we'd better be good little boys or the Army will get us. They bring us a whole list of do's and don'ts. There is to be no idle talk while working. When the bell rings we are to be on the job and stay there until it rings again, and then pick up our tools. Don't try to get into the lunch line early. It doesn't matter whether we get only fifteen minutes to eat in after standing in line for fifteen minutes. Don't be late from lunch, even a minute, or we will be subject to immediate

dismissal. A whole list of tools we are supposed to have by a certain date or there will be hell to pay. Just try to buy some of these tools—no store has them.

We were informed that there would be no time off for Christmas or New Year's. It isn't enough that we work six and seven days a week without any let-up—and even if we did work on Christmas and New Year's there would be more mistakes made than would justify our working. That's just what happened too. The guys came in sleepy-eyed and made plenty of mistakes. Nothing was gained, only the company was able to show that we have to obey—or else. Well, some did miss and over 200 were fired.

The union (AFL Machinists) raised the devil about this incident and got most of them back, but not all. Roosevelt wants 185,000 planes. He certainly won't get them if experienced workers are fired in batches of 200.

Curtiss-Wright Worker.

What Do Buffalo Workers Make?

Dear Editor:

Buffalo newspapers report that aircraft workers in this area are receiving as much as \$135 a week in wages. Of course, they admit that only the most highly skilled men receive this and then only when they work 84 hours a week. That means 12 hours a day—7 days a week! Are they referring to truck horses or to human beings?

The personnel executives are forced to admit, however, that the average wage is about \$26 to \$30 a week, plus a few dollars more for overtime. They are quick to state that this pay is considerably above that paid to workers across the border. Consider yourselves lucky, they say—we pay less money to workers in Ontario and they make them work longer hours with no time and a half.

It seems that the personnel managers are particularly concerned with the way the workers are spending their money. One of them is happy to state that the workers in his factory "are not squandering their money, as far as we can see." The worker might do well to ask, after barely having fed and clothed his family: "What money?"

Buffalo.

U.H.

Labor Action a "Fresh Breeze"

Dear Editor:

Enclosed find sixty cents for a year's subscription to LABOR ACTION. It is refreshing to read a paper which does not couch its anti-capitalist position behind a screen of Weasel words, ambiguities and glittering generalities. Amid the morass of confusion which has descended on the radical movement since Pearl Harbor, the voice of your paper is like a fresh breeze in a smoke-filled room.

Chicago.

V.J.V.

Ceylon Socialists Brand British Imperialist Rule

It is with pride that LABOR ACTION reprints below a leaflet issued by the Ceylon Socialist Party. This material is printed here for the first time in America and offers a vivid picture of the "democratic" rule of British imperialism. The Ceylon Socialist Party is a group of courageous working class militants who are valiantly fighting against the repressive reign of terror which the British colonial administration has unleashed in Ceylon.

Whom Are the British Fighting?

Britain is at war. Everywhere in Europe the British are retreating—strategically of course, from Norway, Holland, Belgium and France. The courage we have seen and heard them display against unarmed colonialists of Ceylon, India, Palestine and Africa evaporates into thin air in the face of the armed foe.

The real war the British are fighting now is in Ceylon. For them the remaining theater of war, with any chances of success, is in the plantations against unarmed plantation workers!

In the past two months the repressive apparatus of British imperialism has been let loose with an incredible lawlessness and maniacal fury on the plantation workers who have tried to form unions to improve their conditions and to combat the exactions and oppression of headmen.

In Rangbodde Estate a strike took place and was settled. Within a week of the settlement by means of the combination of thugs of the planter and a special squad of 40 armed policemen, a reign of terror was let loose on the unsuspecting and unarmed workers. Fifty to sixty of the leaders were arrested on frame-ups and a systematic and brutal beating up of 300 to 400 men and women went on for three to four days. Dwellings were looted of the miserably small savings of rice and the foulest atrocities were committed in the presence of A. S. P. Leomburgen and Inspector Vernon Schokman. In such a situation of systematic terrorism by the authorities, when the hired thugs raped three young girl workers on the estate, there was nobody to whom the workers could even complain. On the third and fourth days of this reign of terror the entire labor force fled to N'Ellya town, a distance of 14 miles. After semi-starvation in the town for 20 days they were allowed to return.

PRESS HIDES THE FACTS
But even this rule of nazed violence as yet only in the plantations, is founded on the social support the imperialist government still receives from sections of the population who have not yet felt the direct impact of its violence. The press, cowed down by the censorship or trying to curry imperialist favor, hides these facts from the public.

That the shameless breed of Ehelapolas is not yet extinct was shown a few days ago in the support found in Francis de Zoysa, K.C., and others in the Home Committee for the Governor's Planters Law to arrest and detain without trial any citizen likely to influence or support workers struggling for elementary human rights. The public must now demand a full inquiry in these atrocities.

The governor does not publish the commission's report on the Mooloya Estate shooting. Why? Neither the Labor Department nor the Agent of the imperial government of India moves a finger. Because imperialist officers are not interested in justice, fair play or even industrial peace when the budgeon of violence which they are too yellow to wield in Europe can fall without reprisals on the unarmed, unclothed and unfed men, women and children who have the misfortune to people this concentration camp of British imperialism.

