

ANTI-LABOR CONGRESS SESSIONS OPEN

Carlo Tresca Murdered!

On Monday, January 11, an assassin's bullet ended the long years spent in the service of labor by Carlo Tresca, anarchist, anti-fascist, beloved champion of labor's cause.

Crossing the street after he had left the office of the paper he edited, Il Martello, at 2 West 15th Street in New York City, Tresca was shot to death by an assailant who jumped out of a car and drove off before he could be apprehended. It has not yet been discovered who the murderer was, nor the reason, but the indications point to the hand of a political assassin. One of the best known, of Mussolini's foes, one of the most revered anti-fascists and anti-Stalinists among the Italian masses and among workers of all nationalities, Tresca's personal and political enemies were numerous.

Workers Party Salutes Tresca

Il Martello
2 West 15th Street
New York City

All our comrades are profoundly shocked at the infamous murder of Carlo Tresca. Those who know his magnificent record of service to the cause of labor will always esteem the bright memory of the man who never failed to respond to the appeal of the oppressed and of the victims of class justice. Whatever our political divergences, we dip our banner to a great fighter in the war for human emancipation.

MAX SHACHTMAN,
National Secretary,

Margaret De Silver
130 West 12th Street
New York City

'We are all deeply shocked and grieved by the death of an unflinching friend and comrade. Our sincerest condolences.

MAX SHACHTMAN.

It is impossible to record all that Carlo Tresca did in the decades he served the labor movement here and in his native Italy. Fleeing Europe in 1904 he plunged into the life of the American labor movement. There was hardly a strike in the first two decades of this century in which Tresca was not a leading participant. His name is indelibly associated with the great textile strikes in Lawrence, Mass., and Paterson, N. J., in 1912-13—strikes which rocked the nation. And there were innumerable other strikes in which Tresca worked feverishly and valiantly.

Every newspaper reporting the foul murder commented that Tresca went wherever there was trouble. That was so. And because he was fearless, because he went where labor was battling, Tresca's life was turbulent. He was arrested over thirty times on charges ranging from inciting to riot (the police term for fighting in labor's cause) to treason. He was beaten by policemen's nightsticks. He bore the marks of

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Another Battle for Freedom!



Three locals of the UAW-CIO have called for a special convention to reconsider the no-strike pledge which is responsible for the many retreats of labor in the past period.

President Thomas of the UAW—himself one of those responsible for the no-strike pledge—

now states that the bosses, foremen and WLB are all taking advantage of it to put it over on the workers.

All labor should follow the example set by the Flint, Brewster and Electro-Motive locals of the UAW.

Labor in 1943 Faces Squeeze On Living Standard as FDR Asks for \$109 Billion Budget

By JOHN BERNE

As between the two messages delivered by President Roosevelt to the new Congress, the one on the budget is far more real to the worker than the one on the state of the nation. The former—even though it deals with astronomical figures—is easier to grasp than the obscure, meaningless, grandiose verbiage of the latter.

For every worker knows that \$109,000,000,000 taken out of production for war will mean cutting—not to the bone but to the marrow—the production of the necessities of life. And every worker knows that when this budget requires \$16,000,000,000 in taxes on top of present taxes, his pockets are the ones that will be picked.

A war budget of \$109,000,000,000 for 1944 is the most ambitious spending venture that any government anywhere in all history has ever set for itself. It is over three times Germany's estimated war costs for 1944 and over five times England's war budget. According to the Associated Press, if the war costs of Germany, England, Japan, Russia, Italy, Canada are all added together, the \$109,000,000,000 budget of the USA still exceeds their combined outlays by nearly \$20,000,000,000.

A writer in the New York Sun—to bring the proposed budget figure down to earth—estimates it as an expenditure of "\$3516 every second, twenty-four hours a day, Sunday and holidays included," for 1943.

In other words, every second the war will cost almost twice as much as the average yearly wage in this country—over four times as much as the yearly wage of the millions of workers getting \$16 a week—over six times as much as the yearly

(Continued on page 4)

(Continued on page 4 in edit. col.)

Post Office Allegations Jeopardize Free Press

In last week's LABOR ACTION we reported that the solicitor of the Post Office Department had taken steps to suspend the second-class mailing privileges of The Militant—more correctly, that The Militant had been asked to show cause at a hearing to be held January 21 why its mailing privileges should not be lifted.

Since then we have received from The Militant a bulletin containing excerpts from past issues of The Militant which were cited by the Post Office Department as basis for the action.

We haven't the space in this issue to list in detail the excerpts to which the Post Office tin-hats presumably took objection. But you can take our word for it that, if the Post Office procedure up to now in interfering with the democratic rights of The Militant and LABOR ACTION has been fantastic, these "specific" allegations are downright ludicrous—and vicious!

In brief this is what the Post Office, its solicitors, or its advisers

Meat for the Few

LABOR ACTION has been publishing the war profits of the industrial giants of this country. The year-end statements of the banks—closely connected with and inseparable from the industrial capitalists—have now been made public. They show that the banks also are making money hand over fist.

1. The Chase National Bank now has control of \$4,569,496,050 of the wealth of this country. American labor thus has the distinction of carrying on its back the largest banking parasite in the world.

In the three war months ending December 31, this octopus did its pay-tribute duty by laying hold of \$689,540,000 additional assets, bringing the total to the above dizzy figure.

Net profits of the bank rose from \$14,518,000 in 1941 to \$15,040,000 in 1942—presumably to enable it to endure the hardships of war.

2. Central Hanover Bank & Trust Co., after deducting 1942 net operating expenses from net operating income, has \$6,047,868 in net "earnings."

New York Trust Co., making the same calculations, has a nice wad of \$3,030,393 to the good. The bank president complained that this profit is not so good on account of having to make larger "tax reserves."

Just a couple of starving millionaire outfits—barely making a living out of the war.

3. Lehman Corporation, bankers, increased its wealth in the last quarter of 1942 so that each of its shares has \$29.54 of assets behind it, against \$26.92 and \$25.09 in the previous two quarters.

Net profits per share rose 68 per cent above the previous quarter.

In war and in peace—like all other banks—it produces nothing, getting its pelf mainly from trading in money and in stocks and bonds.

4. The National City Bank also reached a record high with resources amounting to \$3,761,671,281. In the last quarter of 1942—while soldiers were dying and workers sweating and struggling—this billionaire bank got its itching hands on \$581,982,854 of this country's wealth.

In those three war months its backlog of undistributed profits swelled to \$23,793,450 from \$21,391,723 at the end of September.

In the self-sacrificing war year 1942, National City pulled in its belt by increasing its resources by 16-2/3 per cent and its undistributed profit by 33-1/3 per cent.

5. The Bankers Trust Co. has stowed away \$40,171,788 in undistributed profits, having increased its rainy-day reserve by \$1,691,887 in three war months.

U. S. Trust Co. gathers to its bosom \$1,576,655 in 1942 profits—after the customary deductions of everything its lawyers and accountants consider deductible. Every stockholder thus "earned" \$78.85 on each share. Because of the shortage of labor, the stockholders probably clipped their own coupons this year.

6. Federal Reserve Bank of New York reports largest "earnings" since 1940. Net profits mounted to \$4,568,000 compared to \$3,302,000 in 1941—a gain of 38 per cent in one war year.

The stockholders of the Federal Reserve Banks are themselves banks which—as indicated in the preceding columns—have their own very substantial fleishpots.

Their respective shares in the wartime pickings of the Federal Reserve will be another contribution to their respective "war chests."

Poison for the Many

In contrast to the war profits of banks and capitalists, here is a summary of the hard wartime conditions of the working masses who are paying for the world explosion of capitalism with their dollars, their health, their homes, their lives.

1. Wages are frozen to workers, and workers are frozen to jobs while the cost of living rises by 15 per cent, by 20 per cent, by 25 per cent, by— who can tell how high? The 16,000,000 workers in this country getting less than \$16 a week are included in the wage freeze.

Labor leaders, betraying the rank and file, saddle a no-strike pledge on them of which both bosses and WLB take unfair advantage—bosses ignoring workers' grievances and WLB stalling indefinitely.

And the new Congress is 'arin' to go—against labor.

2. The price of milk is raised 20 per cent, of wheat flour 10 per cent. The shock of these boosts is not absorbed when OPA orders higher ceilings on butter, fresh fruits, cheese, poultry and other foods. The farm bloc presses for still higher prices.

