

Plane Companies' Profits Above the Boom Year of 1929

Figures are now gradually being released to indicate the tremendous war profits of big business.

The bosses' press, the great metropolitan newspapers, are completely silent about this. There is good reason, from their own point of view, for doing this. If they would tell the truth, the scandal of war profits would be known by everyone.

Instead, the columns of the big business newspapers are devoted to foul attacks on labor, on those who toil and sweat for their barest existence. They are busily engaged in advocating anti-labor bills, sales taxes to gouge the people, high prices, and no price ceilings.

Drew Pearson, in his syndicated column of July 8, shows, as an example, what high profits are being made in the aviation industry—one in which wages are notoriously low! Here is what his figures reveal:

- North American Aviation: 57.33 per cent profit in 1940; 51.06 per cent profit in 1941.
- Consolidated Aircraft: 94 per cent profit in 1941 (it was 309 per cent before taxes).
- Boeing Aircraft: 25 per cent profit in 1941.
- Curtiss-Wright: 41.9 per cent profit in 1941.
- Wright Aeronautics (charged by the Truman Committee with making faulty engines): 45.7 per cent in 1941.
- Douglas Aircraft: 51 per cent profit in 1941.
- Bell Aircraft (building a bomber plant in Georgia): 35 per cent profit in 1941.
- Sperry Gyroscope: 37.9 per cent profit in 1941.
- Ryan Aeronautical: 38 per cent profit in 1941..

These profits are based on capital investments. That means that the companies have made profits many times over their original investments. What they are really getting are super-profits—cost-plus with a vengeance!

Just in case someone may say that these profits were in 1940 or '41 (as if that would make any real difference!), it should be pointed out that profits continued at near the same rate in 1942.

And the Department of Commerce reports for the first quarter of 1943 show that profits AFTER TAXES will be greater than 1941, 1942 and the boom year of 1929!

Utah Labor News For Labor Party

In its issue of July 2, the Utah Labor News came out editorially for the immediate formation of a nation-wide "Independent Labor Party."

The editorial, containing ideas similar to the viewpoint often expressed by LABOR ACTION, minces no words in calling upon the entire labor movement to take the lead for the concrete organization of an independent party of labor and working farmers. Says the Utah Labor News:

"Up to now, labor has been tied to one or another of the boss-controlled political parties. The results have almost always hurt the workers because they have been compelled to rely upon the political flunkies of the capitalist political parties. By their own experience, thousands upon thousands of rank and file labor unionists know that in every crisis, great or small, the professional politicians have acted against the best interests of labor and the small working farmers."

This is an effective answer to the labor leaders who blow hot and cold on the issue of independent political action, but who are now fighting against a political party of labor. An additional answer must be given them in the ever-growing chorus of the ranks of labor for genuine independent political action through the formation NOW of a Labor Party. This is an indispensable need of all the workers of this country!

Reports Show Industrial Accidents Take Increased Toll of All Workers

The rate of industrial accidents is still alarming. Reports of the U.S. Department of Labor show that the speed-up accompanying war production is taking a heavy toll of workers. During the first thirty months of the war, from July, 1940, to January, 1943, industrial accidents brought death to 48,500 workers.

In addition, to this high death rate, 258,000 workers suffered such serious accidents as to cause the loss of an eye, hand, or leg.

Other accidents, bringing with them layoffs averaging three weeks, reached the astounding number of 5,300,000.

The figures reveal that 1,616 workers are killed each month as a result of industrial accidents. This greatly exceeds the present casualties average on the warring fronts.

Behind these high rates of industrial accidents is the intense speed-up of production which drives the workers on at a relentless pace. But there is also the fact that the big industrialists always seek to avoid installing indispensable safety devices. Too many of them violate the most elementary precautions necessary in the machine industries, where a variety of dangers is constantly present.

A revealing fact about the role of business in providing safety measures for the prevention of industrial accidents is the report that out of 171,000 plants, only 25,000 have joined the National Safety Council, organized for the purpose of providing ways and means of reducing accidents on the job.

Stalinists Become Allies of Boss Hague and Campaign Against Independent Labor Party

Mayor Frank ("I Am the Law") Hague of Jersey City has a new ally. The Communist Party and its spokesman, the Daily Worker, have created a sensation in the labor movement and in the political world generally, by coming out in defense of the Mayor and urging the labor movement to rally to his political machine in the coming New Jersey elections.