BRUTAL THUG VIOLENCE
Within two or three days of their leaving Rangbodde Estate this picked gang of armed thugs considerably reinforced with still more blood-thirsty butchers from the police force, descended like the Assyrians on the men, women and children of Wewellina and Wewessa Estates. The most incredible scenes of thuggery and violence began to be enacted and still continue. With the aid of the Hd. Kanganies workers' lines are systematically surrounded with military precision by police carrying bayoneted rifles and the inmates taken out and tortured.

Women have been raped, scores of workers' limbs have been broken deliberately and in cold blood. Men have fled from the estate and the remaining women are herded together and whipped until they begin working. The maniacal fury of the savagery practiced by the government forces, permanent officers and hired thugs suffers neither let nor hindrance from the magistrates or the government agent of Uva.

The British have sanctimoniously tried to humbug the public that they are fighting a war to establish civil liberty as against Nazi tyranny and concentration camps. Conditions of workers under Hitler have never been painted by friend or foe to approximate to the barbaric brutality and lawlessness now practiced by the British imperialist forces on that vast concentration camp where the cry of the human heart for liberty is drowned in the blood and tears of 70,000 souls.

The leprous conduct of the highest officers of the government minions of the police and the hired thugs is not merely to save the pence money for the head men. The British with characteristic cowardice would rather fight the unarmed colonial workers than the armed foe. They have today kicked aside the flimsiest veils of decency that cloaked their depredations and exploitation. Today British imperialism stands in Ceylon on the naked violence and ferocious barbarism on which she first reared herself. This rule of naked violence aims at wringing the last cent of profit stained red with the blood of the toilers who produce it.

The people must take warning of the stage that imperialist rule has now arrived at. The people must realize that the imperialists have not gone to defend their own homeland but remained to hold Ceylon. The people must get ready to defend their country, their homes, their civilization, their civil liberties, their right to work and live in peace—against the British imperialists.

1. Down with cowardly imperialist atrocities.
2. Down with imperialism.

Ceylon Socialist Party.

St. Louis CIO Hits at 'Defense Savings Committee'

By ROY GOULD

Last week delegates to the St. Louis Defense Savings Committee and representatives of the U.S. Treasury Department, attending a meeting at the Statler Hotel, were obliged to push their way through a mass CIO picket line several hundred strong. CIO delegates boycotted the committee meeting—although some CIO leaders had been among the most boisterous supporters of Defense Savings.

This situation was brought about by Tom Dyer, president of the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce, who is using his other position as chairman of the St. Louis Defense Savings Committee in a maneuver designed to scamp the CIO. He deliberately insisted that the meeting be held in the Statler, one of the five hotels where the CIO United Catering Workers are out on strike. A full week before the meeting the CIO regional office requested him to call the meeting somewhere else. But nothing could move the stubborn, labor-hating president of the Chamber of Commerce.

A city-wide CIO mass meeting, called to support the month-old hotel strike, turned upon the Defense Savings Committee and called the mass picket line. Presiding in the chair was Brother Art McDowell, only a year ago labor secretary of Norman Thomas' Socialist Party and today one of the most outspoken labor jingoes in St. Louis. In spite of his efforts to turn the strike meeting into a "defense" rally, the workers insisted on attacking the government's policy of slighting labor on

the various "defense" committees.

One union announced that it had telegraphed Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau, protesting Dyer's action. Another union announced that it was suspending purchase of a \$750 Defense Bond. Every time the chairman tried to turn the discussion back to national defense, some delegate would take the floor to attack the government's anti-labor policies or to call for financial aid to the hotel strike. Finally the meeting decided upon the mass picketing of the Defense Savings Committee meeting.

A few of the CIO leaders were confused and torn between their natural class militancy and their supposed obligation to the government. Instead of taking a clear stand toward the government whose appointed Defense Savings Committee kicks them in the teeth, they called upon labor to out-patriot the Chamber of Commerce with its own Labor Defense Savings Committee. But most of the CIO leaders gave only lip service to national defense and got on to more important questions. Only the Hillmanites, such as McDowell, had a clear line—to turn the workers away from their real problems. The Stalinist union leaders were conspicuous by their absence—they have been since the hotel strike began. The workers and strikers showed a healthy disrespect for the chairman and his talk. They were there to help the hotel workers who are valiantly carrying their banner into the second month of the strike, not to be buffeted by "patriotic" mumbo-jumbo.

Capitalism Presents Its Post-War Utopias-Pie in the Sky When You Die

By SUSAN GREEN

Every time world imperialism lets loose the demons of war upon the victimized peoples of the world, it also lets loose a great avalanche of beautiful promises for a post-war paradise on earth, of peace and good will. This wartime abundance of empty promises is supposed to make up for the gaping wartime shortages in happiness and the other necessities of life.

The 1914-1918 holocaust was widely advertised by Wilson's war-makers as the "war to end all wars." That false slogan stirred only false hopes in the war-weary heart of humanity.

Again the 1939-???? catastrophe is hailed by Roosevelt and Churchill as a noble fight to free the world forever from "aggressors"—and consequently from war.

And how is the era of perpetual peace to be accomplished this time?

The plan in the rough is contained in the much-touted Atlantic Charter. Its eight points—like Wilson's fourteen—are supposed to be the blueprint for a brand new League of Nations, including victors and vanquished, all devoted to the pursuits of peace.