Shortages are serious. The black market does better day by day. Gyping on quality grows. The profit motive in the production of food will result in widespread malnutrition and hunger.

3. Since 1940 the number of taxpayers leaped from 4,048,619 to 26,900,000. Thus 22,851,381 low income families, formerly exempt, now pay taxes.

The income tax reaches down to a \$500 yearly pittance and the victory tax is slapped on, starting at \$624 a year. As consumers the workers are taxed on a long list of commodities.

Congress wants to raise \$15,000,000,000 more in taxes—a 60 per cent increase above the present tax burden. Workers will be reduced to paupers while the financial statements of banks and industrialists will continue to show progress.

4. The speed-up in production has made a shambles in the factories. From Pearl Harbor to November 15, 1942, 44,500 workers were killed on the job. Also 3,800,000 have been injured—many permanently. War profits flow on a river of blood of civilians and soldiers alike.

Many war workers live in appalling surroundings, sleeping in shifts in the same bed—or using box cars or trailers. Conditions for epidemics are perfect—fatigue, improper housing, malnutrition, plus a scarcity of doctors, nurses, clinics, hospitals.

5. Labor legislation protecting women and children is autocritically suspended. Night work and overtime are taking a heavy toll. Especially pathetic is the plight of the child worker—to which barbarous practice this country has returned.

A girl of eleven doing farm work collapses—heart failure. A boy of thirteen loses his arm in a threshing machine he knows nothing about. In a laundry a boy of fifteen has an arm torn off by a mangling machine. War profits also come from such human tragedies.

6. Child delinquency rose 20 per cent in 1942. Adolescent girls, taught by popular song to not say "No to a soldier," are—to their great misfortune—learning the facts of life.

Growing boys, to whom "to be tough" is presented as the highest morality, become candidates for crime.

A life of unlightened and constructive work is further discouraged by the curtailment of public school facilities, by the closing of colleges, by prostituting "education" to the uses of war—all for the greater profit of the class to which belongs Chase National Bank.

Reader, will you now turn to the editorial page of this paper to read the "Workers Party Platform" at the bottom of the page? See what you think of it in the light of the above contrast between the war prosperity of the capitalist class and the war burdens of the working class.

Europe in Revolt

News from the Socialist Camp

THE NORTH AFRICAN COMEDY: SECOND ACT

In North Africa two different battles are being waged right now. One is the fight of the Allies against Germany in Tunisia, but the other, assuming major proportions, is the fight raging between English and American imperialism on whose influence is going to predominate in North Africa.

At the beginning America had a clear advantage. It was mostly American troops that landed in North Africa; the original deal with Darlan was made through American officers. But, in the meantime, there has been a slight change.

Darlan was assassinated. There is still no indication by whom. Roosevelt issued a statement only a few hours after the fatal shooting that the assassin was a common criminal and should be tried accordingly. No such announcement has been forthcoming from London.

GIRAUD—HOW DIFFERENT IS HE FROM DARLAN?

A Swiss paper recently remarked that it was rather astonishing that the most reactionary of all top leaders of the French army, a man whom even Deladier wanted several times to discharge, was the one who went over to the camp of the democrats.

Giraud as a politician is much less astute than Darlan. He is an old school military man whose major principle is that a country is just an annex of an army, a kind of necessary evil.

It is obvious that there will be very little change in the internal regime of North Africa. In fact there is practically no alternative. Arthur Crook of the New York Times recently pointed out that the only realistic alternative to a Giraud or Darlan regime in North Africa was a revolt of the natives and a granting of independence to them.

North Africa is run by an immense military apparatus. This is the only stable influence guaranteeing "order" as against the natives. In Tunisia and Algeria there is a rather numerous European population which had in pre-war times a political life which more or less closely resembled the political life in the motherland.

pillar of American influence as against the English. Were the assassin a fascist, this fact would have been published immediately. It is therefore possible that he was a de Gaulleist... De Gaulle is very much in favor in London.

In the first weeks only American Army authorities and Robert Murphy, representative of Roosevelt, dealt with the Darlan clique. Now the English have appointed a special representative to North Africa who carries cabinet rank.

In a nutshell, the North African war describes the character of this and future campaigns. First was the invasion, then the dealing with the reactionary semi-fascist clique of Vichy officers and the complete disregard of the avowed democratic aims of the Atlantic Charter.

merous enough to provide the basis for any other form of political set-up. Deals with the governing clique for the maintenance of peace and order and the quelling of every attempt of the natives to take their destiny into their own hands is obviously the pattern.

So the only possible alternative to Giraud is de Gaulle. But he plays the English role right now. De Gaulle's evolution in recent times is very amusing. He shows his "liberalism" and "democratic ideology" more and more ostentatiously.

Who believes these people's word any more? There is no principled difference between de Gaulle and Giraud except that the one belongs to the "ins" and the other to the "outs".

A Letter from a Railroad Worker

Cites Earnings of Railroads as Proof that Campaign for Better Conditions Is Needed

Dear Sir and Brothers:

I was very interested in Brother Harry Allen's article on railroad profits and wages in the December 21 issue of LABOR ACTION. But there is one statement with which I disagree, and I would like to say a few words about it.

Before this statement, Brother Allen quotes statistics to the effect that passenger engineers average \$3,650 yearly, freight engineers \$3,237, and all men in train and engine service \$2,600 per year.

1. When men in the train and engine service hear workers discussing maintaining the forty-hour week they wonder what the hell they are talking about. We get overtime (time and a half) for everything after eight hours on any particular day, but no time and a half or dou-

ble time for the sixth day or seventh day. Thus it usually happens that men work seven days a week (fifty-six hours) without making a minute's overtime.

2. In the Oakland yard alone the Southern Pacific is working over one hundred yard engines, three shifts a day, seven days a week. (Only this week, due to a seasonal drop in business, several jobs have been put on a six-day basis).

3. On the road, it is true, a man can make more money. During one two-week period on the extra list I made \$155. A good wage? Sure—but look what I had to do to get it.

means that even when off duty I had to stick close to the phone so as not to miss a call. Eleven nights out of the fifteen I did not sleep in my own bed and five out of these eleven I had to sleep in a hotel in some jerk town.

4. It is true that the top passenger and freight jobs are damned good jobs, both for firemen and engineers. Right now a fireman can work up in seniority to where he can hold chain gang (pooled freight list) in about a year on my division—but usually it takes three to five years.

As to the brotherhoods—sure they have improved our conditions. Wages in engine service used to be \$1.50 a day, and at that time there was no overtime after eight hours and no sixteen-hour law to prevent the railroad bosses from working the men twenty-four and even forty hours without rest.

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Brewster Workers Voice Resentment Against WLB Decision at Meeting

Over 3,000 Brewster workers attended the meeting of their Local 385 (UAW) to hear the decision of the WLB in their long drawn out dispute with the company.

President DeLorenzo read the decision to the membership and informed them that it was far from satisfactory but that it was a directive order and very little could be done by the union at the present time.

Motion to Reject

A motion to reject the WLB decision was made from the floor and the speaker motivated it on the ground that the WLB decision not only gave the workers nothing but its formulations permitted even greater inroads in destroying present classifications.

Another speaker who spoke in favor of the motion to reject the WLB decision showed in detail that the WLB gave nothing except what the company had been willing to give in the first place, and that the recommendations of the WLB were identical with the original position of the company.

Thunderous applause and cheers greeted this speech. Veteran observers claim that it was the greatest ovation given any speaker in this union.

Attempts by some of the officials of the Union to talk against this speech were met by hissing and in-

terruptions by the membership, because the members correctly felt that it was "their" speech that was being attacked.

DeLorenzo Promises Action

President DeLorenzo finally quieted the membership by saying that this was only the beginning of the fight. Meetings on the reclassifications have already begun with the WLB neutral arbitrator and will be over in a few weeks.

The President's speech, following the executive board's militant leadership in the recent "shop movement," was enough reason for most of the members to vote against the motion to reject the WLB decision.

The union agreement with the company expires on January 31 and the company has already notified the union that there are a number of changes that they wish to make in it.

This is an additional reason why the union must fight to get every worker the classification he is entitled to. If the board refuses to do this the union must take it into its own hands.

Cleveland Transit Commission Tries Steal--Workers Can Resist Scheme

By BILL O'DAY

CLEVELAND — Members of the Transit Commission sent up a trial fare and abolished the pass system. The working men and women of Cleveland stayed away in large numbers, the transit revenue declined steeply and the pass was reintroduced.

