

# PAY RATES MUST GO UP!

## Militant Action Will Smash the Anti-Labor Offensive!

### Best Way to Fight Reaction Is With a Labor Offensive Rescind No-Strike Pledge!

We want in this article to carry the theme of our lead story a little further. If you haven't read the lead story, read it now. In it we propose that the unions compel the labor members on the WLB to resign and, above all, that they rescind the no-strike pledge. In our opinion, that is the only way labor will get wage increases commensurate with rising prices and meeting the requirements of a decent standard of living.

The same is required to set back on its heels the anti-labor legislative drive that is sweeping from state legislature to state legislature, and gaining menacing momentum in Congress. In last week's LABOR ACTION we listed a great many of these bills that are now pending before Congress or various state legislatures. This week we add a few.

Frightened by the mood of the masses, as illustrated in the militant demonstration at Boeing, Senators Byrd and Connally—both members of Roosevelt's party—on March 2 hopped to it with two anti-labor bills. Senator Byrd (Virginia) introduced a bill which would PUNISH all strikers with the draft, under a work-or-flight order. Senator Connally (Texas) introduced a bill which would require the government to seize plants in which strikes

occur—not as punishment for the employers, who will continue to get their profits, but by way of bringing the armed force of the government down on strikers.

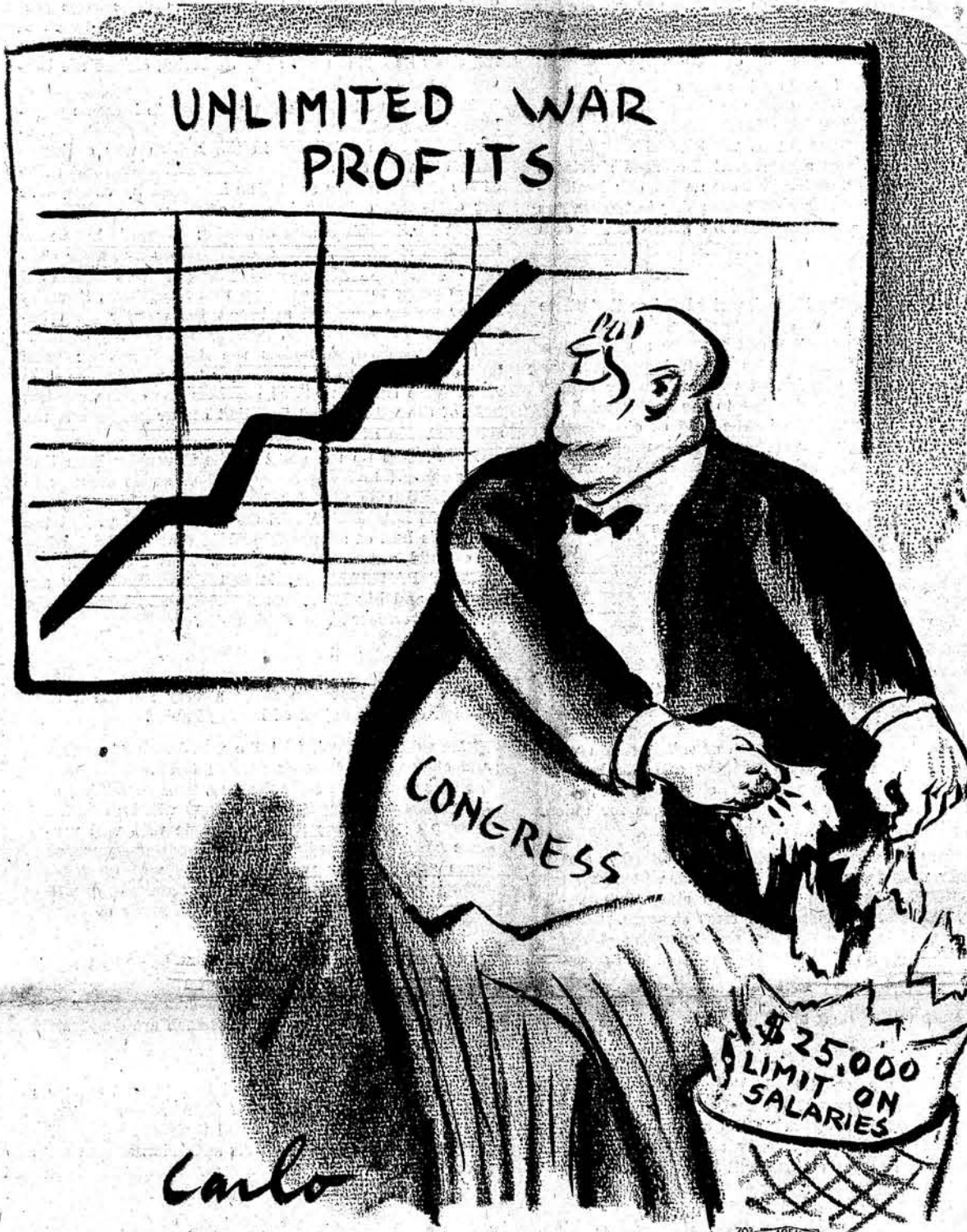
And, frightened by the possibility of labor turning against the two boss parties and striking out on its own path of independent labor political action, Rep. Clare Hoffman (Michigan Republican) introduced a bill into the House which would make it illegal for unions to make political contributions.

None of these bills may pass as introduced. But they are symptomatic of the sentiment in Congress. And out of this sentiment is certain to come severe blows against labor's rights—unless labor now takes a firm stand and seriously frightens the congressmen with the threat of ACTION.

Reaction is sweeping over the country. There is hardly a state legislature which does not have one or more anti-labor bills before it. One we didn't list last week (Senate Bill No. 1, 62nd General Assembly, Missouri) would require any officer of a union to own real estate! That is, it would require a union official to be a property owner, a member of the boss class, before he could qualify as a leader of labor. This, it is true, almost sounds funny. But labor cannot afford to treat it as a joke because of the generally increasing pressure reaction is bringing to bear against labor.

To kneel before this drive, to humbly beg for consideration, is to commit suicide. There are those who counsel labor not to act militantly for fear of provoking reaction. But reaction does not need to be provoked. It is there! True, if labor bows, yields its rights, relinquishes its living standard, then it won't be necessary for reaction to legislate its

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### WLB Decision in Boeing Case Again Proves Labor Members Ought to Get Off the Board

In its first important wage decision since the packing house decision of a few weeks ago, the War Labor Board again stood pat on its Little Steel formula.

Pressed to consider the case of the Boeing workers by a dramatic demonstration staged last week in Seattle and Renton, Wash., the WLB granted an increase of 4.5 cents an hour, which is considerably below the demands made by the union—the International Association of Machinists, AFL.

In this same decision the board denied a general wage increase to Southern California aircraft workers, except for a few cents here and there on merit raises. The total payroll of 220,000 workers in eight large aircraft companies is expected to increase

by no more than 3.5 per cent under the board's decision. Last summer the companies themselves had offered a 10 per cent increase!

So flagrantly unfair is the board's ruling that for the first time, Wayne L. Morse, one of the four "public" members of the board, dissented and joined with the labor group in voting against the decision. As a vote, the four "public" members vote solidly with industry. That's why they are there! Even with one splitting to join with the labor representatives, the boss-"public" combination still has a comfortable majority.

California aircraft labor—among the lowest paid in the entire industry—has been waiting close to a year for the WLB to "stabilize" its wages. By "stabilization" the workers mean wage increases. By "stabilization" the WLB and the Administration mean freezing—and that is what it has proved to be.

Workers in the Boeing plants decided last week they had had enough of a run-around. The time had come to do something, and in a dramatic action that scared the headline writers of the boss press called—not a strike—just a three-hour "meeting" of the union in Seattle. They further threatened that if a wage directive was not soon issued by the WLB, a twenty-four-hour meeting of the IAM would be called, that other locals would be asked to organize similar meetings, and that if the WLB still refused to act, the international would be asked to call a general meeting of all aircraft locals.

Terrific pressure was put on the Boeing workers. Brig. Gen. Charles E. Bradshaw denounced their action as "treason." The WLB pompously declared that it wouldn't act under the implication of pressure. But the fact of the matter is this: the WLB (Continued on page 4)

### Phelps-Dodge Plant Struck For 24 Hours

Workers at the Laurel Hill plant of the Phelps-Dodge Refining Corp. in Long Island City last week staged a spontaneous walkout. They are members of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union, CIO.

The walkout started over a disagreement concerning ten employees in the night shift of the anode division and was carried over to all other shifts and sections of the plant. All of the 1,200 workers at the plant walked out for a period of twenty-four hours in protest against mistreatment suffered at the hands of the Phelps-Dodge Corp., a corporation long known for its reactionary and labor-baiting policies.

The workers, unmoved by the appeals of the War Labor Board and the union officialdom, were finally soft-soaped into returning to work by a Navy officer with the promise (Continued on page 2)

### Let Him Have It!

We bet you didn't read this one about Rickenbacker.

Boss newspapers that feature every dirty anti-labor word uttered by the hero of the battle of capital against labor—and run full-page well-paid ads of his company, Eastern Airlines—didn't find space for this one.

Here it is. Federal government investigation disclosed that war profiteering is going on in the airplane transport business. Airplane express rates are not merely too high—THEY ARE SEVEN TIMES AS HIGH AS THEY SHOULD BE. The government is paying these super-duper prices.

Not only is there monopoly control among the airlines, but they are in cahoots with the railroads to keep prices jacked up.