The name of Frank Hague has for years been a stench in the nostrils of every worker and even of every progressive-minded person. He has symbolized everything that is rotten and reactionary in capitalist politics. His regime in Jersey City and throughout Hudson and adjacent counties made Tammany Hall, in its worst days, look like an organization of Quakers.

Labor organizers took life and

limb into their hands when they crossed into Hague's feudal domain. Labor meetings were broken up by hooligan violence stimulated and protected by the Hague machine and the Hague police. Norman Thomas was driven off the city's streets under the very eyes of the Hague cops. Labor representatives were run right out of the city with a thoroughness that equalled anything a fascist regime could display. Even congressmen, who planned to protest the Hague terror right in Jersey City itself, found themselves compelled to call off the meeting in order "to avoid bloodshed." Among these congressmen was the Stalinist, Vito Marcantonio. Even Hague's opponents in capitalist politics constantly ran the risk of a frame-up and violence if they persistently opposed him.

But that doesn't mean anything now, so far as the Communist Party is concerned. Haguism is not the issue, it says, and anyone who tries to make it an issue in the coming elections is a reactionary, a defeatist, an enemy of the country and—worst of all—an agent of Trotskyism and, in all probability, of Hitlerism too.

What is the issue? Says the Daily Worker: "The issue here is the unity of all forces who support the Administration program for all-out war against the Hitler Axis. That unity cannot be attained by perpetuation of past differences." Hague's political despotism and corruption are some of those little "past differences." Hague is all right now. Why? Because he is behind Roosevelt and Roosevelt is behind him. That's enough for the Stalinists. Governor

Edison, another Democratic Party politician, is not one hundred per cent behind Roosevelt, it seems. Neither are the Republican Party and the candidate it will nominate in the state elections.

Therefore, labor must under no circumstances "split" the all-out pro-war, pro-Roosevelt forces by forming a party of its own. It must back the Roosevelt machine, and in New Jersey that means the Hague machine.

What Stalinism Represents

The latest turn of the Communist Party bears out clearly what we have repeatedly stated in LABOR ACTION: The Stalinists are the most dangerous and most reactionary force in the labor movement today. Leon Trotsky once said that Stalinism is the syphilis of the la-

bor movement, and he was one hundred per cent right. Syphilis is a deadly scourge, and if it is not treated radically and promptly, it cripples and kills its victims.

The capitalist press comments and the comments of some of the labor leaders on the new Stalinist line miss the point. They either do not understand the role of Stalinism or, if they do, they don't say what they know.

The Stalinists are no more concerned with workers' interests or the labor movement's welfare than the man in the moon. The labor movement has one function for them, and one only: it is a tool to be used for the advancement of the interests of the Stalinist tyranny in Russia, upon which the Stalinist

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LABOR ACTION

JULY 19, 1943

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

Congress Sets Stage for Higher Profits

PRICES ARE RISING!

Exposing More Merchants of Death

Now It Is Curtiss-Wright

By SAM ADAMS

The newspaper PM calls it "The Most Shameful Story of the War." It would have been more correct to have added the words: "So Far." There were others before the Truman Committee bared the facts of the fraud which the Curtiss-Wright Corp. perpetrated. There will be many more before this war is over.

We are sure that "shameful" is not the appropriate word to use in this case. It would have been better to call it one of the biggest steals of the war or better yet, "The Most Murderous Story of the War, So Far."

What are the facts in this case? The Wright Aeronautical Corp. plant at Lockland, Ohio, turned out "defective plane engines with the cooperation of the Army Air Force inspectors!"

The Truman Committee found that the company, a wholly-owned subsidiary of the Curtiss-Wright Corp., has been selling the government "defective and substandard plane engines by falsifying tests, forging inspection reports, and by eight other practices designed to by-pass Army specifications."

The committee learned that Army inspectors cooperated with the company for fear of losing their jobs; that they were threatened with disciplinary action if they did not accept engines which were leaking gasoline.

In secret sessions, the committee took testimony, but it remarked that during its investigation, "most of the representatives of the Army Inspection Section displayed an undue regard for the well-being of the Wright Aeronautical Corp. and too often seemed to be motivated by a desire to protect the company and its interests."

In this connection, PM points out that "Air officials, apparently led by the chief inspector for the force, Lieut.-Col. Frank C. Greulich, tried to cover up by misrepresenting the facts, attempting to intimidate witnesses introducing evidence prepared specially for the investigation, and otherwise impeded the Senate investigators, the committee charged."