The new attempt to do away with the paper is, to put it mildly, a barefaced attempt at robbery. "We've got them over a barrel, boys," the proponents of this plan roar. With gas rationing, current riders are not in a position to desert cars and buses and go back to driving their own cars to and from work.

In Cleveland, however, a union town with militant union traditions, officials have a great deal of respect for the militancy of the workers, with the result that part of the officialdom is uneasy at the prospect of stirring up a hornet's nest and advise retention of the pass.

the lousy midnight switch engines, sometimes away from home yards for months at a time.

This time, as they did the last, they are asking for a blanket 30 per cent increase in wages. Such a demand is always countered by the type of boss propaganda which Brother Allen quotes—about the big wages of passenger hogheads. Of course we would all welcome a big increase in our basic rate—and we sure need it.

I don't mean to criticize Brother Allen's article, which is correct on its general proposals. I know that bad as our conditions are, the conditions of the non-operating brothers are even worse. But let's not advise them to aim at our miserable conditions—but all railroad men together try to get the conditions such as have been won by the brother longshoremen and shipyard workers.

We have been running them for years, we know how to run them—only the coupon-clippers have been making the profits out of our work. But the first thing we have got to learn to do is to get active in our unions—to fight in them for a real fighting program against the bosses and for a program of "all for one and one for all" regardless of what service we may be in.

Railroad Fireman, Oakland, Calif.

Cleveland Jobs Frozen For 275,000 War Workers

By R. LEONARD

CLEVELAND — Two hundred and seventy-five thousand workers were frozen for their jobs last week by order of the local War Manpower Commission. The Cleveland freezing follows similar orders in Detroit, Youngstown and Louisville.

By the terms of this latest "freeze," Cleveland workers are kept from leaving their jobs in search of a better one except with a "statement of availability" from the boss. In cases where the worker is not employed at his highest skill, or is working part-time, or is working at wages considerably lower than those prevailing in the industry, he may apply for a release from his boss.

The order affects not only those in war plants, but also workers in transportation, public utilities, agriculture, food processing, etc. These groups, on the whole, are lower paid than war-plant workers. For example, a worker in the large Swift & Co. meat packing plant here is frozen under the order. He earns around \$25 a week, from which 10 per cent is deducted for war bonds and 5 per cent for the victory tax.

Such workers, before the freezing order, were trying to get higher-paying jobs in war plants, or raises from their bosses by threatening to leave their jobs. Now such workers, their wages frozen, jobs frozen and victory taxed, are slaves to their jobs.

The order will further have the effect of driving back into low-paying, unorganized shops workers who have quit such shops before the freeze order went into effect. This reporter witnessed a typical scene in the USES office a day after the order was released. A young girl attempting to be placed on a war job was told by the interviewer that she must obtain a "statement of availability" from her last employer. Otherwise she could not get a job in another war plant or in non-war industry.

If the employer refuses the girl a release, she has the choice of remaining unemployed or returning to her old low-paying job, where she will be frozen for the duration.

The obvious purpose and net result of this order will be to keep wages at their present level. Yet it was voluntarily agreed to by representatives of the AFL and CIO here, who did not stop to get the opinion or vote of the 275,000 workers affected. The "United Automobile Worker" in trying to sell the War Manpower Commission order to members of the UAW, lists as the most important reason for supporting the order that "it minimizes the possibility of drastic labor freeze legislation which foes of labor have been advocating and are still advocating." In other words, these labor bureaucrats voluntarily agree to job freezing, "which foes of labor advocate," rather than put up an all-out fight against it.

The Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

Press Action

Wants Investigation Of Butter Shortage

Dear Editor:

I am writing to you in regard to the butter situation. I haven't had any butter at all for over three weeks. The papers print articles from time to time claiming the government says we have butter shortages because the armed forces need so much. This is a very flimsy excuse and, according to this clipping I am enclosing, it is an out-and-out lie.

—P.S.—I hope you could print this in your paper so when the officials who hold this paper at the post office for investigation can read it, and put in their time investigating something more to the benefit of the American people — THE BUTTER SHORTAGE, Buffalo, N. Y.

items as food, clothing, housing, etc. in order to release materials and labor for war purposes. The capitalists, being a small minority of the population, do not consume more than a small part of the consumers' goods produced in the country.

Various measures are being used by the capitalists and their government to squeeze the workers' standard of living down as far as possible, such as taxes, bonds, etc., to take away purchasing power; controlled price rises such as the OPA has been doing to reduce the amount of necessities workers can buy, by constantly raising price ceilings on foods, etc.; and now rationing.

Although the government says that rationing will act to distribute scarce goods equally to all, and this is the way it appears on the surface, in reality it is a means to squeeze down the workers' living standard further.

as usual. And, finally, if anything extra is still desired, there is the black market, which will surely grow, judging from European experience. Such a black market in consumer goods for the rich will enjoy a semi-legal existence, being protected by the very officials who are supposed to suppress it.

As you point out, workers not getting enough wages to buy the rationed foods will not benefit from the new rationing scheme. The effect of this scheme on the better paid workers and middle class elements will be to lower their living standards. The big capitalists will not be hurt. The only "progressive" effect of the scheme will be to share the misery among the workers by preventing temporary shortages in some regions and surpluses in others.

Rationing by the capitalist government, like its price control, is a weapon against the workers. On the other hand, rationing under the strict control of committees of workers, farmers and housewives would really see to it that no one, capitalists included, gets more than his equal share of scarce products.

Yours for LABOR ACTION! M.W.

Dissects Cynical Views of Schuyler

Dear Editor:

George S. Schuyler, columnist for the Pittsburgh Courier, a national Negro weekly, is a very remarkable man. He manages to combine a keen analysis of the Negro's situation in the United States and of the war on

the one hand, with utterly opportunistic, "practical" politics on the other.

This by itself would not, of course, be unique in an age of opportunism and unprincipled alliances. But in one respect, at least, Mr. Schuyler stands in a class by himself. He is more outspoken, in a manner more open and forward, and at the same time also more cynical than the rest of the liberal middle class intellectuals.

In a recent column he writes: "Currently I am enjoying the embittered and disillusioned yammering of the liberal intellectuals like Pearl Buck who are just now discovering that this war 'has ceased to be a fight for freedom.'"

"Of course this war has not 'ceased to be a fight for freedom' because it never was such a fight except in the minds of the easily deluded wishful thinkers hypnotized by golden-voiced politicians into believing some noble crusade was on."

And, what is more, he had voiced his opinion on this subject before in his column.

"Pittsburgh Courier readers were, of course, less naive because they have been kept informed about the cause and direction of world events."

He also understands the colored people's stake in this war.

"I do not expect to see the Africans and Asians untethered and permitted to work out their own destiny in their own way after the Axis has been defeated. I do not expect to see Jim Crowism and color discrimination ended when the United States inevitably comes to rule the world."

As these quotations prove, Mr. Schuyler is not an ordinary columnist. He sees clearly certain incapable facts about the war. But let us now look at the con-

clusions he draws from this analysis. Despite the fact that this is not a "fight for freedom," despite the fact that the colored peoples and, by implication, all workers, have no stake in this war, Mr. Schuyler finds that:

"The war... is perfectly all right with me because I prefer Allied to Axis rule, and so do almost all other Americans."

And then, further on, he says: "The vast masses of the world are going to be ruled by some great power. Let us stop chasing rainbows and make sure that that power is Uncle Sam and not the unholy alliance of Germania, Italia and Nippon."

Schuyler, who has no faith in the revolutionary class of tomorrow, ("The vast masses are going to be ruled by some great power") calculates with no longer existing facts. He expects the United States (meaning Yankee imperialism) "inevitably" to rule the world. He has not yet learned that there is nothing, absolutely nothing, which can revitalize capitalism. He says that he wants to stop chasing rainbows, so far as the masses are concerned, to support politically any of the great powers in this war?

Thus the sophisticated know-it-all, the man who can say "I told you so" to Pearl Buck and others, finds himself, objectively and cynically, in the same camp as Hearst and Browder, Sikorski and Churchill. Arthur.

Asks Attention to White-Collar Worker

Dear Editor:

I have long been sympathetic with the labor movement and its fight for economic emancipation, but I am only recently a new subscriber to LABOR ACTION. My work has been

in the accounting field (a white-collar job, of course) for nine years which, I am sure, must inspire great sympathy from you, as no group is more underpaid, unorganized and underfunded as the white-collar clerks.