The companies named as the chief culprits are the Chicago & Southern, American Airlines and Eastern Airlines—OF WHICH LAST THE PAY-TRIO! RICKENBACKER IS PRESIDENT!

This "fox-hole" demagogue has earned a well-aimed spit-in-the-eye from every worker and from every soldier.

## Florida Ku Klux Klan Uses Rickenbacker In Terror Campaign Against Citrus Workers

By GERTRUDE SHAW

Captain Eddie Rickenbacker's name is spread in screeching letters on a leaflet being used by the Ku Klux Klan in its terroristic campaign to keep the citrus workers of Florida from joining the United Cannery Agricultural & Allied Workers, CIO.

Rickenbacker is an anti-labor as the KKK—which is now adopting the Rickenbacker angle. These vile enemies of everything even smelling of progress are trying to

make the public believe that they are "protecting" the men in the armed forces. Actually they are out to bust the unions so that when the soldiers return home they will become an army of unorganized workers at the complete mercy of the organized bosses.

Here is the Rickenbacker leaflet in full:

HERE  
YESTERDAY—TODAY—FOREVER  
AMERICANS

SOLDIERS SAILORS MARINES are now working, fighting and dying every hour in the day and night that this country will be saved and that all AMERICANS can remain FREE. They work any place and at any hour and many die in a fox hole for \$50 a month.

Some so-called AMERICANS won't work at all or demand higher wages, then loaf on the job or try to browbeat LOYAL MEN and WOMEN. CAPT. EDDIE RICK-

ENBACKER in a speech on February 2, 1943, said: "Men returning from this war do not want and will not accept regimentation of their lives or planned economy; it is time now that Congress should provide legislation that upon release or discharge any member of our armed forces could be employed by any employer without joining any organized labor union," and that all men found stalling on the job and not working at all should take the place of a man at

the front and maybe die in a fox hole fighting the Japs and Germans. WE THINK SO TOO.

ARE YOU ON THE JOB?  
THE KU KLUX KLAN  
IS WATCHING!

These leaflets are distributed not only to intimidate sharecroppers and farm and orchard workers—but to rouse the KKK rabble to its sadistic orgies. As is well known, the KKK's anti-Negro, anti-Semitic and anti-

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## 1000 New Subs for "Labor Action" by June!

With this issue of LABOR ACTION we open a special three-month drive for one thousand new subscriptions. We are cooperating in this drive with The New International, our sister magazine, which asks for 250 new subscriptions in this period. Help us reach both goals!

You who read LABOR ACTION know that it is an indispensable paper in every worker's home—Negro

Labor Action, six months	25
New International, six months	\$1.00
Combination offer	\$1.00

or white. LABOR ACTION gives you the facts. LABOR ACTION tells the truth. LABOR ACTION gives you a program of militant action: on prices, rationing, taxes, labor's rights, wage increases, political action, etc.

LABOR ACTION was the only paper in the country that gave you the details of the movement inside the UAW to rescind the no-strike pledge. LABOR ACTION was the only paper in the country that gave you the full story of the sensational action of the Missouri sharecroppers for a 30-cents-an-hour wage last spring.

These are only two illustrations out of many—stories that you could read in LABOR ACTION and nowhere else. And what you certainly couldn't read anywhere else is LABOR ACTION's analysis of the war, the Casablanca conference, the situation in India, the fight against fascism, the needs of the labor movement.

LABOR ACTION is more than a newspaper. It is a fighting instrument of American labor in its struggle against capitalism. It is a paper with a worker's program—a SOCIALIST program—that doesn't hesitate to speak out, and governs itself only by the interests of the working class.

Increasing thousands of workers have come to depend on LABOR ACTION for the unvarnished truth about capitalism, for the news of labor struggles and for a socialist interpretation of the great political events of today. In the last year, the circulation of LABOR ACTION has jumped from 12,000 to a regular weekly circulation of 31,000! It often goes several thousand above that. It has on occasion hit forty and fifty thousand copies with special issues for the CIO and UAW conventions, and with a special issue on the struggle of the Negroes in this country. LABOR ACTION is the fastest growing labor paper in America!

Each month, scores of workers have subscribed to LABOR ACTION. There are now more than 1,800 subscribers to LABOR ACTION. But we want 1,000 new subs in the next three months—regular readers who will get their issue week by week. We want you who read LABOR ACTION, and who have not yet subscribed, to do so now. If you are already a subscriber, ask your friends, your shopmates: SUBSCRIBE to LABOR ACTION!

For 25 cents you will receive LABOR ACTION each week for 26 weeks. During the subscription drive, 50 cents will bring you LABOR ACTION for the entire year. (The regular rate is 60 cents a year.)

Subscribe for LABOR ACTION together with The New International and you can get both for \$1.00 for six months; \$1.75 for the year.

The New International is a monthly magazine of socialist thought—an invaluable addition in your reading material to LABOR ACTION.

Right now it is the best magazine in the country. It analyzes the news, probes into the workings of capitalist society, contributes to the understanding of socialist theory. In The New International you will read

articles on the basic problems of the labor unions, articles subjecting world events to detailed and socialist analysis, reviews of the most important books of the day. New and special features are planned by The New International, and these will be announced in coming issues of LABOR ACTION.

The New International and LABOR ACTION offer you a program for a better world, a way out of the

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mess of capitalism. And they offer you a program on the day-to-day issues, the day-to-day problems of the working class. The New International and LABOR ACTION are guided in their policy only by the interests of the working class. They are both YOUR publications. Subscribe to them! Subscribe today. One thousand new subs to LABOR ACTION in the next three months; 250 new subs to The New International. Send your order to: LABOR ACTION, 114 West 14th Street, New York City.



# Europe in Revolt

News from the Socialist Camp

## WHO IS GUILTY, AND WHO SHOULD BE PUNISHED?

The minute that certain signs indicate that the scales of the war dip in favor of the Allies many so-called liberals, quiet up to now, come out with proposals of what should be done with the German people. There is no better indication of the impotence of liberal thought in our times than some of these proposals.

Recently the magazine Look started a controversy between two well known European experts, both bright stars in the firmament of liberal thought, Pierre Van Paasen and William Shirer. Mr. Shirer calls his piece "They Are Guilty—Punish Them." Mr. Van Paasen has chosen a more appealing title, "Destroy Nazism but Save the People."

Their propositions, however, boil down to more or less the same thing. For Shirer "the Nazi regime comes as close to representing the German people as any regime they ever had." Therefore Germany should be disarmed, United Nations troops should occupy all strategic areas, strict control—probably military—should be exercised over her heavy industry, she should be forbidden to produce commercial airplanes, etc.

Van Paasen wants to transform "Germany into a peaceful democra-

cy," but the steps he recommends are much the same as Shirer's, only they are called "temporary." Coal mining and Steel works in the Ruhr, Saar and Upper Silesia should be "internationalized"; the United Nations should control the rest of the basic industries; schools should be directed by American, English and Russian educators to teach democracy to German children. All this for a "trial period," the length of which is not specified.

The German people are the first to have fallen victim to Nazi barbarism. The German people have suffered for ten years under the yoke of Hitler's gang, but our liberals want to punish them. Our liberals, so very proud of their scientific-rational training, apply a racial theory just as the Nazis do. While their approach may not sound as stupidly barbarous as the Nazi doctrine, it resembles it. The German people as a whole, as a race, are to be made responsible for Hitler, just as the Jewish people are made responsible by Hitler. Our supposedly advanced modern century reverts back to the times of tribal justice where a whole group of people was made responsible for the crime of an individual.

## WHO ARE "WE" WHO WILL DO THE PUNISHING?

But the most interesting part of these articles is that they never raise the question: who are the "we" who are going to punish the bad German people? The "we" of Shirer and Van Paasen are those very same capitalist politicians who discovered many virtues in Mussolini and Hitler, who extended credits to them, who were impressed by the "trains running on schedule" in Italy and by Nazi efficiency. Shirer and Van Paasen reason along the lines of those dime novels where, on the one hand, you have the brave, clear hero and, on the other hand, the wicked, beastly villain. But who, in fact, are those wonderful knights of moral rectitude and democratic ideals?

They are, supposedly, Mr. Churchill—who is not willing to give up the empire which has for centuries done all in its power to deny colonial slaves any kind of schooling, democratic or not. They are those American imperialists who make deal after deal with European fascists. They are those men who oppress the American Negro just as harshly and brutally as Hitler oppresses the German people. And who is to "internationally supervise" German industry if not those same big monopolists who allied themselves with German monopolists before the war for the sake of squeezing out super profits from

the German people and other people alike?

Those knights of the great moral cause look rather pitiful indeed. Right now Bishop Spellman of New York, after an extended visit to another great moralist, Franco, is seeing the Pope. And just by chance Mr. Ribbentrop, Hitler's foreign minister—possibly also moved by some deep religious need—has come to see the Pope, too....

No, indeed—either Shirer, Van Paasen and their like are complete ignoramuses—and there is no reason to believe this—or they are not moved by any kind of "moral attitude" at all, but are merely the obedient fountain pens of American imperialist aims.

Let nobody be afraid: the German people will do the punishing of the Nazis at least as well as Messrs. Shirer and Van Paasen's "moral" police force. The hatred which has accumulated in the heart of the German worker, as well as among the workers of the Nazi occupied countries, is such that there is no chance that Hitler and Goebbels, along with the other high Nazi officials, will get a chance to finish their days in peace and comfort—unless they are admitted into the already large gallery of sinners now exhibited in London and Washington.