If you lift a quizzical eyebrow—your ears still ringing from the great gusts of windy oratory that characterized the functioning of League of Nations No. 1, now deceased—you are assured that the future league will be different.

But a future League of Nations can be different only if the nations comprising it are motivated by different purposes. Is there any reason to believe that the international struggle for power and profit which went on under the idealistic cover of League No. 1, will not be repeated?

WHY THE LEAGUE FELL APART

League No. 1 fell apart because its members were—and are—imperialist rivals for world power. It very rapidly became merely the puppet for Sunday sermons on international good will, while in the dark cellars of imperialist diplomacy the dirty work of international power politics was carried on. England secretly encouraged Italy to expand into Ethiopia so that the French hold on the Mediterranean region might be weakened. The French maneuvered in the Balkans to consolidate a European bloc against England—and of course to isolate Soviet Russia, feared more than by the imperialists than now. England countered by assisting Hitler to acquire military might, hoping to undermine the power of France on the continent—and of course to cripple the working class movement of Europe.

The antagonisms of Britain and France gave defeated Germany and weakened Italy the chance they wanted to reach out for a place in the sun. When finally Hitler struck his fateful blow, the so-called alliance of Britain and France had been cracked wide open by the mutual hatred, distrust and double-crosses of the preceding twenty years of joint membership in League of Nations No. 1.

Some dreamers claim that it would have been different if America had joined the League. Those who think so have a very unrealistic notion of the nature of American imperialism. But even the most starry-eyed should now be disillusioned.

YANKEE IMPERIALISM AND ALTRUISM

The conduct of United States imperialism toward its war partner, Great Britain, has been far

from altruistic. At every step American aid is being paid for with compound interest. Yankee imperialism is taking advantage of its economic superiority in England's predicament to reduce the latter to the status of a secondary power.

The hostile interests of American and British capitalists stand out like the hump on the camel's back. And these rivals for world power are to be the idealistic leaders of the new League of Nations under the Atlantic Charter. It is important to show in some detail with what sadistic delight American capitalism has lashed out against British world power.

Lend-lease help has been accomplished by strict American supervision of British exports. England is being steadily pushed out of the Latin American market. Six months ago its exports of steel to our southern neighbors were already only 40 per cent of normal. On pressure from this country, British contractors were forced to give up lucrative projects like the electrifications of the Central Brazilian railroad, hydro-electric construction and so on.

The United States has further maintained that Britain cannot receive lend-lease help and at the same time keep up exports to Australia, New Zealand and other parts of her empire. On pressure from this country, the British have been compelled to relinquish their hold on shipping to their empire outposts. The long-established Manx and Union Steamship lines have been taken off the Australian run and replaced by American steamship companies, to the extent that the war permits.

Raymond Clapper, columnist for the Scripps-Howard papers, sees in the present situation a chance for this country to lay its hands on the raw materials for which it is now dependent on the British and Dutch. These include rubber and tin, as well as chromite, jute, mica, graphite. Says Mr. Clapper:

"All of these are needed by American industry. We are not self-sufficient in any of them. In certain of them British government control is such that it ought to be possible to work out a joint international holding company."

Mr. Clapper does not say that this can be worked out by pressure of lend-lease. Neither does he say that the CONTROL of this "international holding company" will naturally pass to the United States. This will be accomplished ipso facto by reason of the great debt the British government will owe this government.

DISTRIBUTION OF RAW MATERIALS

The Atlantic Charter contains a point to the effect that all nations must have access to the markets and raw materials of the world. The conduct of United States imperialism today illustrates the kind of distribution of raw materials and markets that it is interested in.

Under the circumstances, it can be assumed that England's masters do not have an altogether brotherly feeling toward their American partners.

League No. 1 was dominated by Britain and France and was destroyed by their ceaseless struggle for superior power, utilized by Germany and other would-be powers in their own interests. League No. 2 to be established by the clashing imperialists of the United States and Great Britain if Hitler is defeated, is bound to have the same fate.

Report Shows Brass Hat Incompetence But Ignores Washington's Role

(Continued from page 1)

socialists were cognizant of the growing threat of hostilities . . .

The report does not discuss why there was a "growing threat of hostilities." This reticence is not incomprehensible. It flows from the fact that in all the negotiations with the Japanese, the question of "democracy" never came up once. How could it, when the negotiators were both imperialist powers with vast stakes and holdings in the Pacific? No agreement was possible because neither side wished to give up its claims to the oil, rubber, tin and the lucrative markets of the Far East.

Ready for Action

Diplomacy having failed to achieve the impossible, both sides stripped for action. How this was done is described by the report. The American military chiefs were informed "that in the event hostilities could not be avoided, the United States desired that this nation should not commit the first overt act. . ."

Much of the hokum that was spilled in the press about the "treacherous attack of the Japanese aggressors" is dispelled by this section of the report. For it is clear that the Roosevelt Administration expected and was preparing for the war. It calculated well when it waited for Japan to be the military aggressor. After that it had less trouble in achieving "national unity" in support of the war.

If Roosevelt had good reason to wait until he could stigmatize Japan as the "aggressor," Japan could not afford such a luxury. The Japanese war lords were desperate. They had to break the economic stranglehold with which the Allies were stifling Japanese economy—or go under. Not only that. Their only chance for military success would be to strike a quick, lightning blow from which their potentially more powerful enemies could not recover.