To a large extent this group must blame itself for its own condition, for most office workers mistakenly identify their interests and destiny with management rather than with the workers. Yet I think the labor organizations could do something to arouse them to an awareness of their being taken for a grand bunch of stooges and suckers by the bosses.

How about a good article on this subject in the near future? R.S. Buffalo, N. Y.

(We promise an article on the white-collar worker.—Editor.)

Writes a subscriber: "In these days labor must be well informed more than ever before. I find people more receptive to read and discuss socialism who ridiculed the thought only six months ago. To back up my statement, I enclose check to cover subscription as noted."

| The following subs were received during the past two weeks: | |
|---|----|
| BUFFALO | 15 |
| Ohio | 9 |
| Missouri | 7 |
| Brooklyn | 6 |
| Los Angeles | 6 |
| New York City | 6 |
| Detroit | 3 |
| Bronx | 2 |
| Chicago | 1 |
| Philadelphia | 1 |
| Total | 56 |

And in addition we can report a bundle order increase from our Cleveland agent.



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A Letter to the President of the Nat'l Association of Manufacturers

Mr. Witherow:

A few weeks ago you said in a speech that "I am not making guns or tanks to win a people's revolution. I am not fighting for a quart of milk for every Hottentot."

No one, of course, could possibly accuse you of fighting for a people's revolution or for anything else for the people, but what is most interesting is that second sentence.

The Hottentots—by which phrase you mean the peoples of Africa—have had some contact with the capitalist civilization of which you are a spokesman. They have had some rather unpleasant experiences with that capitalist civilization whose virtues you so frequently extol. Your British imperialist partners have brought to the Hottentots slavery in the mines of South Africa and Kenya. There the Hottentots have learned the blessings of your civilization—via the whip and the lash.

Your Belgian brothers have also brought certain capitalist improvements to the Congo—again via the whip and the lash. Your French counterparts have imported civilization to North Africa—and again via the whip and the lash. And your Italian likeliness brought even greater improvements to Ethiopia—tanks, flame throwers, mortars, dum-dum bullets, poison gas: all of them specimens of the advanced stage of the capitalist civilization of the West.

The natives of Africa have had all of these trademarks of your society brought to them—like it or not. Trench mortars and chattel slavery, dum-dum bullets and the twelve-hour day in the mines, the whip and the lash, the stealing of the land on the imposition of the white man's "superiority"—all this has been imported by capitalist society into Africa.

(Now we ask you, Mr. Witherow, in all humility, if your society could bring all these wonderful things to the Hottentots and their brothers, why in hell can't it also bring them a quart of milk a day?)

Washington Letter

Fear of Revolution Figures In Post-War Calculations

By PETER DANIELS

What are the United Nations? What will they be when the war ends?

These are not merely academic themes of skeptical intellectuals, but are the topic of discussion among the leading statesmen in Washington and London today.

The latter are convinced that the United States will be the leading world power after the expected victory over Germany and Japan. But how far will British imperialism be able to survive as an independent power? What is going to happen to the former British-Dutch rubber monopoly? Who will own the Dutch East Indies? Who will control the former British controlled tin mines? And what role will Europe play?

British statesmen seem reluctant to commit themselves at present about their post-war position. It is obvious that under present conditions British imperialist interests are not in a favorable bargaining position. They may, however, expect to obtain better terms in an eventual deal with the United States. After the war, the post-war rivalries among the world powers which survive the war, together with the danger of social revolutions, may compel American interests to compromise with Great Britain.

The Trend of Thought

It seems that the American government is trying to obtain definite post-war agreement with the British government on the control of world markets and world economic key positions formerly controlled by Great Britain before the war ends. Little is known about such negotiations and still less can be discussed under conditions of wartime censorship. But it is possible to point out a certain trend among leading military men in America concerning their plans or visions of post-war treatment of Europe.

Western Europe used to be the big competitor of the United States, as an industrial as well as an imperialist power. Post-war Europe is to be left in a state where it can no longer compete with or fight against the United States. Therefore, these American diplomats or military leaders are opposed to plans for the unification of Europe under any conditions.

Important British interests, on the other hand, prefer an arrangement for a certain coordination of European capitalist interests. In such a way that they form a united bloc under the leadership of Great Britain. Therefore, British diplomacy was especially upset about the United States policies in North Africa. This action was considered as the first American intervention in Europe without having come to an agreement with Great Britain.

The appointment of General Eisenhower as military commander of the campaign was an expression of the American policy not to leave the control of Europe to England. The deals with Darian politicians, the negotiations with Otto of Hapsburg and other royal representatives of the defunct aristocracies of Europe made it clear that the formation of reactionary "conservative" blocs in Europe was an essential part of American policy in Europe. For such regimes would be too weak to play an independent role while independent governments might oppose America's dominant world position.

The Great Question

The great question which is worrying all governments of Europe and also Washington is the aspect of proletarian revolution. The reorganization of the French army in Northern Africa under the leadership of the old colonial general reminds us of the role the Spanish colonial army played when the workers and peasants in Spain revolted against the old regime.

Will American or British policies succeed in gaining victories over

the Nazis without a complete and abrupt collapse of the fascist administration in Europe?

This is at present one of the major aims of behind-the-scenes diplomacy. A number of governments in exile apparently play up this theme in order to raise their own importance. They realize that they need colonial armies or American troops as "forces of order" at the end of the war. Such armies are needed in order to install the defunct kings, generals or governments in exile as the new governments of "liberated" countries.

An English conservative member of Parliament recently wrote in "Free Europe," the semi-official organ of European governments in exile: "What kind of Europe will the victorious Allied powers see before them when the hour for the Armistice comes?"

He tried to visualize what would happen in the following situation: Hitler gone, but the German army not yet collapsed, while the workers and other anti-fascists are openly revolting against the regime.

This British conservative who tried to visualize such a situation in Germany made the following prediction:

"The German army high command has asked for a substantial army of occupation... The internal situation of Germany will demand an immediate occupation of the whole country (to suppress revolutionary movements). An inter-Allied commission must rule Germany."

According to this MP, the German army high command will feel that it can no longer control the situation not only in occupied countries but also in Germany itself and will want American or British troops to help them to suppress revolutionary movements at home.

Fear of Revolution

These statements are, of course, mere speculation. Fantastic plans are already being discussed in anticipation of "anarchy and disorder" which might spread from country to country and continent to continent. Thus the fear has already been expressed that an immediate demobilization of the Nazi armies might raise the danger of social revolution because demobilized soldiers, especially working class elements and poor peasants, may form the core of proletarian revolutions in the towns and in the villages.

Such demobilized soldiers know how to utilize arms and they will not easily be pacified under starvation conditions. Therefore, the plan has been suggested that the armies be transformed into some kind of "labor corps" or to be used for "reconstruction" or other work projects under American control and leadership. In other words, the state slave armies which the Nazis have introduced in Europe are to be continued after the war.

But such plans cannot be realized without new police armies and the recreation of autocratic state regimes on a new basis. Will this be possible? Politicians in Washington are already worrying about the pressure of the masses in America at the end of the war for demobilization or for a return of American armies of occupation.

EPAULETS IN RUSSIA

Possibly you noticed that epaulets, abolished in Russia by the revolution, were recently reintroduced. But did you see the comments that went with this further step back?

"The epaulets were the traditional ornament of the gallant Russian army. We, the legitimate heirs of Russian military glory, take from the arsenal of our fathers and forefathers everything best which enhanced martial spirit and strengthened discipline."—"Red Star," Russian army newspaper.

Two Scholars

One Born to the Purple, the Other Born a Slave

By DAVID COOLIDGE

On two successive days, January 6 and 7, the New York Times and other papers carried obituary notices and short biographies of two distinguished and well known scholars, educators and research students. One was A. Lawrence Lowell, former president of Harvard, the other was George W. Carver, member of the faculty of Tuskegee Institute. Both men were outstanding in their respective fields of investigation: Carver in the field of agricultural chemistry and biology; Lowell in the science of government. Here the parallel between the two men ends.

Lowell was a Boston Brahman, born to the purple, a resident of "Gold Coast Boston." The Times says that "after his retirement from Harvard he lived in his austere Marlboro Street home in Boston's Back Bay or at his summer place on Cape Cod."