Europacus.

# Of Special Interest To Women

By Susan Green

The papers have been plastered with graphs to show how wonderful the OPA is. The Office of War Information (OWI) has issued these pictures of big stuffed purses—stuffed with money every family is "saving" because the OPA is so good.

As a housewife you only know that prices are the bane of your life, that ceilings make you dizzy, that in the morning they may be at one place and in the afternoon a notch higher.

But OWI tells you something quite different. You actually "saved" \$140 last year on the cost of living. Not only you "saved" \$140, but every family in the land did, including our "good neighbors" on Park Avenue—to whom \$140 in the bank means so much.

And here's even better news of the same kind. In the year 1943 you and every family in the USA will "save" \$400 more because the OPA—WHICH MAKES HISTORY—BY THE NUMBER OF PRICE-RAISING RULINGS IT ISSUES—is so good somehow at keeping prices down.

How do the OPA and OWI figure this out? Well, if there were no OPA at all, say the statisticians, and prices were allowed to go up at the same rate as during the last war, then the cost of living would have gone up \$6,000,000,000 more in 1942 than it did—or \$140 more for every family. So you just went and put that \$140 in the bank, didn't you? And in 1943, by the same kind of statistics, \$17,000,000,000 will be "saved" nationally—and you will again "save" \$400 on the cost of living.

Such statistics and the OWI are indeed indispensable. WITHOUT THEM, WE WOULD NEVER KNOW HOW MUCH MONEY WE HAVE IN THE BANK.

With them, we face a grim period of food shortages and war prices that will play havoc with our health—unless we take a little time off from going to the savings banks to organize our committees for action in our own interests.

It is reported by the Department of Labor that there are today 3,500,000 women workers in unions throughout the country as against about 1,000,000 a year and a half ago. Though these figures sound impressive, the fact is that the unionization of women lags far behind the needs. This is primarily due to the half-hearted attempts of union officialdom in the field of organization at this time, when 100 per cent organization for militant action is the only defensive and offensive weapon the working class has.

Though still very insufficient, the increased number of women in unions has brought up the question of women in union leadership. Women are stepping up—still on a small scale and in more or less minor positions. But the tendency is there. Courses are being given by some unions for the training of women for union leadership. As the war depletes manpower everywhere, more and more women will undoubtedly climb to union leadership.

There is a great danger lurking in this situation. The present union leadership has to a large extent deserted union militancy. Will this leadership train women to continue along the sell-out path of collaboration with the bosses? With such false training and the lack of personal experience in working class struggle, will women union leaders constitute a new force for union conservatism and rank and file betrayals?

Women who have the ability for leadership and honestly wish to serve their own class, will do well to go easy. They will do well to study independently the glorious history of class struggle. They will do well to get a socialist understanding of the revolutionary role of the working class at this crossroads of history—one leading to fascist slavery and the other to socialist freedom. They will do well to stick close to the rank and file.

Housewives are urged to do their own washing because the laundries cannot get fuel. They are urged to substitute the kitchen stove for the can-opener because canned goods are precious. They are urged to do the family sewing because clothes will be scarce.

Summarizing these and other exhortations, it amounts to this: WOMEN ARE BEING PUSHED BACK INTO THE STATUS OF HOUSEHOLD DRUDGES. This is the kind of "progress" capitalist society is famous for. It gives us peace for a few years and takes it away—it gives us employment for a nonce and takes it away—it gives us improvements for a while and takes them away.

At the same time that the things that gave women a little freedom from drudgery are disappearing, droves of women are donning overalls and going into the factories—for reasons more pressing than patriotism.

Married women workers, working women with children, and even single working girls are all thus reduced to twofold slavery—they become slaves of the factory machine without benefit of machinery to help them in their household work.

The Axis powers are not alone in their worry about population. After all, war plays no favorites and—while this aspect of war is being playfully played down—death is depopulating the United Nations as well as the others. Also permanent war injuries cripple large portions of populations. On the civilian front, overwork and undernourishment sap the health of the people. Bombing takes its civilian toll also. So ruling classes are concerned about "replacements."

Having more babies is the only way to increase populations so far known. So Herbert Morrison—labor traitor, now Home Secretary in the British war cabinet—came out with the modest request that the average size of the British family should be increased by twenty-five per cent—five children instead of four.

But Mr. Morrison sees obstacles: "Parents have new ideas and standards, both for themselves and their children. They are increasingly refusing to have families if this is going to mean children that are ill-fed, ill-cared for or poorly educated and that the mother must become a perpetual drudge, ruining her life and health."

So Mr. Morrison makes the deduction that: "The task of building up a social order that will induce such an increase [in population] provides one of the greatest tests of the wisdom and foresight of our people and the statesmanship of our leaders."

Here looms up the ghost of the Beveridge Plan that was supposed to bring every kind of social security to every British family. IT PROVIDED \$1.75 A WEEK FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF A CHILD—but just the same, this best of all possible plans that the British liberals could concoct WAS GIVEN THE BUM'S RUSH OUT OF PARLIAMENT. It is too "revolutionary" for the land and big business aristocracy that controls the British government and British life.

Nevertheless Morrison made a very important contribution on this subject of having babies.

He said, in effect, that the well-being of women and children depends on foreign trade. If business is going to be good after the war, then something of the profits made by the ruling class will be allowed to seep down to the working people who will produce ALL the goods that will be exported—provided there are post-war markets. Babies will be fed—but not if business is not good, for then fathers will not work and babies will sicken and many of them will die.

Mr. Morrison has thus revealed an important secret—which has, however, been known to Marxian socialists right along. The "new era of the common man"—the brave new world that the war statesmen are desperately shouting so much about—MR. MORRISON TELLS US IS THE SAME OLD CAPITALIST SYSTEM.

Socialism is the system of society that will carry on production FIRST, LAST AND ALWAYS to supply the needs of babies, their mothers and their fathers—and to hell with foreign trade for profits and international wars for foreign trade!

## Tired 'Radicals,' Please Note:

# Col. Beukema Discusses The Stability of Capitalism

The January issue of Fortune (the dollar-a-copy magazine that represents the "Sixty Families" and their corporate interests) carries an interesting article written by Colonel Herman Beukema. The colonel is professor of economics, government and history at the U. S. Military Academy, West Point. In his article the colonel calls for the establishment of a special School for Statesmen. His argument is that modern economic and political life is so complicated that only specially trained statesmen could understand and be thoroughly prepared for the future. What interests us, however, is the argumentation used by the colonel in support of his project. Here is how he starts his article:

"In the forefront of the many unwelcome truths that this war is driving home into American consciousness is the discovery of democracy's STRUCTURAL AND FUNCTIONAL WEAKNESSES for the waging of a large scale war. (Our emphasis.) The citizen whose education was limited to a high school course encountered no such observation in the standard civics text he used."

After continuing in the same vein about colleges and political campaigns, he concludes that "Neither could be called informative or educational."

Now, Colonel, if neither high schools nor colleges are informative or educational, then why do we need them? Could it perhaps be that their purpose is to do just that, to misinform about the real problems of life and so prepare their students as unquestioning supporters of capitalism and its "great" accomplishments?

But this is what we Marxists have claimed all along—that our educational institutions are misinforming. Well, it is good to see a colonel like Beukema, professor of economics, etc., at West Point, confirm our belief.

But this is not all. He also confirms something else that we have claimed all along, and to this we call the attention of all renegades from socialism and new believers in the strength and continuity of the capitalist system. Here is what the colonel has to say on the subject:

"To all but a handful of Americans, not excluding the products of our institutions of higher education, a glance at the briefs existing in the military intelligence files of every major foreign power, describing the structure and stability of our political system, would bring a shock of dismay."

We thought that only we Marxists were pessimistic about the stability of American capitalism. We were told by all the renegades and doubt-

ing Thomases that we are dreamers and idealists who are out of touch with reality. But along comes the colonel and turns the tables.

The colonel hastens to add that if anyone thinks that only our American institutions are unstable, he is wrong. For, and here we quote him again:

"Such analyses are necessarily cold-blooded and realistic, identical in that respect with the surveys of foreign governments prepared by our own War Department General Staff."

You see, the weaknesses and instability of the present regimes is a world sickness—a malady that spreads and cannot be checked. The colonel believes that a School for Statesmen would, perhaps, train the right doctors to cure the disease. He is wrong. The only doctor that can cure this world is the world working class. The only medicine—socialism.

## Phelps-Dodge--

(Continued from page 1)

that the workers' grievances against the company would be taken up by the WLB within a week.

The WLB had granted the workers a one-dollar-a-day raise in pay nine months ago. The company, however, persistently ignored the decision of the WLB and to the day of the walkout none of the laborers had received their raise. The company was therefore in debt to the workers for a large sum of money. The workers also demanded union security and the betterment of general working conditions, in accordance with the nine-month-old decision of the WLB.

The company follows the practice of transferring workers from one department of production to another, thus forcing the worker to give up his seniority rating in his old department. The company had been paying strippers on a piece basis, less than \$3.00 a block of copper. At times the copper comes off the line so tough that it requires as high as two days to strip a block of copper. This was remedied by a previous walkout of the strippers which forced the company to break down and pay the workers eighty cents an hour when stripping tough pieces of metal.

The men at the plant are very much annoyed by the back-watering policy of the union. The sentiment among the workers is in favor of a fight to the end. In the event that a decision favorable to the workers' demands is not handed down by the WLB, all the 1,200 workers are likely to resume strike activity.