Attack Not Accidental

Though the surprise attack on Pearl Harbor was extremely bold, it was not accidental. What else was Pearl Harbor but the solar plexus of American strength in the Pacific? This was known not only by Japan but also by the United States. A sudden attack on Pearl Harbor by the Japanese was one of the military possibilities which had long ago been taken into account by Ameri-

can strategists. When Secretary of the Navy Knox wrote his letter of a year ago which warned of the possibility of such an attack, it was essentially routine. It was as routine as the also foreseen possibility that the Japanese would invade the Philippines, though it was not considered as being as likely to succeed as an invasion of the Philippines.

What interests us is that during the months when war with Japan hung by a hair, no one, neither those in Washington nor Hawaii, considered the attack on Pearl Harbor as within the realm of probability. Despite the attempts of the Robert report to exonerate the higher-ups in Washington, the fact is that in all the warnings issued from Washington against a Japanese attack, Pearl Harbor was never mentioned as a probable, or even possible, object of attack.

When places were named it was Thai, the Philippines, Guam, Samoa, the Kra Peninsula or possibly Borneo. If this is what Washington thought, it is surprising that, in the words of the Roberts report, "there has been among the responsible commanders and their subordinates, without exception, a conviction that Japan had no intention of making such a raid. Consequently this form of attack was a complete surprise to all of the superior officers of the Army and Navy stationed in the Hawaii area."

The gross incompetence of Kimmel and Short is astonishing even to those whose faith in the colonial blimps is not high. Just before the attack they brushed aside valuable information which would have warned them of the approach of the enemy. They took absolutely no precautions. Nothing was in operation—neither the aircraft warning system, the submarine nets nor the sea and air patrols. The naval commander left everything to the army commander and vice versa—and both found it more important to attend to their social obligations. When the attack began, 96 per cent of the sailors were on their ships, but only 60 per cent of the officers were there with them.

A number of commentators have already noticed the reticence which the report displays in relation to the responsibility of the Washington tops in this fiasco. Any way you look at it, they must assume a share of the responsibility—and most probably a major share. If they were aware of the state of affairs in Hawaii, then they were clearly negligent in not effecting a change. If they were not aware of it, then they were just as negligent, since it was their business to know what was going on. Of course, Secretary of the Navy Knox was very busy, previous to the Pearl Harbor attack, "threatening to have labor organizers ridden out of town

on a rod and refusing the demands of the Negro people for complete equality in the Navy, but still he was supposed to know what was happening to the fleet. Or did he think that the labor unions and the Negro people were his main enemies?

In the light of the Robert report, the military brass hats are seen to be merely a reflection of the ruling class they serve as a whole. The decadence and smugness of the imperialists find their fullest expression in the brass hat. The smugness of Secretary of the Navy Knox, who declared, but a few days before Pearl Harbor, that the Navy was ready, finds its counterpart in the brass hats,

So strong was the feeling of white racial superiority among the governments bureaucrats and military brass hats that they lulled the people and even themselves to sleep with the tales that the Japanese would be a pushover, that the Japanese had no raw material reserves, and that the Japanese couldn't aim straight because they were slant-eyed. It was only after the American people had the holocaust imposed upon them that the truth came out. The Japanese are not a pushover. The Japanese have industries. The Japanese, according to the British Ministry of Economic Warfare's announcement immediately after the entry of America into the war (they knew it all along!), have reserves of rubber and oil which can last them two years even if they seize no additional rubber plantations or oil fields in the Far East. And they can shoot as straight as the next man, too.

Those who undertook to make the inquiry are of course interested in an imperialist victory for the American bosses. They do not wish the American people to lose confidence in the ruling class which conducts the war. That is why they place the major blame on a few military scapegoats, but leave untouched the Washington big shots. But so incompetent is capitalism, so inefficient and decadent a system is it, that even in its conduct of a war on which its future depends, it betrays its glaring bankruptcy. This is true for both sides in the war. The fiasco of Pearl Harbor can be matched by similar fiascos on the part of the Axis forces.

Chicago Crane Workers Protest Speed-up As Accidents Mount

By JIM LAMBERT

Special to LABOR ACTION

CHICAGO—Since the workers at the Crane Co. plumbing plant, which employs over 10,000 men, have been forced to work a seven-day week there has been an alarming increase in accidents. At least the workers think it is alarming—nobody else seems to give a hang.

Everyone knows that when the cares of office become too great, President Roosevelt goes off on a fishing trip. And who ever heard of a big shot business man who ever let anything interfere with an afternoon of golf? But it seems that rest and relaxation are luxuries to be enjoyed only by the big shots—that is, those who need it least.

The seven-day work week which the Crane men have to put in seems even more absurd when they see plenty of men walking the streets, laid off because of "priorities unemployment." Mass unemployment threatens the auto workers—yet the bosses talk about a shortage of labor.

What forcing the workers of Crane to put in such a long work week means can be seen by the fact that there were at least a dozen serious accidents at the Crane machine shop.

Medals on Casualties?

Instead of pinning medals on the casualties (that's what they really were) the bosses talked about safety and against "carelessness." But to talk safety to men who are groggy from a seven-day speed-up is as useless as cautioning hop-heads about getting happy after eating snow. Stop the dope fiend from eating snow. . . and he won't get happy. Likewise, cut down to a forty-hour week and hire additional workers to make up the production and the boys won't be "careless" and have "accidents."