He was a descendant of John Lowell, a member of the convention of 1780 which framed the Massachusetts constitution, and of Francis Cabot Lowell, who established the foundation of the family fortune when he started cotton mills at Waltham and the town of Lowell, named after the family. His father was Augustus Lowell, a Boston financier. He was a brother of Percival Lowell, the Harvard astronomer, and of Amy Lowell, the poetess. His ancestors were Harvard, educated from 1760 to the present day.

Lowell himself was administrator of the Augustus Lowell Trust which held a controlling interest in many profit-making and dividend-paying New England industries. He had inherited enough wealth to be able in 1832 to give \$1,000,000 to Harvard for establishing the Harvard Society of Fellows. This was A. Lawrence Lowell, Boston aristocrat, owner of textile mills, professor of government, president of the oldest university in the United States.

Fortune Built on Slavery

The Lowell family textile mills in Lowell got their cotton from the fields of the South. They established their mills in the last decade of the eighteenth century in the days of slavery and the slave trade. They were like old Peter Fanuel, who made his money from the slave trade

and then used a part of it to build Fanuel Hall, which came to be known as the "Cradle of Liberty."

Not only was the Lowell fortune built on slavery, but on the severest exploitation of native and immigrant labor in Lowell and Waltham. After the overthrow of the slave system in the Civil War, the Second American Revolution, the cotton for the Lowell mills continued to come out of the sweat, blood and tears of white and black labor in the South.

Workers, of course, know little or nothing about this side of the life of A. Lawrence Lowell, scholar, blue-blood and university president. We want to call their attention, however, to another field in which this man Lowell made a name for himself, an altogether infamous name.

Lowell—And Vanzetti

Lowell, a man by the name of Stratton, who was head of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and an obscure judge by the name of Grant were named by the Governor to act as an advisory commission in the Governor's investigation of the Sacco-Vanzetti case. Here all the disdain, the contempt and the hatred of the working class that had been bred in the breasts of this clan of Boston Brahmins, came out. Lowell States they were herded on the cotton, rice and tobacco fields.

Dr. Carver could not read nor write before he was twenty. Lowell graduated from Harvard at twenty-one, cum laude with highest honors in mathematics. There was no Exeter, Andover or Groton for Carver. There was not even a public elementary school worth the name. In infancy he was stolen along with his mother and carried into Arkansas. His mother was never heard of again but the boy was bought back for his kidnappers for a race horse worth \$300 and returned to his home in Missouri. This was happening to Carver and other Negro boys while Lowell and other sons of the aristocracy were being nurtured by educated and well-placed families.

Carver worked his way through high school and the Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts. Almost immediately he entered

lic hearings. They held private interviews with the miserable and reactionary Thayer, who was the trial judge. They held private sessions with eleven of the Dedham trial jurors and the prosecuting attorney. They refused to tell defense counsel what these interviews disclosed. After these star chamber sessions the commission came in with a report that Sacco and Vanzetti had been given a "fair trial" and that there was no reason for the Governor's intervention. After years of the most brutal kicking around by the whole pack of their capitalist oppressors, these two humble Italians, who nobody but a plain fool could believe guilty, were electrocuted on August 22, 1927. And Lowell lived on in his "austere Marlborough Street home in Boston's Back Bay...."

Carver's Background

The other distinguished scholar, George Washington Carver, had no such background as Lowell's. He was descended from and born of the slaves who picked the cotton that went to Lowell's mills. His ancestors did not come over on the Mayflower seeking freedom. They were snatched away from a life of freedom, fastened with chains and subjected to the horrors of the Middle Passage. When they arrived in the United States they were herded on the cotton, rice and tobacco fields.

Dr. Carver could not read nor write before he was twenty. Lowell graduated from Harvard at twenty-one, cum laude with highest honors in mathematics. There was no Exeter, Andover or Groton for Carver. There was not even a public elementary school worth the name. In infancy he was stolen along with his mother and carried into Arkansas. His mother was never heard of again but the boy was bought back for his kidnappers for a race horse worth \$300 and returned to his home in Missouri. This was happening to Carver and other Negro boys while Lowell and other sons of the aristocracy were being nurtured by educated and well-placed families.

Carver worked his way through high school and the Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts. Almost immediately he entered

upon what was to be his life work at Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. The story of his achievements in the field of scientific agricultural research has been told again and again and need not be repeated here.

Worked with Peanut

His best known work was with the peanut, the sweet potato and the common Alabama clays. Here his chemical wizardry produced what to the ordinary man may seem like miracles, beside which the dreams of the old alchemists for the transmutation of the "base metals" into gold appear elementary and primitive. He produced more than one hundred products from the peanut, including wood stains, face cream, milk and an oil useful in the treatment of infantile paralysis. From the sweet potato he produced among others: dyes, coffee and flour. From the red clay of Alabama he got ink, paper and pigments.

Dr. Carver aroused a great deal of discussion over what he claimed was his method of discovery. He said: "My discoveries come like a direct revelation from God." This statement worried many people. They concluded that while Carver was a genius, he was also a little "backward." But Carver gave the key to the whole problem when he said that "the idea and the method of working out a new product come all together. In half an hour after the idea was revealed to me, I produced the yolk of an egg from the Puerto Rican sweet potato."

This is not the time nor the place to enter into this aspect of Dr. Carver's attitude toward science and scientific method and discovery. Perhaps Carver himself wasn't clear on many aspects of the question. This is not unusual among great scientists. There is a constant discussion going on today among great scientists on how scientific discovery or invention is made. That is all that can be said on this matter here.

"Prove Yourself" Nonsense

We want to emphasize again that here was a Negro of humble ancestry coming out of slavery and oppression who reached the ultimate heights in a highly technical and scientific profession. (He had the unusual distinction of being made a

member of the Royal Society of London.) Carver achieved this distinction in the most violently prejudiced environment in the whole world. What might happen in the lives of countless Negro youth living in a different environment—an environment free from race prejudice and Jim Crow? What might happen in the lives of countless white youth if they could live in an environment free from class prejudice and capitalist exploitation and discrimination?

Some nit-wit will perhaps say that the hardships to which George Washington Carver was subjected were good for him, that they brought out the best in him. This of course is sheer nonsense. The Lowell families would never accept this argument for any of their offspring, but it is such people who think that privation, misery and hardship are excellent training for the "lower classes."

Finally there are fools in the land who are always yelping that "the Negro must prove himself." There was the Southern "statesman" who said that if he found a Negro who could conjugate a Greek verb (quite a task) he would believe the Negro was equal to the white man. As if in reply, a Negro wrote a Greek grammar. It was said that Negroes are not skilled mechanics. When they applied for training or apprenticeship they were turned down or given the run-around. When they broke through, like Carver, they were denied employment. And yet the pack kept howling: "Prove yourselves."

This is all nonsense and worse. It is Jim Crow! It is race exploitation and class exploitation!

No Negro should be beguiled in the least into accepting such puerile Jim Crow clap-trap. They should point to all the distinguished Negro men and women in every field and to the thousands of humble Negro workers in every phase of activity who have already proved themselves.

The proof has been made. All that remains today is the will and the determination on the part of the Negro masses to break through the national policy of Jim Crow that keeps them second-class citizens, even during a war which is presumably a war for democracy.

What India Means to the American Working Class

A Socialist India Is the Only Genuine Solution

By J. R. JOHNSON

(Concluded from last issue)

The British labor leaders, Ramsay MacDonald and Arthur Henderson of old, and Attlee, Bevin, Stafford Cripps and the others of today, know quite well that if Britain were to lose India tomorrow, nothing but socialism could save Britain from catastrophe and ruin. If you read their statements on India during the last twenty years, you will see that they have not one serious word of encouragement for the mass struggle of the workers and peasants of India. From India come the huge profits which enable these bureaucrats and the better-paid aristocrats of labor to get a little of the benefits of the British imperialist exploitation. They know, and that is why they shut their mouths.

But millions of workers in Britain, by far the vast majority, have no interest in the empire at all and when Gandhi visited Lancashire in 1931 many unemployed cotton workers, who were starving as a result of the Indian boycott,

wished him the best of luck.

Today, among the rank and file, sentiment for Indian freedom is very strong. But already in the British labor press it is being said that Britain does not wish to "free" India only to see it fall into the hands of Wall Street. Neither Churchill nor the British labor leaders have the slightest doubt as to the game that Roosevelt and Willkie are playing.