## Popoff Freed-- WDL Defended Labor Militant

Christ Popoff, through the untiring efforts of the Workers Defense League, has been completely freed of the charge of attempted arson. Popoff was arrested on March 4, 1940, on the charge that he had deliberately set fire to a restaurant in Watertown, N. Y. The courts further asserted that he had been paid to commit this act by the owner, so that the latter would be able to collect insurance. Popoff's conviction was based on evidence submitted by a man who admitted that he was a firebug. Sentenced to 1 1/2 to 2 1/2 years in a state prison, counsel was provided to Popoff by the WDL.

The volunteer counsel, Richard Klugherz, was able to get a new trial for Popoff on grounds of lack of evidence. The decision was upheld. And a year later Mr. Klugherz, on the same grounds, secured another reversal of the decision.

On February 8 District Attorney Hynes of Jefferson County acted before County Judge Donaldson to drop the charges. On February 18, Popoff was freed.

Popoff was a victim of reactionary forces. An active fighter in the cause of labor, from the time of his efforts in behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti to the time of his arrest, he was a thorn in the side of those who would crush labor.

W.K.

# Army Retreats on Plan to Aid Big Arizona Cotton Growers

By V. JENSEN

While cotton prices rose to a fourteen-year high, reactionary cotton interests, backed by members of the farm bloc in Congress and by Army bigwigs tried last week to put Negro troops into the cotton fields in order to avoid paying pickers a paltry thirty cents an hour!

On February 23, Lieut. Gen. Joseph T. McNarney, deputy chief of staff, revealed to the Senate Agricultural Committee that "experimental cooperation" between the Army and the cotton planters of Arizona had been agreed upon but that the details had not yet been worked out. And, that President Roosevelt had

agreed to and signed the order!

The lieutenant general explained to a not at all surprised committee that the troops were to be sent into the cotton fields at government expense, under their own officers and paid regular Army rates. Also, he mentioned that some arrangement would be made by the Agriculture Department to collect from the farmers for the service provided, but the details of this were vague, not fully worked out, and a matter of the future.

This, as anyone can see, is an arrangement whose generosity cannot be questioned. Now, who are these hard-pressed Arizona cotton growers

and what have they done to deserve such a magnanimous offer from the Army of the United States and its Commander-in-Chief, President Roosevelt? The thing that first strikes the public eye is that these are the very cotton growers who have been fighting with all their power against paying minimum wages of thirty cents an hour! Last fall, these planters, claiming a manpower shortage, wanted the government to ease restrictions against the importation of Mexican laborers who had always worked for less than the starvation wages "standard" in Arizona. This had always been a favorite method of driving down the miserable wages

of Arizona pickers.

The Mexican government agreed to send people only if they were guaranteed thirty cents an hour, decent housing and fair living conditions. The Farm Security Administration had to agree.

But these avaricious and terroristic Arizona exploiters refused and wailed to the high heavens that they would lose money on their crops if they paid even this starvation wage. The government obligingly raised prices for cotton. The growers were still not satisfied and threatened to stop growing cotton. The government raised prices again

and gradually and grudgingly the Arizona growers more or less fell into line.

But the growers have not been satisfied. And now, taking advantage of the manpower muddle and using the excuse of a shortage of labor, they put pressure on the Army and government to send in troops to pick cotton, and the Army and the government obliged.

This attempt backfired in the Army's faces, the growers' and Roosevelt's faces. The Southern Tenant Farmers Union immediately exposed the absence of a labor shortage—saying that there was plenty of labor if only the planters would

# The Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

## Longshoremen Get Wise to Bridges

Dear Editor:

Harry Bridges must see the handwriting on the wall. The rank and file are beginning to get wise to his appeasement policies toward the ship owners. The time will soon come when he can no longer trade on the reputation that he made during 1934-38 strikes. The rank and file are beginning to demand that he fight as he did in '34, or they are going to look for new leaders.

Yes, Bridges sees this and he is beginning to get worried. In his column in the ILWU dispatches for February 12 he comes out with some "beauties" in defending the War Labor Board.

First he makes an amalgam that anybody who opposes the War Labor Board is a "Trotskyist," "Norman Thomas Socialist," "Peglerite," "Axis Fifth Columnist," etc. This is an old trick that every worker ought to be able to see through. It is fundamentally the same old red-baiting arguments that Hearst has used for years. "Anybody who is for higher wages is a communist—for union conditions is a red," etc. So Bridges resorts to the same trick he used to condemn. Any worker who is opposed to the War Labor Board he calls a "fifth columnist."

Then he even gets better. Listen

to this. He is describing what constitutes Trotskyism, etc.:

"Get really theoretical. Haul down some old books written way back when and point out that the President is nothing more than a capitalist front, the Army is a tool of the boss and the Navy is too. The USA, OPA, WMC and all the war emergency agencies are bureaucracies designed to sell out the working stiffs."

Now, what do you know about that! It is not so many years ago that Bridges was saying the same thing. If there is anything needed to convince the old-time militant Bridges supporters that he ain't the man he used to be, all they got to do is read his stuff and watch him in action today.

Here is another honey. Quoting Bridges again:

"Bring up the equal sacrifice angle and bear down on the argument that your wages ought to be doubled or trebled because the boss is making so damn much. This is a dandy. It takes away from the WLB any basis for deciding in your favor and gives you a chance to shout 'I told you so.' And right down the alley of Mr. Pegler et al, it leads your union away from any action that would recover from the big employer chunks of dough through taxation."

So if we holler for higher wages

because the boss is making so damn much profit, that is disruption, etc. How times do change! Again Bridges must see his ghost arising out of the past to haunt him.

Well, with that line of appeasement any of us longshoremen that expect Bridges to get us a wage raise are surely hoping for a miracle. Why, old Bill Green of the AFL couldn't put up a phony argument than Bridges does.

West Coast Longshoreman.

## Police Murder Young Buffalo Worker

Dear Editor:

On the night of February 7, John Kocemba, a young Buffalo war worker, was picked up by the police for drunkenness and taken to the Fillmore ("Bloody Eighth") Precinct Station. Twelve hours later he was found dead in his cell from a ruptured bladder and liver.

When this news was first given out, the police advanced the theory that Kocemba must have suffered his injuries before his arrest as the victim of a hit-and-run driver or a brawl.

However, medical examination proved that John Kocemba met his death AFTER his arrest. This eighteen-year-old boy was beaten to

death in a cell in the Fillmore Police Station. A grand jury investigation has resulted in the issuance of John Doe warrants, and the City Council is considering a plan to offer a \$5,000 reward for the apprehension and conviction of the killer or killers.

This should be an easy case to solve. There were a certain number of "officers of the law" on duty at the station on the night of the murder, and the police department must know who they were. Just exactly which ONE of them delivered the blows or kicks that broke John's liver and bladder may be more difficult to determine if, as is possible, this boy was set upon in his cell and beaten and kicked into insensibility by a number of cops.

There are a number of other interesting facts about this case, or at least about the statements of the authorities concerning it. Councilman Gluszak states that several other Buffalo people have complained to him that they have been beaten in the Fillmore Station. One of them, James Kociemski, has a claim of \$5,000 pending against the city. These men were also arrested on minor charges.

Gluszak, as one might expect of a capitalist politician, is deeply concerned about two things: "This shows," he remarked with emotion, "that such police tactics are a heavy

expense to the city's taxpayers. The death of the Kocemba boy also meant that the Army lost a prospective soldier."

It is worth noting that the Kocemba "execution" comes at a time when a number of reactionary judges have been threatening with the draft war workers who are arrested for intoxication. It is hardly conceivable that these jurists would recommend that intoxicated workers be treated like John Kocemba, but they have nonetheless set the trend with their double standard for judging and punishing workers.

Let no worker be surprised at the brutality of this slaying. The innocent people who have met their deaths at the hands of their "protectors" on the police force is far from small. The majority of these, to be sure, come at times of strikes, as, for instance, the infamous "Memorial Day Massacre," when CIO men at the Chicago plant of Republic Steel were slaughtered by the company-dominated city police force.

The conviction of one or more policemen in Buffalo on charges of manslaughter will not solve the problem. It can be solved only by socialism, which will not permit the existence of armed groups of men standing above society. Only under a workers' government will the people be safe from violence such as



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## The Hangman of the Russian Revolution Adds Two More to His List of Crimes

## Stalin Murders Two Leaders of the Jewish Working Class

By J. JACOBY

On February 26 came the shocking news that Heinrich Ehrlich and Victor Alter, the two most important leaders of the Jewish Workers Union "Bund" in Poland, have been executed by Stalin on the usual charge of being "Hitlerite agents." The execution or, to put it more correctly, the murder of the two anti-fascist socialists took place some time in December, 1941.

The news of this dastardly execution was withheld for over a year by Stalin and his henchmen. Only now, when the "Father of all the peoples" feels a little more certain of his position with the tide of battle shifting in his favor, does he dare announce this "glorious" deed perpetrated in his "anti-fascist" struggle. The news was given out in Washington by Stalin's Ambassador, Maxim Litvinoff, and was a reply to numerous queries and interventions made to the Russian government by various trade unions and workers' fraternal organizations.