Because of the great number of these "accidents" (we put quotation marks around the word because they aren't really accidents; they're caused by the deliberate policy of the company) some of the boys thought the company should post a casualty list. However, they couldn't decide whether the casualties should be classified as soldiers falling "in the struggle for democracy" or just workers crushed and tossed aside in the company's pursuit of profit. As one of the men said, "Both arguments amount to the same thing, anyway."

The boys figure they had better do something about this and see to it that they get back to decent working hours.

Akron UAW Wins Contract At Goodyear

Special to Labor Action

AKRON—After eight weeks of negotiations between UAW-CIO Local 866 and the Goodyear Aircraft Corp. here, a signed contract has been entered into which provides for a general 10 cent per hour wage increase, 75 cents per hour minimum wage after 60 days' service, good seniority and vacation clauses, and the referral to federal conciliation of four union demands for the union shop, double time for Sundays, five cent bonus for night shift work and retroactive pay not covered in the contract.

The young and militant aircraft workers have now come through with one of the best contracts in the industry, considering that the union and indeed the whole plant has been in operation for less than a year. On the basis of the union's achieving this contract, widespread interest among the workers at Goodyear Aircraft has been aroused. The union is going forward with its own program of social activities, publishing its own press "Dive Bomber," and in general putting to shame the routine activities of some of the older and "better established" unions in the city.

Goodyear Aircraft plants are expanding rapidly and it is estimated that between 12,000 and 20,000 workers will be employed in them before the completion of the expansion program, in comparison with the several thousand now employed. Latest estimates place the number of rubber workers laid off in Akron due to stoppage of civilian rubber production at 2,100, and a large number of these workers may find employment in aircraft during conversion of rubber plants to production of war materials.

From this point of view the rubber workers will be glad to find that the CIO is already a going concern in local aircraft plants. However, because of the newness of the industry and the union here, the laid off rubber workers will find plenty of work for them to do as unionists in building up the aircraft union so that it can obtain the rates they were accustomed to in the rubber industry.

Both the Allies and the Axis muddle along in their struggle over which imperialist combine shall dominate the world; and in the meantime millions of helpless, innocent people fall victim to their wars.

Chicago Lecture:

The Colonial People and the War

What Is the Stake of the Colonial People in the War?
What Role Can They Be Expected to Play?

Guest Speaker: GRACE LEE

GOOD SHEPHERD COMMUNITY CENTER
5120 SOUTH PARKWAY, ROOM 6

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 6, at 8:00 P. M.

Auspices: CHICAGO LABOR ACTION FORUM

Admission: 10 Cents. Unemployed Free

Editorials

LABOR ACTION'S PLATFORM

Against Both Capitalist War Camps! For the Victory of World Labor and the Colonial Peoples! For the Victory of the Third Camp of Socialism!

LABOR MUST DEFEND ITSELF!

- Hands off the right to strike! For the defense of civil rights and all workers' rights! Against any wartime dictatorship measures!
- Thirty hours a week; thirty dollars the minimum wage; time and a half for overtime! Rehire the jobless millions by a six-hour shift!
- Wage increases which meet rising costs! No sales tax on consumer goods; no taxes on wages! Freeze rents and food and clothing prices at the 1940 level to stop the rise in the cost of living!
- No government contract without a union contract! The closed shop in all war industries!
- Maintain and increase all government social services!

SOAK THE RICH—LET THEM PAY FOR THEIR WAR!

- A government levy on capital to cover the costs of the imperialist war! Confiscate all war profits!
- Conscript all war industries under workers' control!
- Expropriate the "Sixty Families"—the 3 per cent of the people who own 96 per cent of the national wealth!

DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS TO THE DRAFTEES!

- The right of free speech, free press and free assembly for the men in the armed forces!
- \$60 a month minimum for draftees.

SMASH JIM CROW!

- Down with Jim Crow and anti-Semitism! All discrimination against Negroes in the Army and Navy, or by employers in industry, must be made a criminal offense!
- For full social, economic and political equality for Negroes!

BE PREPARED!

- For Workers' Defense Guards, trained and controlled by the unions, against vigilante and fascist attacks!
- For an Independent Labor Party and a Workers' Government! No political support to the Roosevelt government!
- For Peace through Socialism! For immediate independence of all colonies! Only a socialist world will destroy capitalist imperialism and fascist barbarism. For a League of Socialist Nations!

U. S. Dollar Diplomacy Wins A Victory in South America

By HENRY JUDD

The Latin American conference of 21 nations organized by the United States to help in the war effort of the "United Nations" was concluded this week with American dollar diplomats gaining notable victories.

Held at Rio de Janeiro under the hospitable auspices of Julio Vargas, the Brazilian dictator, most of the conference concerned itself with the question of winning Argentine support to a resolution breaking off all diplomatic relations with the Axis powers. Secret conferences, deals and bribery, maneuvers and "diplomacy" finally succeeded in getting Argentina to sign a compromise proposal which permits each of the 21 countries to decide for itself to break off with the Axis. Seventeen have already done so and others are following in line behind the United

States—the dominant power in Western Hemisphere affairs. Sumner Welles would have preferred not to compromise with Argentina, but the final result is a satisfactory victory for "Yankee imperialism."