SCHEMES OF THE COMPANY

Some readers will remember that this company was up for investigation once before. At that time a special board was set up, headed by Lieut.-Gen. William S. Knudsen, who was former director of the OPM, to investigate conditions at this plant. While this board found some of the facts cited by the Truman Committee, it did not agree that they were serious! As was to be expected, Big Business Leader Knudsen whitewashed Curtiss-Wright!

But here is what the Truman Committee did find when it said the company was "producing and causing the government to accept defective and substandard material." The company used the following ways to get around the government:

1. By falsifications of tests.
2. By destruction of records.
3. By improperly recording results of tests.
4. By forging inspection reports.
5. By failing to segregate substandard and defective material.
6. By failing to destroy promptly or mutilate such defective and substandard material.
7. By orally changing tolerances (the maximum allowable errors in machines) allowed on parts.
8. By circumventing the salvage committee set up to pass on the usability of parts outside tolerances.
9. By allowing production to override the inspectors' force, thereby destroying morale of both company and Army inspectors.
10. By skipping inspection operations.

The Truman report also disclosed that the company would not cooperate with inspectors, argued about defective material and constantly counterposed the interests of the company (read: profits!) against defective materials.

THE PRESS AND THE UNDER SECRETARY

All in all, you have here one of the dirtiest schemes by a monopoly firm to increase its profits no matter what the consequences.

How did the big business press treat the Truman report? With virtual silence. The report was buried on the inside pages. There were no screaming headlines! There were no charges of treason! There were no demands by a reactionary Congress that Curtiss-Wright officials be charged with treason and sent to jail! There were no special bills introduced by the anti-labor champions in the Senate and the House.

What we did find is that the yellow press rose up as one in support of this giant monopolist corporation.

That pious hypocrite among the big business press, the New York Times, went out of its way to excuse the company by referring to its crooked ways as "detailed errors." After all, says the Times, when a company has orders of more than four billion dollars (out of which it is now making and will continue to make enormous profits) a few mistakes will be made!

Under Secretary of War Robert Patterson likewise jumped to the defense of the company, saying of the report that it was "much less sensational than some of the inferences drawn in recently published statements."

One might well ask: What does the Honorable Under Secretary want? Scores of dead airmen before this matter becomes serious?

But Patterson did acknowledge the correctness of the Truman report by his transfer of Army inspectors from Lockland.

The big business press and the Under Secretary of War are obviously arm in arm with big business. How they unite under criticism! How they defend each other when under attack!

Can you imagine what the press and responsible officials would say if labor was making a fight for higher wages at Curtiss-Wright? You're right! There would be no limits to their fierce denunciations of the workers.

TRUMAN REPORT TONED DOWN

Patterson says the facts are not nearly as sensational as the Truman Committee report. But the Truman Committee says that in view of the shocking charges and the effect it might have on morale, the report was "the most favorable and the least critical that the committee can render and at the same time fulfill its duty to the Senate and the public..."

In other words, the situation is even worse than pictured by the toned-down report of the Truman Committee.

What will Curtiss-Wright get for this fraud? A light censure and perhaps a light fine? Remember the Anaconda Wire case! It too defrauded the government and the soldiers at the front by sending out defective communications wire. For such treachery, to which it pleaded guilty, the company and its officials were fined a few thousand dollars!

We suppose that Curtiss-Wright will also plead guilty under the legal term of *Nolo Contendere*, get its fine, and go merrily along its way. After all, its ten schemes to defraud, says Patterson, are not so sensational. We have no doubt that it must be a widespread practice. For what are the lives of American soldiers compared to blood-soaked profits?

Byrnes, Brown and Leaders In Congress Join Hands to Prevent Price Roll-Backs

By ALBERT GATES

Congress took a recess without overriding the presidential veto on the matter of subsidies to enable a roll-back of prices. This was hailed as a great victory for Roosevelt over those who sought to bar price control and price ceilings.

As a matter of fact, the issue involved only partial and limited subsidies, and these were to be employed by Director of War Mobilization Byrnes and Price Administrator Brown with the knowledge that the Senate twice voted to prohibit roll-backs.

According to PM, the congressional agreement not to override the veto of the President came after Byrnes, Brown and the new Food Administrator, Marvin Jones, promised that they would not attempt to roll back prices and use the subsidies, but only try to hold food prices at their current levels!