## HOW STALIN FRAMED HIS LATEST VICTIMS

True to his technique and usual form, Stalin not only executes his victims, he also defames them, frames them up. This time, however, he overreached himself. This frame-up is so patently false and obviously ridiculous that it might boomerang and seriously endanger the whitewash of the Moscow Trials prepared by former Ambassador Davies and Hollywood in their joint enterprise to make odorous Joe more pleasant to the nostrils of the American masses.

Here is the story of Stalin's technique in framing up his latest victims:

Ehrlich and Alter were arrested for the first time in 1939 after they narrowly escaped the certain death awaiting them

in case of capture by Hitler and his Gestapo. When the Hitlerite hordes overran Poland, there was no choice left for Ehrlich and Alter but to follow the tide of hundreds and thousands of refugees who fled to Soviet Russia, hoping to find there refuge and safety. As soon, however, as they set foot on Soviet soil, the two were seized and held incommunicado. This was at the time of the Hitler-Stalin pact, when, according to Molotov, Poland was only an "ugly offspring of Versailles" and the matter of fighting fascism was "a matter of taste." Since the enemy was then not Hitler, not fascism but Poland, including the Polish working class, it is only natural that Ehrlich and Alter were accused of being on the payroll of the Polish secret police. They were tried (if you can call it a trial) by Stalin's hangmen and sentenced to death.

In the meantime the famous "turn" was imposed on Stalin. Hitler invaded Russia and out of necessity (and not by Stalin's choice, as his apologists here would like us to believe) became its chief enemy. The Polish government-in-exile was quietly recognized by Stalin. All of the reactionary generals and Catholic clergy were soon released by Stalin without too much delay. Not so with imprisoned radicals and socialists. It took special intervention by the Polish "government" (made grudgingly under pressure of Polish and Jewish labor organizations) first to commute the death sentence imposed on Ehrlich and Alter and finally release them.

After being released, the two published a manifesto to Jewish workers from Poland to join the Polish and Russian armies in their fight against Hitler. This manifesto was quoted by the Soviet press itself. But for Stalin this support was apparently insufficient, for soon they were rearrested and nothing more was heard from them.

Now comes Litvinoff and reveals that they were sentenced on the charge of serving, this time, not the Polish, but the German secret police and agitating in the Red Army for a separate deal with Hitler. The baselessness of this frame-up is so apparent that a storm of indignation has been aroused. The Jewish press, through most of its columnists, asks: Was it really necessary for Stalin, in the darkest hour of the military struggle in December, 1941, when Hitler's armies were standing at the gates of Moscow and Leningrad, to execute two Jewish socialists whose anti-fascist record was at least as good as his? (They never made a pact with Hitler or with any other fascist.)

## RAISES THE QUESTION OF OTHER POLITICAL PRISONERS

The execution of Ehrlich and Alter will prove a tough nut to crack for our liberals and all real believers in civil liberties. It will reopen the whole problem of political prisoners in Russia. Now no one in his senses will believe any more in the "historically illiterate" Davies and his defense of the Moscow Trials. It will be harder for sincere liberals and all honest worker communists to defend our "ally," Stalin, and to wax enthusiastic about his régime.

It also poses for us who have had to carry the burden of Stalinist terror alone new tasks and possibilities. It is not enough to be on the defensive, to explain the Moscow Trials as frame-ups and be satisfied with it. All real working class organizations must pass to the offensive and demand: the immediate release of all anti-fascist prisoners in Stalin's Russia. Let the cry echo from coast to coast and throughout the world: "Stay your hand, you butcher in the Kremlin!"

A wide popular mass demand would even at this hour perhaps impress the hangman and save many working class lives.

Knowing the Stalinist technique by now, we imagine that the GPU must have tried to put all possible pressure on Ehrlich and Alter to make them "confess" the usual uncommitted crimes and thus perhaps make possible a "public trial" in which some fantastic accusations and amalgams would have been made. The fact that the two held out proves them to be men of character, strong heart, and socialist conviction.

Ehrlich and Alter were our opponents. We had serious and basic disagreements with them. They were Social-Democrats of the Left wing. In the last few years they were just like the Austrian Social-Democrats, tending more and more to regard Stalin's Russia as some sort of socialist state. The execution of the two will help put an end to this gravitation of the left Social Democrats toward Stalinism and force them to a reorientation on the perspective of the coming European revolution.

Ehrlich and Alter were internationally known and had numerous friends here in America. Our thoughts turn, however, to thousands of unknown or less known comrades, real revolutionaries, who with their blood and energy made the Revolution possible, in Archangel, in the "Togges" and "tundras" of the Russian wastes, without friends, cut off from the world, undergoing a living death. It is those that we must save.

Let the trade union movement, let the organized force of America's working class, let the sincere liberals thunder out in unison: "WE DEMAND THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF ALL ANTI-FASCIST PRISONERS IN STALINIST RUSSIA."

## Second in a Series of Articles: "WHAT IS A WORKERS GOVERNMENT?"

## Why Workers Must Free Themselves From the Capitalist State

By SUSAN GREEN

There is one basic truth every worker has to grasp about the state—or what we commonly call the government. The government is not an impartial umpire set up to see that everybody gets fair play. Contrary to Fourth of July speeches, it does not sit god-like above society administering justice to all alike. Quite the opposite is the case.

The state is the very partial, very biased agency developed by a given economic class to force the whole of society into subjugation to its private interests. That is why Marxian socialists talk about the CAPITALIST state and about BOURGEOIS democracy. The state in our modern world is the political arm of the capitalist class because that class is economic master. By the same token, the fascist and Nazi states are also capitalist states—only new and more despotic forms through which the same master class rules and which are capable of adaptation by the capitalist class of any country.

## HOW CAPITALIST STATE CAME INTO BEING

The capitalist state has not always existed any more than the capitalist class itself has always existed. Before the advent of capitalist democracy there was the feudal state of

the Middle Ages—the political armed fist by which the then powerful landowning nobility ruled over and extracted wealth from the toll of the serfs. THE FEUDAL STATE HAD BEEN CREATED AND DEVELOPED TO SUIT THE SPECIFIC NEEDS OF THE FEUDAL LORDS.

When the capitalist class began to feel its oats, when it acquired money, began to build factories, to need wage labor, it realized it could not expand within the framework of the feudal state. History does not record that the rising capitalist class tried to establish "capitalist governments" within the feudal state—as chicken-hearted labor leaders have set up "labor governments" within the capitalist state. The young capitalist class undertook the revolutionary overthrow of the feudal state and the establishment of something entirely unknown in that age, namely, bourgeois democracy—their own capitalist state.

The most classical example of a capitalist class revolution—the great French Revolution. The great American Revolution was also a capitalist class revolution—the revolt of the maturing American capitalists against British imperialism, which used the powers of state to tax, suppress and exploit the colonies in its own behalf.

And just as the French bourgeois-

class did not and could not utilize the feudal state, so the American bosses could not utilize the machinery of government set up in America by the British imperialists. The whole kit-and-caboodle was scrapped. American democracy was born—an independent capitalist state to serve the growing American capitalist class. It has served it faithfully—it still does.

## HOW DEMOCRACY SERVES

## THE MASTER CLASS

The capitalist classes in the various countries did not—and could not have—accomplished their revolution by themselves. It was the seething discontented masses of serfs, workers and townspeople who carried the capitalist revolution on their shoulders, fought the tyrants, gave their lives for liberty, equality, fraternity.

To the rising capitalists, liberty, equality, fraternity were ideals they wanted for themselves ALONE. They had no thought to grant the lower classes liberty, equality, and fraternity. To the ruling class the revolution ushered in a period of CAPITALIST MASTERY OVER THE LOWER CLASSES—IN THE PLACE OF THE MASTERY OF THE FEUDAL LORDS.

What could be better designed to placate and put off the irate people

than political democracy? Certain political rights were given the masses—rights they did not have under feudalism and which the American people did not have under British rule. But ECONOMIC freedom—ownership and control of the means of production and therefore of life—this freedom was and is the special privilege of the ruling class. The state belongs to the class that has the economic power—to do the bidding of that class.

"In a democratic republic, wealth uses its power indirectly, but so much the more effectively, first, by means of direct bribery of officials; second, by means of an alliance between the government and the Stock Exchange."

In the above quoted single sentence from Frederick Engels' famous little book, "The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State," he outlined the whole process of development of bourgeois democracy that in the fifty years since Engels wrote it, has reached the acme of perfection. Nowhere has a capitalist class flourished more bountifully than our own boss class under American democracy. Finance capital not only owns or controls every branch of industry and agriculture, it is, in the final analysis, the government.

The executive, legislative and judicial branches of government, the armed forces, the police, the courts, state and local governments are all meshed and geared in the complicated machinery by which the capitalist class rules. It enters all the doors that open to the clank of gold—by raw bribery, by campaign contributions, by pressure groups. It controls by getting its chosen men into strategic places in all branches of government—and this method of boss control of government never stood out more clearly than during the present war. It moulds public opinion, education, culture through its press, its radio, its class-biased educational systems. Lawyers, politicians, law-makers, professors, journalists, artists are willing recipients of capitalist class ideology.

## THE TAIL CAN'T WAG THE DOG

The tail can't wag the dog as can a few labor lieutenants of the capitalist class—stuck into government cabinets and called "labor governments"—use this capitalist state in the interests of the workers. As inevitably as the dog must wag its tail, so inevitably does the capitalist state wag the labor governments, the people's fronts, the coalition cabinets,

the management-labor-government boards.

The only role labor can play within the capitalist state—AND SERVE ITS OWN INTERESTS—is essentially one of opposition. To this end it must use the rights afforded it by political democracy—rights it has earned a hundred times over by the part the masses played in the bourgeois revolutions of history.