But the real success or failure of the conference remains to be seen. Only the coming months and years of war will show whether the United States has succeeded in its real objective: to organize a closed hemisphere economy—based on a uniform currency, the American dollar—and with America as top dog in the entire set-up. Dozens of resolutions were adopted, dealing mainly with economic and military matters. Most of them were drawn up by the United States or its closest satellites, the tiny powers of Central America (Panama, Nicaragua, etc.). Now efforts will be made to put them into practice.

If they are put into practice with success it means (1) That America will have complete economic control over the Latin American countries; (2) That America will have eliminated all its rivals (the Axis powers and England) as competitors for the trade, commerce and raw materials of the South American nations.

The entire Pan-American Conference was a game of give-and-take; of promises and agreements between the mighty imperialist Neighbor of the North and the dependent nations of the South. In exchange for the severance of economic, trade and political relations with the Axis nations, the United States has promised to make up for the loss of trade these nations formerly had with Europe and Asia.

Specifically, the United States has promised to lower trade and tariff barriers on those goods produced by South America which are duplicated and compete in the United States. Argentine beef is a notable example. Will American capitalist producers agree to this concession without a fight? We doubt it very much.

The United States has also promised to supply the Latin American nations with various priorities material on a quota basis—materials such as completed machinery which are badly needed by these countries. Likewise, since these countries have only tiny merchant marines, Uncle Sam has promised to aid them in their transportation and shipping problems.

And what are American capitalists, bankers and exporters to get in exchange for all this?

1) Full access to the rubber of Brazil; the tin of Bolivia; the copper and nitrates of Chile; the farm products and meats of Argentina. The right to develop (that is, own and finance) whatever industries are needed to help American war production requirements. For this purpose international corporations (cartels) are to be organized under American directions.

2) Trade and commerce with the neighbors of the South will be greatly facilitated by various methods. Woe to the English businessmen who are still doing business in Latin America! Their day has come. The Southern nations are to lower their tariff barriers so that American products can come in more easily; every encouragement is to be given to the American seeking a market for investment; all transport and shipping facilities are to be pooled under American guidance; questions of banking and foreign exchange are to be simplified (primarily by making the American dollar the standard of currency); an international fund to stabilize the various currencies of the Pan American nations is to be established, etc.

3) All matters of naval, military and aerial warfare are to be handled from Washington, under American guidance.

Victory for Imperialism

All of this represents an undoubted victory for American imperialist interests and designs. The men of Wall Street and Washington have served notice to the entire world (including Great Britain) that they intend to subject South and Central America more than ever before to the doubtful benefits of American control.

But many barriers and stumbling blocks still lie ahead before this final aim can be achieved.

Can America make good its promise to purchase all South American surplus products; to keep these countries economically alive; to protect them from Axis intervention?

What will the people of Latin America—never known for their friendship to American imperialism—have to say about all of this?

What will happen to the various Latin American dictators (Vargas of Brazil, Batista of Cuba, etc.) during the war? Suppose their people become tired of their dictatorial rule and attempt to upset them? Will Roosevelt intervene on the side of the dictators to thwart the democratic will of the South American peoples?

These are a few of the questions not answered at the conference.

Latest New International Out

The latest issue of The New International, dated December, 1941, is off the press. It is an extremely interesting issue and worthy of the attention of all our readers. The contents include:

- War and Priorities, by James M. Fenwick;
- The Future of India, by Henry Judd;
- What Is Imperialism? (Section I), by Gregory Zinoviev;
- An Outline of the War, by Max Sterling;
- The Crisis in the Right-Center Bloc (Section I of a previously unpublished article), by Leon Trotsky; and
- Harold Laski Writes a Revolution, by Paul Temple.

The New International announces that its next issue, dated January, 1942, will be off the press in several days. Among the articles scheduled for publication are: an exhaustive review of Joseph Davies' book, "Mission to Moscow," by Max Shachtman; an analysis of Partisan Review's war position by Irving Howe; an article on labor unity by Jack Wilson; the concluding sections of Zinoviev's What Is Imperialism and Trotsky's The Crisis in the Right-Center Bloc; several studies on problems of socialism in Asia and Europe; as well as editorials and book reviews.

Priorities Unemployment Takes Large Job Toll

By BILL HAINES

Today, when American industrial production is at its highest level in history, 166 per cent above the 1935-9 level, according to the Federal Reserve Board Index, capitalism is still unable to give jobs to all its available workers. Howard Hunter, WPA commissioner, last week stated that there are 4,000,000 unemployed today and there will be 5,500,000 unemployed by June because of priorities unemployment.

Priorities unemployment is one of the most serious problems facing the working class. It is caused by a lack of raw materials to supply both civilian and war needs. Since war production takes precedence in time of war, civilian industries are forced to shut down, throwing these workers out of jobs. The most striking effect of priorities unemployment is the auto industry, where 300,000 workers have already been thrown out of jobs. However, it will soon become a serious problem in other industries, too. (Emil Rieve, president of the CIO Textile Workers Union, recently predicted that 60,000 textile workers will be thrown out of work by priorities.)

New York City will be especially hard hit because only 7 per cent of its industries do war work and no adequate plans for conversion of peace to war industry have been made. The effect of priorities on unemployment has been reflected in the increase of applicants for unemployment insurance benefits. From November to December the number

of applicants in New York rose from 102,754 to 115,925.