This means that food prices, which have risen over forty per cent in the last year, will either remain at their present high level, already beyond the wages of the working men and women of this country, or will rise to even greater heights.

Like all the previous plans of the Administration, this new price stabilization program is a fraud. There will be no stabilization of prices, even at their present high levels!

Cramp Ship Co. Refuses Union Negotiation

PHILADELPHIA—Contract negotiations between the Cramp Shipbuilding Co. and Local 42, IUMSWA, have come to a stalemate. As in nearly all shipyards on the Atlantic Coast, the company has turned down all important parts of the union's proposed contract.

The management refused wage increases for various job classifications, rejected increased vacation pay and the union shop. They refuse collective bargaining over these issues.

The old contract expired June 23 but was extended to July 23. New terms agreed upon are to be retroactive to date of expiration. At present the entire case is before the War Labor Board. However, the men in

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Under this new so-called stabilization program, an attempt will be made to hold prices on some major food items, but on a number of lesser items prices will be permitted to climb.

In contrast to the refusal of Congress to permit subsidies for a roll-back of prices on consumer goods which affect the overwhelming majority of the population, there is the secret agreement between Jesse Jones, Rubber Director William Jeffers and the same Prentiss Brown to grant the payment of a huge "roll-back subsidy" on synthetic rubber.

The roll-back on synthetic rubber is more than fifty per cent of current sale prices. This will give enormous profits to the big corporations involved in synthetic rubber production.

It is interesting to note in connection with the matter of price roll-backs on foods and other items necessary to the mass of people that the organized labor movement was never consulted on any of the actions taken

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AFL Shows Folly of Incentive Pay Schemes

While big business, the Stalinist scabs and some labor leaders are pushing for the adoption of incentive pay schemes, piecework systems and other forms of cheating the workers, economic reports show that the productivity of the workers since the start of the war has been nothing short of phenomenal.

The Stalinist traitors have been urging incentive pay, arguing that the workers can get increased wages, not by fighting for them, but by increasing production. It would seem that up to now the workers have been loafing on the job.

But the facts are that the productivity of labor has been phenomenal. The point is that those who have profited from this tremendous productivity have been the monopolists of all kinds, manufacturers and rich farmers. These are the ones who are cashing in on the extra sweat of the workers.

The AFL points out this week that in the airplane industry alone there has been a fifty per cent rise in output per man-hour and a one hundred per cent rise in ship construction. Says the AFL:

"With their wages frozen, workers have received no wage raises commensurate with these advances in production per man-hour. Instead, their productivity has greatly increased the profits of their companies."

Contrasting the continuous rise of war profits, AFTER TAXES, and the eighteen per cent corporate profits for the first quarter of this year, the AFL declared:

"The increased productivity for which workers are not paid constitutes a tremendous war sacrifice on their part—a sacrifice that takes a permanent toll out of their work-power. As their capital is their power to work, this unpaid labor is in reality a capital levy imposed upon them."

You can bet your shirt on this. Increased productivity in order to get a few cents more in pay, as the industrialists and the Stalinists urge, only means more profits for big business. That is what it has meant in the past. That is what it means now.

Like all piecework systems, it means that increased productivity will result in wage rate cutting and an actual wage reduction.

There is one way to prevent this. No incentive pay! For increased wages! Cut into the profits of big business! Place a capital levy on the rich and the war profiteers who are enjoying a holiday in wealth produced by labor!

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

The Witty Little Fellow from Local 9

Local 9 of the Marine & Shipbuilding Workers Union in San Pedro, Calif., has a witty fellow in its ranks. Thank God for that, because in these hard times a little wit makes life more endurable.

This witty lad has started a column in Local 9's own paper, the Pacific Coast Shipyard Worker, under the signature of Walter Windjammer. The name is appropriate. But the same cannot be said about his first literary effort, in the July 1 issue.

He writes a whole column about a very funny subject, and he laughs about it fit to kill. It's the most comical thing he ever heard of, yessir, the very most comical thing, and he can hardly talk for laughing about it.

What do you think is so funny? Why, nothing less than the preposterous idea—ha ha!—that the Stalinists—ho ho!—are going to take over the world. Local 9. Did you ever—oh ho ho!—hear anything funnier than that—ha ha!

And does our Windjammer roll on his sides in the column! And how he chortles and sniggers and enjoys himself.