Labor's International Bond

Murray, Green and John L. Lewis (yes, Lewis too) are as closely tied up with Roosevelt on this matter as Attlee and Bevin are tied up with Churchill. The statement about Wall Street, repeated above, appeared in the Tribune, the paper of Sir Stafford Cripps. That is Cripps' alibi. All the more reason, therefore, for American workers to make it clear not only to the Indian masses but to the British people where they stand.

We must at all costs repudiate the sort of "freedom" Roosevelt and Willkie are planning for India. It is in this way that the basis for the international solidarity of

labor is established.

The rulers have their own foreign and colonial policy. We have seen what it is. The workers have their own foreign policy and must make it known, at the same time exposing pitilessly the policy of the rulers.

International solidarity in the struggle for socialism will come to the American masses in the same way as the Indian worker will learn to be a socialist—by constant experience with the unstable treachery of loud-mouthed leaders.

Many may believe that workers on opposite sides of the Pacific, so far separated from each other by distance, race, religion and language, without international organization, are many years away from the international solidarity which the struggle for socialism demands. We shall remind these doubters of a few facts:

Karl Marx, the greatest of all socialists, at whose name alone every imperialist jumps as if shot, founded

the First International in 1864. It collapsed a few years later, but after its collapse Marx wrote confidently:

"The international action of the working class does not by any means depend on the existence of the International Workingmen's Association." Some forty years later Lenin declared that the Russian Revolution would be saved by the working class of the world, though at that time no international organization existed. How this came true is another story, but this much can be said:

In 1914 the British workers were the most insular, the most narrow-minded, the most chauvinistic in the world. Six years later, when Winston Churchill (this very Churchill) had spent half a billion dollars to crush revolutionary Russia, the British working class gave him notice that if he didn't leave Russia alone there would be a revolution in Britain. Seaman loaded a vessel with munitions in such a way that it could not sail. To save his skin Churchill had to capitulate.

The world today is a far tighter unit than it was in 1920. The chaos of imperialist war will teach American workers their duty to India. Meanwhile the first necessity of conscious workers is to see India not as a land over there, in the Pacific, far, far away, but to see it as Roosevelt, Willkie and Churchill see it—as a land whose future is vitally bound with ours.

Win India for Labor!

They seek to win India for capital, that is, for imperialism. We can fight this only by seeking to win India for labor, that is, for socialism. They see it and fight for it as a subject of their perpetual exploitation. We must see it as a means of our immediate emancipation. They plan for a global war and a global imperialist peace. We must plan for a workers' global peace, which can only be socialism.

We must see the world as broadly as the imperialists see it. In their way India is for them a vital question. We must recognize that they will win unless we in our way see that for us too India is a vital question. It is to contribute to this realization that these articles have been written.

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

By VICTOR SEGUNDO

The New York Times, which is usually cited as the country's most reliable capitalist paper, has as its slogan, "All the News That's Fit to Print." This is a story that neither the Times nor any other paper (except PM) saw fit to print.

The story is about advertising, the life blood of newspapers. More than a hundred economists, political scientists, psychologists and other educators from the leading American universities sent an open letter to Henry Morgenthau, James M. Byrnes, Donald M. Nelson and Leon Henderson. In it they urged government curtailment of advertising during the war.

The group was headed by Colston E. Warne, a professor at Amherst and president of Consumers Union. It included social science professors from representative universities from California to New England.

This is their argument:

a) The volume of advertising is now some 21 per cent above the level during the years 1935-39.

b) Advertising wastes materials, particularly paper, of which there is supposed to be a shortage.

c) Advertising wastes skilled manpower.

d) Advertising is wasteful, since there are not enough goods to sell. To the extent to which advertising accelerates present buying, it is running in direct opposition to the effort of the Treasury and the war agencies to check inflation.

e) The argument that companies want to keep their trade names before the public can be as well served by having none advertise, as having all advertise.

f) Advertising that the government considers important should be paid for by the government.

Advertising and Taxes

The last point is by far the most important. Early in 1942 Secretary Morgenthau asked advertisers to push the war bond campaign. He got some cooperation, resulting principally in associating war bonds with soap in the people's minds. But it was sufficient to induce him to relax the previous ruling concerning advertising and taxes. From June on it was possible, with some finagling, to advertise to the limit and have the cost deducted from taxes.

With this set-up and increasing taxes, there was of course a spurge of advertising. It was used principally to buy good opinion from editors and, secondarily, from the public. One of the biggest racketeers has been the Army and Navy "E." For example, such companies as Bausch & Lomb Optical Co., which figured in a recent suit, and the Aluminum Co. of America, the steel agent, which has stalled the suit against the Supreme Court justices, have disqualified themselves, have received the "E." The Navy "E" was awarded to ALCOA by Lieut. Comm. James G. Stahlman, of the Nashville Banner & Tennessean. And the public relations depart-

ment of the Navy, which decides on these things, is graced with Thomas W. Dewart, vice-president and son of the president of the New York Sun. Frank Knox himself, Secretary of the Navy, is still more than a little interested in his Chicago Daily News.

One result of all this has been that the workers and the public generally have heard very little about defective equipment going overseas. There were definite rumors that certain tanks and planes were not up to scratch, but they were never aired in the newspapers, which were carrying the full-page ads of the manufacturers. You may be sure that this phase did not trouble Washington too much.

Democrats vs. Republicans

But another phase did. The advertising crowd is overwhelmingly Republican. In New York City it is made up principally of Connecticut commuters, who think Clare Luce is the answer to the country's needs. With a real fight coming in 1944 to maintain control, the Democrats are getting worried about this ruling, by which all the money newspapers are getting is coming from hungry Republicans.

So the pious talk about having the government pay for its own advertising means nothing as such. The government is paying now, in reduced taxes, through the nose. But the difference would be that Democrats would be paying, instead of Republicans. And it is

this difference that may stir Messrs. Morgenthau, Byrnes, Nelson and Henderson to action. If you begin to hear statements of outraged dignity from Washington, this will be the reason.

Meanwhile, however, the newspapers are thriving on the boom. And this story was not found fit to print.

Next Week--

LABOR ACTION will next week publish an article commemorating the death of the great revolutionary leader, Lenin, nineteen years ago.

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Editorials

Congress Meets--

(Continued from page 1)

wage of the workers getting \$12 a week. To back this stupendous budget, unprecedented taxes will be imposed. The President declared: "I believe we should strive to collect not less than \$16,000,000,000 of additional funds by taxation, savings, or both, during the fiscal year 1944." Later he added: "I cannot ask the Congress to impose the necessarily heavy financial burdens on the lower and middle incomes unless the taxes on higher and very large incomes are made fully effective."

But the last Congress already started the fight to "liberate" the "higher and very large incomes" from effective taxation. The new Congress has taken up the cudgels on behalf of the "oppressed" rich with greater vigor.

Representative Martin of Massachusetts, Republican leader of the new House, states: "High taxes are necessary but they must not be punitive. THEY MUST NOT DESTROY INITIATIVE OR BUSINESS EXPANSION."

There are 208 Republicans in the new House and 103 Bourbon Democrats from the South. Representative Martin can easily get a majority behind him. The Senate is also overwhelmingly pro-rich. The handwriting on the wall points to the working people as the inevitable victims of the new budget and the new taxation. The workers will be squeezed dry.

In his first message, on the state of the nation, the President showed no intention to oppose this reactionary Congress—which, in fact, he began to appease right after election. He gave Leon Henderson of the OPA the boot because the aggressive farm bloc didn't like Henderson—since when even Henderson's ineffective controls on ceilings have been openly replaced by daily increases in prices!

The Administration also buckled under to the Southern Bourbons on the question of "state rights" when the WLB declared its jurisdiction does not extend to the New York City transit workers nor to any municipal workers. This decision is right up the alley of the Southern poll-taxers who justify the continued disfranchisement of millions of citizens on the basis of "state rights."

So when President Roosevelt came before the new Congress he did not come with clean hands and a pure heart. He had already compromised with the farm bloc representing the powerful agricultural combines which threaten to create food shortages unless they get their own prices—and which are very much enamored of the system of getting free labor from volunteer workers and from school children!

The President had already—willy-nilly—compromised with the bloc of reactionary Republicans and Democrats who are against labor unions and see a bosses' paradise with a work-week of "at least fifty-four hours"—ALL OVERTIME RATES OF PAY BEING ELIMINATED.