Thus the boss political parties, through which the sham of capitalist democracy is maintained, must be challenged by labor's own Independent Labor Party. Against the political platforms of the capitalist class must stand labor's political platform based on its class interests. The policy of no support or collaboration with the capitalist class must be carried by labor's elected representatives into the halls of capitalist Congresses and Parliaments. There they can fight for laws and appropriations to advance the welfare of the working people.

## FROM OPPOSITION TO WORKERS' POWER

A never-to-be-forgotten example of a revolutionary leader of labor using the tribunal afforded by the capitalist state to oppose it, was Karl Liebknecht. As a deputy to the German Reichstag during World War I, he

denounced the war as imperialist—and refused to vote for appropriations to carry on imperialist war. His revolutionary courage fired the war-weary workers of all Europe.

But, of course, opposition that is serious and purposeful cannot go on forever as opposition. The labor opposition will grow more powerful, will speak for the great mass of workers, poor farmers and little people. The time will come for the working class to pass from opposition to power. Just as the capitalist class came into its own through its revolutionary action against the feudal states and for the establishment of capitalist states—so the working people will make their bid for supremacy through their revolutionary party and a revolutionary program for the erection of a workers' state in place of the capitalist state.

The Paris Commune of 1871 and the Soviet government under Lenin and Trotsky are the subjects for the next article. What bearing upon the problems of our day have these workers' governments from whose triumph and failure we can learn so much? In a future article the question why the Stalin government is not a workers' government will be discussed.

## Who Is This Man Rickenbacker and What Does He Stand For?

By PHILIP WARNER

The case of Captain Eddie Rickenbacker is no joke, no accident. He is not some fly-by-night demagogue who is trying to earn a soft living by playing the role of a miniature Fuehrer, as Gerald K. Smith is doing. Rickenbacker, his appearance on the American social scene at the present time, his speeches, his nation-wide tours—these are of extraordinary importance. They symbolize, we believe, that American re-

action has found what it believes to be its Knight on the White Horse, its popular spokesman.

We believe there may be grave consequences in terms of the possible rise of a fascist movement in this country toward the end of and after the war. And that is why we propose to examine in detail his arguments, his claims to speak for the soldiers of this country, his background and connections as well as the implications of his actions.

## I. WHY PEOPLE LISTEN TO RICKENBACKER

Suppose that the views which Rickenbacker has been expressing in his speeches were expressed not by him, but rather by some obscure anti-labor demagogue. Suppose they were expressed by some "personnel manager" of a big corporation, like

Harry Bennett of Ford Motors who has always been known as the enemy of the working man. Do you think anyone would pay much attention to those views in that case? Of course not! Just some other stooge of the big shots, you'd probably snort, and

turn to your favorite comic strip.

But when the hero, Captain Eddie Rickenbacker, attacks your unions, then people listen to him. Why? Does the fact that Rickenbacker suffered for twenty-one days on a raft in the Pacific, that he did show great courage there—does this fact make him an authority on labor problems? Why, when he says exactly the same things about labor as the dotards in Congress like Poll-Tax Howard Smith and Porkbarrel Eugene Cox, do people pay attention to him and not to them?

And another question: There were other soldiers on that raft on which Rickenbacker suffered. There was Sergeant Johnny Partek, who belonged to the CIO Textile Workers Union. Sergeant Partek has been visiting his union buddies in Pennsylvania, since he came back

from that raft with Rickenbacker. Why do Rickenbacker's anti-labor speeches hit the front pages of the press, while Partek's pro-labor speeches aren't even reported?

This, we think, is proof of the following important fact: What Rickenbacker says about labor and unions must be considered by itself, must be considered just as if anyone else had said it; the fact that he was a hero on the Pacific has nothing to do with it. It is a sad fact, but a fact nonetheless, that there is a certain glib quality about our Americans: thousands listened to politi-

cal gibberish from the mouth of Lindbergh because he was the first to fly the Atlantic, gibberish that we would have laughed at or gotten mad at if anyone else had said it.

We must try to remember—a man may be a hero and still be on the side of the devil as far as labor problems are concerned; a man may be a great scientist, as Albert Einstein, and still be a nitwit politically. Rickenbacker's exploits on a raft have nothing to do with his bitter anti-labor talks. They must be judged on their own merit, on the record. So let's do that now.

## II. RICKENBACKER'S CASE AGAINST LABOR

Rickenbacker is sore against labor, he says, because it hasn't been producing, because there's been a lot of absenteeism and because labor leaders are "racketeers." He says that labor should give up time and a half for overtime, that unions should stop collecting dues, and that the soldiers should be able to get jobs on their return to civilian life without having to join a union.

From a certain point of view it is useless to argue these points with Rickenbacker—for the simple reason that he isn't interested in the facts. He says in speech after speech that absenteeism has reached the point of ten per cent. Then every labor paper in the country, as well as such liberal papers as PM, quote OFFICIAL government statistics showing that absenteeism in war factories only averages 4½ per cent! Does that stop him from saying exactly the same thing? Of course not!

Nor does he inquire as to the causes of absenteeism. If he'd ever take the trouble to sit down with any union worker in this country, he'd find out that absenteeism is generally caused by the following factors: SICKNESS caused by malnutrition, poor medical care, overwork; ACCIDENTS, which since the speeg-up begun somewhat before Pearl Harbor, have increased tremendously in American factories; POOR HOUSING FACILITIES, which, as for example at the Kaiser yards on the West Coast, force workers to live far away from their plants and make it difficult for them to get to work;

POOR TRANSPORTATION FACILITIES, which make it difficult, as in the case of Ford's Willow Run plant, to get to work. These are a few of the causes of absenteeism. Workers, as a rule, don't voluntarily quit their jobs; they simply can't afford to do so in the face of rising living costs.

The fact is that Rickenbacker is talking through his hat; he knows he's talking through his hat; and he keeps right on doing it after it's been proved that he's talking through his hat.

In his speech to the New York State Legislature, Rickenbacker said that unions shouldn't collect any more dues since they already have enough money in their coffers. Now this is really so transparent that his own supporters are embarrassed. If the unions don't have money, then they won't be prepared for the post-war depression. They'll be helpless when the employers start cutting down wages. They won't have money for strike funds, for strike relief, for unemployment relief. They'll be at the mercy of the employers.

And that is exactly what Rickenbacker wants.

Now what about his diatribe against "racketeering" labor leaders? It is true that there are racketeers inside labor unions. That can't be denied. But Rickenbacker is trying to utilize this unfortunate fact to smear the entire labor movement, to crush the unions which represent our great hope for a decent standard of

living. Sure, there have been some filthy racketeers exacting tribute from the unions. But what are those racketeers? They are pious gentlemen by comparison with the capitalists with whom Rickenbacker consorts. Rickenbacker says that he "prefers to break bread with Henry Ford." We don't doubt it. And we say that there's never been a racketeer in any trade union who's come anywhere near Ford for organizing systematic exploitation of human labor, for terrorism of men who worked for him.

We don't apologize for racketeers in labor unions. We tell the workers to get rid of them. But we do say, nonetheless, that whatever foul creatures have found their

way into the labor movement of America—creatures spewed up by the filth and moulded in the image of capitalist practices—we still place our faith in this labor movement, we still believe it to be our great hope.

And we pledge unremitting warfare against those who would try to destroy it!

In the next issue of LABOR ACTION, Philip Warner continues his article with an investigation of Rickenbacker's views on overtime wages, Rickenbacker's purpose in claiming to speak for the soldiers, and the facts on Rickenbacker's background as an anti-labor industrialist.

## Anti-Labor Drive - -

(Continued from page 1)

will, and the senators and congressmen MAY desist from their bills. What is more likely, however, is that reaction will take any sign of weakness as a go-ahead signal to ride rough-shod over gains and traditions it took decades to establish!

You cannot fight reaction by appeasement! The KKK, the Rickenbackers, the Byrds and Connallys cannot be beaten by concessions. And if we make these concessions—a mild word—what difference will it make if we formally beat them or not? In practice, they will have beaten us. Reaction has to be fought openly, militantly, and with no holds barred! In short, labor has to show its determination and strength in order to throttle reaction.

The best defense is an offense! Murray, Green and other labor leaders are already busy on the legislative front—lobbying, button-holing congressmen. That may have its uses, but these uses are definitely limited in their value. Murray threatens mass meetings and public protests. Good, these too have their value.

But what has value transcending all these is the THREAT AND USE

of militant ACTION. Point No. 1 in the general offensive against reaction has to be: AN END TO THE NO-STRIKE PLEDGE! And Point No. 1 in smashing the anti-labor legislative drive has to be: AN INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY!

And there are a multitude of other points: forcing the labor members to quit the WLB, an active stand for wage increases, an active stand against taxing payrolls, an active stand for workers' and farmers' control of prices, rationing and food production.

These seem to go beyond the needs of the legislative campaign. But they do not. Reaction strikes in all directions, and we must strike back. Roosevelt's wage policy is a sign of reaction. Taxing low incomes is a sign of reaction—as such a sign of reaction as outright anti-union bills!

LET US FIGHT THEM DOWN THE LINE!  
SMASH THE ANTI-LABOR DRIVE!  
RESCIND THE NO-STRIKE PLEDGE!  
BUILD AN INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY!