Here are figures from union sources on the results of a survey made among New York City trade unions on priorities unemployment:

Construction Workers—The AFL Building Trades Council lists 30,000 already unemployed, including 7,500 painters, 8,000 bricklayers, 4,000 plasterers and 1,000 carpenters.

Fur Workers—10,000 CIO fur workers now unemployed.

Furniture Workers—3,700 partially or wholly unemployed due to lack of metal for hinges, according to CIO UERMWA.

Rubber Workers—600 of 1,100 AFL production workers in New York laid off.

Printers—Several hundred were laid off last month.

Needle Trades—The CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union expects 15,000 of its 50,000 members to be out of work by June.

To aid the victims of priorities unemployment, President Roosevelt last week requested that Congress appropriate \$300,000,000 to provide displaced workers with compensation of 60 per cent of regular earnings, but in no case above \$24.00 a week. The benefits would run for 26 weeks, with the federal grant paying the difference between unemployment compensation paid by the state and 60 per cent of the workers' average earnings.

Although this proposal is in the right direction, it does not go far enough. There is no reason why Congress can't appropriate an additional \$900,000,000 to provide displaced workers with 100 per cent of their regular weekly earnings.

When Congress has already appropriated \$78,000,000,000 for armaments, when profiteers are making millions in juicy contracts, there is no reason why workers unemployed through no fault of their own should be made to undergo hardships trying to manage on \$24 or, in most cases, less, a week, a sum insufficient to meet the essential needs of a family, especially today when prices are going up. Workers should demand unemployment compensation payments to victims of priorities unemployment.

Vinson Report--

(Continued from page 1)

able legislation, can be taken for granted.

Boss Press Smear

The boss press has made a consistent attempt to smear the findings of the Vinson committee with regard to war profiteering with the charge that it had chosen a few exceptional cases of huge profiteering on small contracts, but the facts show that the instances of huge war profiteering—though not zooming to such incredible heights as the one small company which made 247 per cent on an order—were typical of the large companies.

The report then proceeds to launch into a tirade against labor unions. According to it, there has taken place recently "an astounding picture of concentration of wealth" in the trade unions! It requires a certain type of servile mentality to present page after page of facts on the nation's leading capitalist profiteers and then come to the conclusion that there is "an astounding concentration of wealth" in the trade unions!

Present indications point to the possibility that Congress will pay more attention to the anti-labor section of the report and the recommendations for union regulation than to that section which gives the facts on boss profiteering.

(See today's editorial)

The Aftermaths of the Truman Report

Last week we wrote in some detail of the Truman Report and its sensational revelations on the stranglehold that big business' dollar-a-year men were exerting over the war program and the profits they were siphoning into the corporations with which they were connected.

These revelations have shocked many workers into a realization of the fact that what is ostensibly a "war for democracy" has shown itself to be one grand profit grab-bag for the bosses. If there is anything more revealing than the Truman Report itself, it is the series of events that have followed it. Let us look at some of these.

The Dollar-a-Year Men Remain

One of the ironic and revealing incidents in connection with the Truman Report was a discussion in the Senate on the day of its publication. One senator asked a member of the investigating committee what happened to those dollar-a-year men who were responsible for this state of affairs. The reply was: "They are usually promoted."

Has this changed since the publication of the Truman Report? Not a bit. Knudsen, who was responsible for the state of affairs described in the report, has been shifted to the War Department and given the important job of supervising army procurement, as well as the title of lieutenant general.

Donald Nelson, new production chief, made a big splurge in the newspapers about the "clean-up" he intends to make in the war program, but upon closer examination it turns out that he merely intends to replace some of the older and stodgier of the dollar-a-year men with younger and more "aggressive" industrialists. The only possible significance of this move can be to strengthen and increase the control of big business over the war program through its more lively representatives, as well as to try to straighten out the production mess into which American capitalism has gotten itself through its own short-sightedness.

Scandal of Copper Profiteering

One of the sensational exposés of the Truman Report was that section describing how the copper, zinc and lead monopolies were deliberately withholding increases in production because of their desire for bigger prices and hence bigger profits. This resulted in thousands of metal miners being thrown out of work and also created a shortage which may soon cut into consumer needs. Yet, after exposing the vile rapacity of these capitalists, the Truman Committee meekly proceeded to urge that their demand for higher prices be granted!

The very next day the government signed new contracts with the metal companies which increased the price of copper by 42 per cent, the price of zinc by 33 per cent and the price of lead by 62 per cent for all quantities of these metals which are produced above the amount mined in 1941! This is expected to yield an additional 30

per cent of these metals.

Is it not clear from this scandalous arrangement that the government is putting a premium on the actions of the metal companies for the past 18 months, when they refused to produce at maximum capacity since they could make a higher rate of profit when they produced below maximum.

The figures offered by the Truman Report showed tremendous profiteering on the part of the metal monopolies—the average profit of the 51 corporations engaged in the industry had increased by 30 per cent during the first nine months of 1941 over the corresponding period of 1940. Despite this, the government grants these corporations fantastic price increases! This is how the talk about "equal sacrifice" works out in practice: the workers sacrifice and the bosses get the profits.

And What About Profiteering?

The same situation prevails with regard to the committee's revelations on war profiteering in general. The facts are all there; but not a word of recommendation.