In his long speech full of meaningless generalities, Mr. Roosevelt in no way repudiated his prior compromises with re-

action. On the subject of reactionary legislation, he said: "...the country knows where I stand." Thus he carefully washed his hands of the whole matter. Of course, he is a "progressive," but first he effects "national unity" with retrogression.

A large section of this state-of-the-union speech was devoted to the subject of "freedom from want"—an ideal every worker has at heart. The President, of course, is right that workers "do not want a post-war America which suffers from underemployment or slums—or the dole. They want no 'get-rich-quick era of bogus prosperity' which will end for them in selling apples on a street corner."

But the President gave himself away as a mere demagogue when he prefaced these right-sounding words with the ridiculous assertion that the workers "are eager to face the risks inherent in our system of free enterprise." Unemployment is one of the "risks inherent in our system of free enterprise." This risk the workers are no longer willing—let alone eager—to take. In increasing numbers they will understand that socialism alone can remove that risk from life.

The other one of the "risks inherent in our system of free enterprise" that the workers are no longer willing to take, is war itself. Again the President waxed very eloquent and spoke about the "babies of today" not being the soldiers of tomorrow. But the world-wide policing system he offers as a solution for war won't work.

It won't work because even conquered nations do not long submit to military dictatorship. Furthermore, it won't work because the would-be "policers" of the United Nations—especially England and the USA—are themselves competitors for world power—a competition containing the germ of the next war.

In a way, the President's enormous budget, which more than equals the combined war expenditures of all the other belligerents, seeks to take care of British or any other rambunctiousness.

But it is fantastic to suppose that world peace can be imposed by a USA global air patrol. There is no way to world peace except through international socialism.

Therefore, without being able to hold out any hope to the people from the collapsing capitalist system, President Roosevelt could merely specify the tremendous burdens imposed by that system in the throes of war. He defined these onerous war burdens to a reactionary Congress that seems not only willing to load them on the backs of the workers—but also to deprive the workers of their present rights—such as the forty-hour week.

Labor must prepare itself for a militant struggle. Let the rich kick in for the \$109,000,000,000 budget. Workers have enough worries buying food and clothing and paying rent and bringing up their children. They must maintain their hard-won rights and go on to greater progress for themselves as a class.

FEPC Hearings Scuttled

McNutt Drives Nail Into FEPC Coffin—Suspends Railroad Hearing

By HARRY ALLEN

A hornet's nest has been stirred up among the Negro people by the action of Paul V. McNutt, War Manpower Commissioner. Acting with Administration approval, McNutt on January 11 intervened to suppress the sharp exposure by the FEPC (Fair Employment Practices Committee) of widespread discrimination against Negroes in the railway industry.

The suppression takes the form of an indefinite "postponement" of public hearings, belatedly scheduled for January 25-27 by the FEPC, on Jim Crow practices by railroad owners and rail unions. A death sentence for the FEPC is the only adequate characterization for McNutt's action.

Thus our prediction (see LABOR ACTION, December 12) regarding the fate of the FEPC receives early confirmation in a most dramatic and significant manner—no less than the direct, unveiled, obstructive and sabotaging action of the chairman of the War Manpower Commission, Paul McNutt, who is ostensibly pledged to eradicate Jim Crow in industry.

Pressure from the strong bloc of Southern Democrats in Congress has been a persistent factor in blocking hearings and investigations on Jim Crow by the FEPC and other bodies. Further, the State Department itself has also put the squeeze on the FEPC to prevent projected hearings in the Southwest on charges of discrimination against Mexicans. Also, the Navy, in the person of labor-baiting Ralph Bard, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, has interfered in order to force abandonment of FEPC hearings scheduled for Detroit, where Jim Crow is rampant in nearly all major war industries.

Now, finally, because of its proposed action on the decisive railroad issue, the FEPC is right up against the knife in its "last ditch fight for existence." The "liberalism" and "good will" of FEPC members, their desire to eliminate at least the worst aspects of Jim Crow have been demonstrated to count for nothing in the face of the determination of employers and government bureaucrats.

Without the backing of mass action by the workers, black and white, to reinforce their exposures, the FEPC was doomed to fall from the moment of its inception. Where this mass pressure existed, independently, as in the case of strong union action against Jim Crow, the

FEPC was superfluous. The masses could win their ends through their own instruments, and not by government charity.

It is only necessary to point out a little more of what has happened to realize that the Negro workers can only depend on themselves as workers and on aid from awakened white workers, to break down Jim Crow.

Railroad Owners Win

The FEPC hearings on railroad discrimination had already been long delayed and postponed. Finally, as a renewed lease on its bare existence, it had been granted funds by the WMC and had decided to carry out such hearings on January 25. The proposed hearings have been universally regarded as the decisive test for the FEPC's power and standing. The answer has been given. Even its investigating possibilities are being ruthlessly scuttled; thanks to McNutt.

The railroad owners have won the fight at this stage hands down, assisted by railroad union leadership carrying out a "white" policy. The sweet words of the "Hooster, Hitler" enunciated in numerous speeches and statements to the Negroes upon his appointment to the WMC, have been sensationally exposed in their true meanings.

Flagrant discrimination against Negroes is widespread throughout the railroad industry nationally. Particular resentment is directed against the agreement between the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen's Union and twenty-five Southern railroads to eliminate the few Negroes now working as firemen on these roads. A Phillip Randolph, president of the Pullman Car Porters Union and head of the MOW, declares that the FEPC railroad investigation "is a showdown for Executive Order No. 8802 and for the committee itself."

However, it is Randolph's own straddling between a policy of dependence on Administration "good will" and calling for independent mass action to enforce demands for Negro economic and democratic rights, which has helped to hamstring the Negroes in their struggle.

Randolph continues to speak big words for Negro rights. However, his subordination, in practice, of Negro rights and needs to the Ad-

ministration's policy, prevents him from appealing seriously to the Negro masses to act in the only way that can bring them results: militant mass action and marches on the factories and seats of government, particularly Washington.

Only a brief obituary is now required for the FEPC. From the very first it carried on with insufficient funds and personnel. A staff of fifty for the entire country was hardly worthy of mention. It is definitely indicative of the real attitude of the ruling class toward the FEPC. The transfer of the FEPC to the jurisdiction of the War Manpower Commission was really meant to put the FEPC on the shelf.

Post Office--

(Continued from page 1)

in the Department of Justice, object to articles condemning Jim Crow in industry or the armed forces; articles citing the indisputable fact that the workers are bearing the burden of the war; articles intimating that the war aims aren't all they are cracked up to be, that democracy is not being strengthened by the war; articles defending labor's right to strike, etc.

Presumably in harassing LABOR ACTION, which, like The Militant, has been held each week for inspection by the Washington postal authorities before release, the Post Office has the same general objections in mind.

Apart from the difference in views between LABOR ACTION and The Militant, and between both papers and the general press, the accusations—if the excerpts are to be understood as accusations—are so sweeping as to jeopardize the existence of any but the most slavish and reactionary publications of the capitalist class. Certainly any liberal or labor paper, even the most ardent advocates of the war, can be strangled under what amounts to a devastating restriction on the free press. Liberal and labor publications which condemn Jim Crow, for example, could similarly be persecuted.

It is therefore easy to understand why the steps taken against LABOR ACTION and The Militant have provoked deep concern in liberal and labor circles. This persecution is, in effect, a warning to all organizations and publications, of all shades of view: to the line, lay off that "defend labor" stuff, or we'll put the lid on you too. (Among the publications which have condemned the suppressive action of the Post Office and not listed in last week's LABOR ACTION is The Progressive, published by the La Follettes.)

At this writing, the last issue of LABOR ACTION had not yet been released by the Post Office. In the case of the previous issues, the order for release of the last issue had arrived from Washington as our new issue was going to press. We do not know what this means—whether it simply means a delay in mailing the paper for another day, or whether it means something more serious. As we have reported, several issues of The Militant were destroyed without cause or explanation.

With the Post Office campaign against a free labor press growing more serious and dangerous each day, we ask our readers and our friends and, in general, defenders of civil rights to stand by in defense of a free press.

INDIA:

Reports Show New Crisis Is Brewing

By R. Fahian

When, six months ago, the British government offered the Indian people the PROMISE of national independence AFTER the war, but refused to grant that independence immediately, the Indian nationalist masses viewed this attitude with complete cynicism. That cynicism is now being shown to have been more than justified. Recent reports from India and Britain indicate a stiffening of British policy toward India, as well as the brewing of a new crisis in India, a crisis which may burst at any moment.