## The KKK and Rickenbacker - -

(Continued from page 1)

Catholic program is also a way of mobilizing race and religious hatred into mob violence against labor. For the KKK is the "secret weapon" of the big landlords and big corporations of the South in their unremitting opposition to the organization of factory and farm labor.

The tie-up between Rickenbacker and the KKK is not confined to a leaflet. The ownership of all big business, industrial and farming, Southern and Northern, meshes in with finance capital centered in the money strongholds of the North. This is where Rickenbacker, president of the big Eastern Airlines, comes in—along with the bosses behind the KKK.

The present vicious thrust of the KKK is concentrated at Orlando, Fla., where the Florida Citrus & Allied Workers, Local 4, UCAPAWA has organized 30,000 citrus workers. The union is about to have a National Labor Relations Board vote and the KKK is out to squash the union by terrorizing its members.

The KKK has to its credit innumerable murders, many more flag-

gings, tar-and-featherings and vicious assaults upon innocent people. But this does not prevent the boss-owned radio stations and newspapers from accepting the "patronage" of the KKK to further its mob-rule. On January 30 the KKK issued a mobilization call to its gangs over the Orlando radio. On January 31 the Orlando Sentinel-Star had the ad:

"WANTED—4,000 or more of the 8,000 KLANSMEN from Orange, Seminole and Ocala Counties. There is work to do! Write P.O. Box 1212, Orlando, Fla."

Needless to say, the most innocent of the activities of these Klansmen is the distribution of the Rickenbacker leaflet, pasting them on billboards, etc. They are told, there is work to do! They understand that!

The KKK in Orlando is directed by KKK Klingle Fred Bass. It is interesting to note that this Bass is also chairman of the Americanization Committee of the American Legion, indicating how closely interwoven are the reactionary organizations and leaders—from Rickenbacker to the KKK to the American Legion!

In 1935 Fred Bass was accused of complicity in the murder of Frank

Norman, a union organizer—but not by any court of "justice" in the bourbon South. At that time Bass said:

"I broke up the Unemployment Council and anyone in Orlando can tell you Fred Bass gets the credit. ... The sheriff knows any time he needs men, all he has to do is ring up Fred Bass and inside an hour he has five hundred men. 'Course, sometimes it's necessary to take the law into our hands. We string up a n—r now and then—for example like. Not officially, but it comes to the same thing."

"Over in Lakeland, a fellow named No'man—Frank No'man—he got foolin' around with n—rs and unions and he got the works. I don't think he's dead, ... But this No'man was a red. I can honestly say that. Sometimes we gotta show people what we think of those stinkin' troublemakers."

Bass very eloquently summed up the code of ethics and justice and government—the American way of life as carried out by the KKK—on behalf of the Southern bosses. The KKK finds itself in complete accord with Captain Eddie Rickenbacker—hero.



# Editorials

## The Futility Of Ghandism

Gandhi's twenty-one-day fast has come to an end. The British gambled on his living, and won. Had Gandhi died, his death would have loosed the active indignation of numberless millions. Had Gandhi been released, the nationalist movement would have gained in momentum in this victory—small as it might be—over British imperialism. The British, arrogant and ruthless as ever, feared Gandhi's death, but gambled on sticking it out. Result: Gandhi has fasted, he is still interned, and the cause of nationalist India has not been advanced one inch.

This is not to say that the struggle in India is ended. By no means! However much the press may want to conceal it, the masses continue to wage their struggle actively, and at great sacrifice. Violence and brutality against the Indian people continue. Far from slackening in intensity, the situation grows constantly sharper. The sides are clearly drawn: British imperialism, which refuses to yield the slightest bit of repressive authority, versus the masses of India, who will accept nothing less than complete independence.

The point we make, and will make again in more extended survey, is that the methods of Gandhi, at best, disorient the independence movement, and, at worst, actually play into the hands of the British. In an editorial on the front page of LABOR ACTION last week, demanding the release of Gandhi from internment, we commented that, in many ways and at many times, Gandhi has been the best servant of British imperialism. He has many times prevented the Indian people from engaging in outright struggle with their unwanted masters, and he has diluted the struggle as it swelled and raged: Today, pressed by the people to take an uncompromising stand for Indian independence, he delays the movement, switches it onto futile paths.

Only one force will overcome the British tyranny. That force is the mass action of the Indian peoples themselves. Fasts, pleas and "passive resistance" (Indian resistance never was "passive") will accomplish little against the armed might of British imperialism. They are not dealing with sentimental humanitarians, but with hard-bitten, realistic imperialists who measure the value of their policies in dollars and cents, and know on which side their colonial bread is buttered.

Gandhi is a man of great influence in India. And he is a man who understands the situation well. But he is also a man who is tied to the native Indian capitalist class. This class wants independence but is afraid to pursue those methods which, while securing independence, will also liberate forces that tend toward social upheaval. Ultimately, the problem of India will be solved only by socialist victory. And that is why Gandhi—however heroic himself,

however loyal to the aspiration of national independence—stands in the way of unleashing the turbulent and restive force of the Indian masses. Once released, it will, in all likelihood, keep right on rolling toward social as well as national freedom.

Insofar as Gandhi stands for and fights for national independence, we defend him against the British rulers. His internment is a symbol of British authority and violence in India. And we therefore stand with the Indian people in demanding his release. BUT, at the same time, we point to the futility of his methods. That is NOT the way to Indian independence!

For further explanation of Gandhi's role in India and the nature and purposes of his methods, as well as for fuller explanation of the general situation in India, we call the attention of our readers to the invaluable book written by Henry Judd and published by the Workers Party. "India in Revolt" is a must in any worker's library!

## All Roads Lead To Cutting Wages

On page one of the Cleland Trust Co. Business Bulletin of February 15 there is a very melodramatic explanation for the high cost of living. "Factory payrolls have greatly increased"..."factory workers have had much more money to spend than they had previously"..."they have in reality bid against one another for the purchase of the relatively restricted volumes of consumption goods that were available to them."

Can't you see John Worker's wife, Mary Worker, bidding over the counter against Paul Worker's wife, Jane Worker? Mary bids 49 cents for a pound of lamb chops, Jane outbids her at 59 cents—the price therefore becomes 59 cents for scrawny bits of meat that might be almost anything. Or Jane bids 12 cents for a pound of string beans, which is all they are worth, while Mary this time outbids Jane at 23 cents—so string beans are 23 cents a pound. What the hell! Payrolls have "greatly increased," haven't they? Workers are rolling in money, aren't they?

The business men—for whom the Cleland Trust Co. issues its Business Bulletin—doubtless immediately buckled their swords to their ample middles and went forth to do battle against wages—against "increased payrolls."

But let us turn to page three of said Business Bulletin. There we find a graph of retail food prices showing an advance of 33 per cent from the spring of 1941 to the winter of 1942—in a solid unbroken ascending line. The workers are rolling in money, aren't they? While the Little Steel formula allowed a 15 per cent increase in wages, food prices have gone up 33 per cent—OR MORE THAN TWICE AS FAST AS WAGES!

# They Call It "Unprofitable" When Profits Go Up 57.4%

The attack on the workers' standard of living increases each week. The increase in wages is held to 15 per cent, although the rise in living costs has been more than double that. The move for the forty-eight-hour week, being pushed by Rickenbacker and his NAM friends, is also only a further attack on wages. The average work week in the war industries, according to official statistics, is already close to fifty hours. What the bosses want is the elimination of time and a half for that extra eight or ten hours.

But everything is not dark. On the profits side, things are still rosy—and getting rosier. Every week we can cull from the reports in the New York Times a list of a dozen or two companies that show substantial increases over the fat 1941

Company	"Earnings" for		
	Recent Period	Same Period Year Before	Per Cent Increase
Granite City Steel Co.	\$616,275	\$479,247	28.6
Mid-West Abrasive Co.	136,266	102,913	32.4
Thompson-Starrett Co.	424,170	-16,840*	
California Consumers Corp.	129,640	-19,687*	
Western Union Telegraph Co.	9,534,442	7,366,240	29.4
American News Co.	1,526,450	1,117,639	36.5
Pneumatic Scale Corp.	400,455	270,079	48.3
Simpsons, Ltd.	1,310,014	1,027,242	27.5
Telaugraph Corp.	144,542	109,475	32.0
Acton-Fisher Tobacco Co.	421,497	294,150	43.3
Good Humor Corp.	300,090	127,117	57.4

\*The second figure is a net loss.

"earnings." Remember when you look over these percentages that the HIGHEST for any worker is 15 per cent.

Usually there is at least one company with an increase of 100, or even 1,000, per cent. This week, we are sorry to say, the highest is 57.4 per cent, the increase shown in 1942 over 1941 by the Good Humor Corp.

According to the Times, "Since April, 1942, the com-

pany has been supplying ice cream to the armed forces, James F. McConnochie, chairman, said. 'Although this service has not proved profitable, we expect to continue same during 1943 as an accommodation.'"

"Service" is the usual word, Mr. McConnochie, but "accommodation" will do, so long as it is accompanied by such nice round profits.

# Wage Rates Must Go Up --

(Continued from page 1)

did act and was compelled to act! It didn't act in the interests of the workers—and it won't—but it did quit stalling. Aircraft labor on the Coast now knows where it stands, and the next steps are up to it.

What are these steps? The first, most obvious and easiest is to compel the labor members on the board to resign and thereby bust up the board. They had no business on the board in the first place. They have less business there now, after the WLB has proved, in case after case, that it means to keep labor's living standard down—that, regardless of how much prices may have risen, the WLB intends to hold wages down under the Little Steel formula.