(The recommendation came later, presumably from the Vinson report, which, after showing the sky-high profits of the bosses, comes to the conclusion that labor unions should be regulated and taxed! Profound reasoning, is it not? The bosses make the money; therefore... tax the workers. Well, maybe it isn't profound, but it sure is typical of the bosses and their legislators.)

A few congressmen blew off some steam about anti-profit legislation, a few rockets of publicity were launched, some vague suggestions about cutting profits to a "reasonable level" (whatever that may mean)... and nothing concrete is proposed or done!

There is a profoundly important lesson to be learned from all this. Because of internal disagreements, and in order to tidy their own house occasionally, the capitalist government, or sections of it, will now and then publish reports exposing the waste, inefficiency, nepotism, graft, profiteering and selfishness of their own regime. The solutions they propose are meaningless and ineffectual. But the facts they give must be eagerly seized by the workers and used to substantiate the campaign for a workers' government—the only kind of government which can abolish all the scandals characteristic of capitalism and substitute for it a government functioning in the interests of peace and plenty for the masses.

In Future Issues

Numerous articles are being postponed because of lack of space. A few of those that will appear next week are:

- The Final Price Control Bill.
- Ireland's Role in the War.
- Labor in the Last War.
- Capitalism's Post-War Utopia.
- A Series on Taxation.
- The British Independent Labor Party.

RUN AROUND:

FDR Gives It to The Negro People

By Paul Harris

The President of the United States is playing a game with the Negroes of this country. He has been playing it since 1932. Today he is playing it with more boldness than ever. Thank goodness, it isn't fooling many Negroes.

The latest example is the invitation to Louis Armstrong to play at the birthday ball in the White House. Good for Louis. It is good publicity for him and his band. But it is better publicity for the Roosevelt Administration. It shows that the President is a friend of the Negro. At least, that is what the President thinks it shows.

Take up any copy of a Negro newspaper today. Look at the pictures. Ten to one you will see photographs of some colored young woman working in a department of the government at Washington. You can find them even in the War Office. At first the War Office didn't want any blacks. President Roosevelt put his foot down and told the War Office in no uncertain voice: "You have to take them." Today they are piling into Washington, typing, filing, duplicating, and all of them or most of them singing the praises of Roosevelt and the New Deal and Eleanor. Sure, they support the war, for the war supports them.

Then when the discrimination against Negroes in the Army and Navy began to stink more strongly than ever, the President appointed a Negro, General Davis, to a high post with white officers under him. He appointed Judge Hastie to the War Office. More than that: during the last four years he has appointed nearly 200 Negroes to posts in Washington that carry a salary of about \$4,000 a year, or \$80 a week. Meanwhile the Negro is Jim Crowed in the Army, he is kept out of the Navy, and employers either say flatly that they don't want him in industry or they admit a few for publicity's sake and Jim Crow flourishes as strongly as ever.

NEGROES BOILING WITH RAGE

The Negro people are boiling over with rage. The President's way is to give a few middle class Negroes good jobs, allow a few thousand to get into some of the new white collar jobs that the war is creating. These things create satisfaction among a thin layer of Negroes who can hit the headlines. It is an old, old trick. Two years ago Harold Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, and Eleanor Roosevelt staged a mammoth publicity stunt, in which Marion Anderson sang from the steps of the Abraham Lincoln Memorial in Washington. No news has yet come through that one single Negro got one single job in the war industries on account of this. Now Louis Armstrong is going to blow his trumpet and the Roosevelt Cabinet and friends will jitterbug till four o'clock in the morning. But the Negro workers will be just where they were.

JOBHOLDERS CALL A MEETING

A few days ago a group of upper class Negroes, Walter White of the NAACP and all that bunch, met to discuss what they called a policy for Negroes during the war. These and their relatives are the ones who are picking up the jobs Roosevelt is giving out. All of them know that the large masses of the Negro people just can't see why they should die for a democracy they have never seen and have no prospect of seeing under the present set-up. They know this.

It turned out afterward that some 80 per cent of them knew it very well. But they wouldn't talk about it and when Judge Hastie asked them to express an opinion on the attitude of Negroes to the war, they were so scared that it took a long time before they could be brought to acknowledge the simple fact that the Negroes do not see and will never see the war as a war for democracy and will feel no inclination to sacrifice anything as long as American imperialism beats them with its present shameless Jim Crow.

So there is the situation. You have the workers, farmers and unemployed being kicked around by the American ruling class just as before. But wherever they protest and show their determination to fight for their rights, Roosevelt appoints some more of the thin crust of upper class Negroes to some jobs and carries out some publicity stunt to make Negroes feel he is on their side. Those he appoints are so scared and so determined to hold on to the crumbs that he throws, that they are afraid ever to say what they know to be true.

The moral is that the great body of Negroes must look among themselves for leaders. Organize yourselves, elect your own committees. Let Marion sing and Armstrong blow and let the little girls type in the government offices for \$40 a week. But you, unemployed or sweating at \$10 a week, you will have to get together and fight hard to win your rights.

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

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Los Angeles Meeting:

Taxes, Labor and the War

WHAT can be done about rising prices?
WHO should pay the costs of war?
Should STRIKES be prohibited?

Speaker: EMANUEL GARRETT

Friday, February 6, 8 p.m.,

STUDIO HALL, EMBASSY AUDITORIUM

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