The extremely plausible groups on which the Indian nationalists based their cynicism may be thus summarized: If Britain, in the hour of its direst imperial crisis, when Japan threatens to wipe out completely its Far Eastern power—if at this time Britain refuses to grant independence to India, then what reason is there to suppose that she will live up to her promise of granting India freedom in the post-war world, in which Britain's position presumably would be strengthened and in which she would not need the military aid of India?

This reasoning is now being proved by events. In a dispatch to the New York Times, dated January 2, Herbert Matthews writes:

"The recent Allied victories in Africa and in the Pacific have made the Indians understand that their contribution does not mean as much as it would have meant last spring or summer, and hence their bargaining position has declined. The British all along have been taking the line that they are getting enough support through enlistments and war production to carry on and it is not worth taking the chance (what chance?—R. F.) of transferring more power to the Indians. With the recent victories that feeling has been strengthened."

AMERY'S STATEMENT ON PRINCES

An even more dramatic indication of this situation is seen in the speech which Leopold Amery, British Secretary of State for India, made on January 7 in which he maintained that "the ruling princes of India are an indispensable element of that country's life" and that "they were bound to play a large part in any modification of the constitution might undergo." Said Amery of the native princes: "Their primary responsibility is the good government of their own people in accordance with such methods as suit their dispositions (sic) of those people and in accordance with the spirit of the times."

It is obvious, of course, that six months ago the British would never have dared make such statements; and it is possible that six months from now they will not dare to again. In the meantime, as soon as they feel a little bit more secure in their imperialist domination, as soon as their military position registers the slightest improvement, they immediately revert to their old hide-bound imperialist outlook—and thereby give the lie to all the fancy talk of a few months back with which they tried to delude the Indians into surrendering their fight for national independence and with which they fooled a good many Americans into trusting their "sincerity."

But India itself remains a keg of political dynamite. An extremely serious food crisis is now rocking the country, as the magazine, Time says: "For many Indians the line between perpetual hunger and real starvation is thin. Last week that line was thinner than ever." There are appalling shortages of India's three main foods, wheat, rice and millet. So serious is the situation that the Delhi Hindustan Times writes that "Proteers, speculators, hoarders and the rest of the parasites are fattening on the vitals of the masses. The government has so far done precious little in terms of action to relieve their distress."

When this conservative nationalist paper writes in such a harsh tone, it is easy enough to see exactly what the rule of British imperialism means to the Indian people.

WHAT WILL PHILLIPS DO?

Into this explosive situation there now steps William Phillips, the special American envoy to India. What is he to do? Has he a new offer? No one knows as yet. One thing is certain: Try as he may, he will not be able to straddle the basic issue of Indian independence. The very first contact he had with the Indians must have convinced him of that, when in reply to his statement that he intended to confer with the leaders of all of India's political factions, an Indian reporter asked him: "How do you intend to see those who are detained in jail?"

The American liberals, of course, maintain an embarrassed silence on this topic. Their voices are stilled, their tongues tied and their consciences dulled. And then, too, they are too busy trying to explain—or figure out—North Africa and Darlan, without worrying about India as well.

If the meantime the crisis continues. The Indian revolution did not end when the great wave of mass agitation of six months ago temporarily receded. In fact, it has hardly even begun. There is still a great drama ahead in India, one in which temporary defeats may be interspersed with local victories, but one which can end only with the complete victory of the Indian struggle for national independence.

Sparks in the News

By Everett Weston

The full name of a Plattsburgh, N. Y., newspaper is "Plattsburgh Daily Republican, Official Democratic Newspaper of the City of Plattsburgh and of Clinton County."

...The democratic formula, and the one sanctioned by the Atlantic Charter, is that peoples of the occupied countries shall freely choose their own governments, once they have been liberated from the Nazi yoke. But will the peoples of liberated countries be in a state of mind to elect their own governments? ... Perhaps the only way to avoid a series of civil wars and inter-Allied clashes that would destroy what is left of Europe is to plan now for military administration of all of liberated Europe by the United Nations for a specific period.—Foreign Policy Assn. Bulletin.

The Foreign Policy Assn. is made up of important personages in government, finance, the Army. Their stuff is heavy but important and as humorless as the phrase "the military administration of all of liberated Europe."

"The Ford Motor Co. of India, the largest supplier of motor vehicles for the Indian government, is returning 88,000 pounds sterling, representing partial profits from war orders."—AP dispatch.

"Robert Perkins, Conservative, charged in Parliament that while Britain is deciding whether to be a first-class air power, Pan American is spreading all over the world," and urged that an inter-Allied conference be called to "settle what particular sphere of influence is to belong to each particular country... I foresee a post-war race between the Americans and ourselves for control of air trade routes of the world."—UP dispatch.

For the first nine months of 1942, the International Telephone & Telegraph Corp. showed a profit. AFTER TAXES, of \$970,257. This was in contrast to a LOSS of \$356,350 for the corresponding period of the previous year.

Derquier de Pollepoix, Minister for Jewish Questions under Laval, has announced the extension of Nazi decrees to recently occupied Southern France. He says they will affect some one and a half million Jews.

Actually there are fewer than a half million Jews in France. The estimate of the American Jewish Committee is only 240,000. This is not to say that Pollepoix is mis-

taken when he says that one and a half million people will be affected—the balance will be trade unionists, socialists, anti-fascists of all sorts.

There are two classes in society—The Capitalists: Net profit, after all taxes, for the Guantanamo Sugar Co. was \$43.28 per share, contrasted with \$17.01 a share for the previous year.

And the Workers: "A minimum hourly rate of 40 cents in the sugar and related products industry was recommended by an industry committee to the U.S. Department of Labor. The proposed rate would increase the wages of approximately 12,000 of the 60,000 employees in the industry."—New York Times.

CARLO TRESCA

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razor attacks on his life. Tresca, in his later years, used to just about the "bomb plots"—whatever happened, the police were sure to blame him.

In recent years Tresca devoted much of his time to the defense of the helpless victims of capitalist and Stalinist injustice. During the long years of the famous Sacco-Vanzetti case, Tresca was one of the leading and most tireless spokesmen in their defense. At banquets, at rallies in behalf of victims of class or political injustice Tresca was one of the most frequent and reliable of speakers.

Tresca could be counted on as a member of any committee that served political or class freedom. He was, for example, a member of the Dewey Commission which, in the famous Mexican hearings, investigated Stalin's charges against Trotsky and found these charges fraudulent. More recently he was a member of the Civil Rights Defense Committee organized in behalf of the defendants in the Minneapolis case.

With his views on the war, as he expressed them in the last year or so, we cannot agree. His shift of position on the war marked a departure from all that he himself had stood for and fought.

The death of Carlo Tresca marks the end of one of the most colorful and steadfast careers in the labor movement. But the memory of this man, recorded in the turbulent pages of labor's advance, will forever be cherished in the minds and hearts of those who continue the fight against class oppression and human exploitation.

LABOR ACTION will again comment on Carlo Tresca's death next week. Further information will no doubt then be available. We wish, however, to add this: with the New York press devoting lead columns and considerable space to the murder, and to the history of the martyred man, there is so far only one paper which, in the two days since the story broke, has not yet printed a line: the Daily Worker, Stalinist house organ.

WORKERS PARTY PLATFORM

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

LABOR MUST DEFEND ITSELF!

- Hands off the right to strike! For the defense of civil rights and all workers' rights! Against any wartime dictatorship measures!
- \$1.00-an-hour minimum pay! Time and a half for overtime; double time for Sunday and holiday work.
- Wage increases to meet rising costs. No wage or job freezing! Equal pay for equal work!
- For a greater share of the increasing national income. For a higher standard of living!
- No sales tax on consumer goods! No tax on wages! Against forced savings!
- For control of price fixing and rationing by committees of working class organizations, housewives and farmers' organizations. Freeze rents and consumer goods 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 cost of the imperialist war. Confiscate all war profits!
- Conscript all war industries under workers' control!
- Expropriate the "Sixty Families"—the three percent 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.
- The right of soldiers to vote in all elections.
- The right of all youth, male or female, to vote at the age of eighteen. Old enough to fight; old enough to work; old enough to vote!
- For adequate dependency allowances paid by the government with NO deductions from the soldier's pay.

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 political, social and economic equality for Negroes!

BE PREPARED!

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