The WLB is a boss instrument in which the "public" and industry cooperate to strangle labor. Any union man who sits on that board disgraces the union movement and—however loudly he dissents—contributes to the plot against labor's living standards.

The time has come to restore collective bargaining—or face a continued, downward spiral in REAL wages and union conditions. Collective bargaining means that labor must have the right to strike. The thing to do then is to compel the unions to rescind the no-strike pledge. A militant action such as that staged by the Boeing workers is worth a thousand dissents. The right to strike—and THE RIGHT TO THREATEN ITS USE—is worth every other form of economic labor protest and argument put together.

The union leaderships have declared themselves against the Little Steel formula. 'The last issue' of the UAW paper denounces the Little Steel formula in a large, front-page head. But denunciations and private conferences are getting us nowhere. While the labor leaders denounce and dissent, the WLB continues to enforce its (Roosevelt's) policy.

Various locals in the UAW have already gone on record asking the international union to rescind the no-strike pledge. This sentiment is evidently as widespread in the AFL as it is in the CIO. How else explain the "meeting" of the Boeing workers. Up to now the top union leaderships have suppressed the facts on the Flint-Brewster-Electro-Motive resolutions calling for an end to the no-strike pledge. While the ranks clamor for ACTION, these officials dilute the strength of the labor offensive against the Little Steel formula by appealing to the WLB for a revision of its policy—though the WLB has made it clear that it will NOT revise its policy.

The ranks of the AFL and CIO have a job to do. The labor leaders are sensitive to pressure—when that pressure is powerful and unmistakable. They can be forced to heed the will of the rank and file if the rank and file makes its voice heard at the union meetings.

As we have said before, the mine workers have a tremendous responsibility in this matter. They have proved themselves courageous

and undefeatable fighters in the past. Lewis is opening a blast against the Administration's stranglehold on wages this week. The UMW is out to force a 33 per cent wage increase for 600,000 miners. That represents an increase about equal to the rise in the cost of living.

It is a certainty that the WLB and Roosevelt and the operators will stage a knock-down, drag-out fight with Lewis. In fact, the WLB has already fired its first shots—in the packing house and Boeing decisions which have been interpreted everywhere as a statement of policy on the miners' demands.

But the miners have a traditional answer to intimidation: "You can't dig coal with bayonets!" And right now they are carrying the ball for all labor. Insofar as Lewis organizes a real, militant wage campaign for the miners, he is fighting the case of every working man—and every working man in the country has to give the miners his support.

We suspect that many union men are waiting to see what the miners will get. That's all right. The miners are schooled and trained union men who know how to get what they want. But that isn't enough. Every union, every local has to take its own action. And we repeat, THE FIRST TWO THINGS THAT NEED TO BE DONE ARE:

**FORCE THE LABOR MEMBERS TO GET OFF THE WLB!**  
**RESCIND THE NO - STRIKE PLEDGE!**

# Sparks in the News

By Everett Weston

Senator Austin, when he is not busy writing anti-labor bills, is also something of a journalist. Of course, his major effort recently is the Austin-Wadsworth labor-draft bill, vigorously condemned by unions and progressives throughout the country. But he is also a principal contributor to the current New Masses, Communist Party mag.

—LA—  
Rome Broadcast: "The Soviet offensive will not be allowed to go one inch further than the Germans want it to."

—LA—  
Berlin Broadcast: "It is indeed regrettable that a German retreat has been necessary in Russia and that all the work remains to be done again from the beginning."

—LA—  
"President Roosevelt asked Congress to appropriate \$5,287,615 to pay

the Bethlehem Shipbuilding Co. for ships built in the last World War. He had asked it after a court decision... The Supreme Court ruled against the government because it had delayed too long in suing. Key figure named in the court decisions as the man responsible is Joseph Powell, former vice-president of Bethlehem. Yet Powell sits at the right hand of Secretary of the Navy Knox, appointed personally, as his assistant."—Washington Merry-Go-Round.

—LA—  
According to Donald Montgomery, recently resigned consumers' counsel of the Department of Agriculture, 38 per cent of the people of the United States will not be able to afford all the meat to which they will be entitled under present rationing schedules.

—LA—  
"In the first nine and a half months of its existence, from January 13 to October 31, 1942, the War Labor Board received 1,087 cases and was able to handle only 352 of them. This is thirty-six less than the 388 cases received by the board for adjustment in the month of October alone."—Pic.

—LA—  
"Today in Chicago a government official sounded a grim note when he said our wounded soldiers may number as high as a million before long and that a survey of hospital space must be made now. Plans call for taking over ski lodges, dude ranches, factories and seaside resorts."—Roberson St. John over NBC.

—LA—  
The American Telephone & Telegraph Co. has declared its regular quarterly dividend of \$2.25 a share, thus maintaining the rate in effect continuously since 1922.

# "GLOBALONY"

## Vital Issues Lie Behind Luce 'Humor'

By R. Fahan

Many a political career has been launched in this country on worse wisecracks and if Clare Luce has decided to rise to public fame by coining that poetic and delicate phrase, "globaloney," which has so excited the panting admiration of the Hearst and Scripps-Howard editors, we for one have no particular objection. After all, each trade has its own tools and those of congressional politics are none too discriminate. But behind the furor which Mrs. Luce's maiden speech in Congress created—actually, of course, it was a completely premeditated publicity stunt by a combination of the isolationist press and the Time-Life-Fortune outfit—there is an extraordinarily important political issue which merits discussion.

Mrs. Luce fears that that wild-eyed radical, Vice-President Henry Wallace (who had just a few days ago made a speech declaring his faith in the "decency" of American big business), will, if his post-war plans are carried into practice, give away the great opportunity for American imperialist world domination: the rule of the skies.

There can be no doubt that once the war is over, air transit and air power will play a role far greater than ever before. The airplane, while not supplanting other means of communication and transit, will certainly take a leading role. And whichever power will control the major resources of airplane production, the best air fields and the most efficient air lines, will have a powerful weapon in its attempts to attain control over the economic resources of the world.

It is a prospect which the imperialists of the world view with trembling lips and feverish eyes. Imagine, if you will, what an incredible opportunity it appears to them! Control this new, magical means of transportation, this new, deadly and unsurpassed means of warfare—and perhaps they have found the means of perpetuating the rule of their tottering imperialisms!

Is it any wonder that correspondents from London record "official nervousness" at Mrs. Luce's brusque and un ladylike declaration that America must control the world airways and not be so sappy as to allow the British to rule the air as they rule the seas? Is it any wonder that the British loose Lady Astor on Mrs. Luce with an equally unladylike rejoinder? This is an issue of life and death for them; they see in air power what the aging Ponce de Leon sought in the fountain of youth: perpetual virility.

And Clare Luce was so terribly frank! She spoke openly of the "historic American air policy of sovereignty of the skies." And "sovereignty" is nothing but a two-dollar word for domination. As for this being an "historic American air policy" ... well, as The Nation of last week rather aptly remarked: "History is something that happened before Mrs. Luce's time, and we have no wish to put her at a disadvantage."

She speaks openly of complete American domination of its "own" skies—where's your mortgage, Clare?—and at the same time of "keeping" the air supremacy it now has and "talking" henceforth in the skies the position of enlightened democratic leadership that Britain held and still holds on the seas? Nothing could be plainer. Britain's "enlightened democratic leadership on the seas" was the means by which she maintained and still maintains the greatest empire of recent history; America's domination of the skies means the same thing to Mrs. Luce.

Nor does Mrs. Luce speak for herself alone. It is no accident that the Scripps-Howard press went into such spasms of rapture over her speech. She speaks for an increasingly powerful sector of American business. It is by no means isolationist in the Chicago Tribune sense; on the contrary, it is aggressively internationalist and imperialist.

This group is impatient with President Roosevelt's domestic policies; it proposes a more severe anti-labor turn, though it is not in agreement with the Smith-Cox Southern Democrats, who want to start an open anti-labor lynch party immediately. For the Luce crowd realizes that it needs the support of labor, for a while at least. Its main difference with the Roosevelt Administration at present, however, is over the conduct of the war and the perspectives of the post-war world. The Luce thinkers want it made clear as daylight that they're in this war for world domination, that America is entering its super-imperialist stage and that its magic weapon in achieving this aim is air power. It places great emphasis on aid to China, since it sees in the Far East a great field for imperialist penetration.

In line with this perspective, it is violently anti-British, recognizing in Britain a potential rival which might try to grab part of the post-war imperial spoils; it even toys with the idea of making some sort of agreement with Stalin whereby he would be entrenched in Eastern Europe and parts of Asia, while America would get most of everything else, and Britain would retain its honor.

Of course, with much of this perspective the Roosevelt group agrees. But since Roosevelt and Wallace have the power, and hence the responsibility, they feel more urgently the need for placating labor and see more urgently the need for touching up some kind of attractive post-war aims. Hence, Wallace's speeches. But the group for which Mrs. Luce has spoken says: "No! We must bluntly and frankly proclaim our aims and fight to achieve them. The coming American century will be the century of American imperialism—and don't you be making any speeches, Henry Wallace, which might put the slightest shred of doubt into anyone's mind about that."

## 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 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 the independence of all colonies!
- For a World Socialist Federation! Only a socialist world will destroy capitalist imperialism and fascist barbarism!

## New York Workers, Attention!

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# ALBERT GATES

(Editor of The New International)

## on THE MEANING OF NORTH AFRICA

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