"The trade union movement was shaken to its foundations as a throw-away scandal sheet uncorked to a startled world the nefarious plot by certain members of Local 9; namely, Pete Johnson, Frank Lopez, Bill Bluhm and Sam Goodwin, to 'take over' the Union...."

"Armed with Joe Stalin's mustache, the quartet of desperadoes converged on the headquarters of Local 9 from all directions. Little did they realize that Hazel Gaughan had, recuperated from the mumps and, inspired by a new hair style, was able to organize an impregnable defense...."

"Documents, evidently abandoned in their wild retreat, are being decoded. It is darkly hinted that Moscow gold was behind the plot, and the plans included that Max Shacht-

man and Martin Dies be made educational directors for Local 9, while Mahatma Gandhi was slated to become chief steward for all the yards."

Just like we told you, we're dealing here with a terribly witty fellow, or, as we would call him out in Ioway, a card.

It's All So Funny, You See

Well, now, he may be a card and all that, but we ourselves take a bit of pride in our own wit. So pardon us while we tell a funny story, too. It's not about Local 9, we admit, but about the big East Coast Local, No. 1.

Local 1 had a lot of Windjammers, too (and what union doesn't have them?). And they laughed and they laughed and they laughed at the Stalinists. But the Stalinists, who have no sense of humor, didn't laugh at all. But let us be accurate: They did laugh—once—they laughed LAST!

While the Windjammers were laughing their clever heads off, the Stalinists took over Local 1. Ha, ha, ha! Ain't that the funniest thing you ever heard? Yessir, they took it over right from under the nose of Johnny Windjammer—excuse us, we mean Johnny Green? Which Johnny Green? Why, you funny man, the same Johnny Green the Stalinists talked into adopting a filthy resolution against LABOR ACTION at the last national union convention in New York! Oh, ho, ho, ho!

But wait, there's more to come, and it gets funnier all the time. No sooner did they grab off Local 1 than they began some educational work. First thing they did in this line (excuse this mirthful chuckle, ha, ha) was to reprint, under the local's name and at the local's expense (our sides are beginning to ache from laughing) a pamphlet originally printed by the Communist Party and written by a Communist Party hack, with nice quotations from the Communist Par-

ty leader, Israel Amter, and a pretty cartoon from the Communist Party paper, the Daily Worker. That's only the first thing; more is coming.

Johnny Green Think It's Funny?

Did you ever hear anything funnier? And the funniest thing of all is that Johnny Windjammer—excuse us again, we mean Johnny Green—isn't laughing at all. It isn't at all funny to him. He doesn't see the joke, although people do say that ordinarily he has a very fine sense of humor. Instead of laughing, he wears a grim look on his face. There are those who even say he is worried now and in no mood for jokes, not even the kind that appear in Walter Windjammer's column—in fact, especially NOT that kind.

Instead of laughing now, he is running around trying to fix his bust-up fences. He has been taking the small

yards away from Local 1 and giving them a separate charter. Ha, ha, ha! That's ever so funny! But Green still isn't laughing. He is wondering about delegates, and about the convention that is coming, and about the president and the executive board that the convention is supposed to elect, and about the funny Stalinists who are working night and day to prepare to take over the whole union, lock, stock, barrel and funny columns.

Do you think Walter Windjammer is worried? Not at all! He's a witty fellow, you see, a lad with a sense of humor. The Stalinists? Ho, ho, ho! That's the funniest thing on skates!

Have patience, Walter. The Stalinists are preparing to present you with the funniest joke you ever saw. You'll DIE laughing! Ask Johnny Green if you won't.

Incentive Pay Issue Faces Cleveland Fisher Workers

CLEVELAND—General Motors Corp. has turned to philanthropy, or will as soon as urged, is the theme implicit in the article on incentive pay in the June 25 issue of the Fisher Eye Opener.

The Eye Opener, official publication of Local 45, UAW-CIO, gave Fenster, an executive member, three-quarters of a page to plug for incentive pay (piecework) and attack LABOR ACTION as a Nazi paper.

Needless to say, the thousands of Fisher Body workers who read LABOR ACTION, as well as Fenster, KNOW that LABOR ACTION is a revolutionary socialist paper devoted to the best interests of labor, and SHOULD know that the charge that it is a Nazi publication is a slander invented by the Communist Party and spread by its members and fellow-travelers.

Fenster's article, cleverly worded to confuse the thousands of new workers in the plant who never experienced working under a piecework system, is written mostly in question and answer form. He asks the questions and he conveniently answers them.

Do you want production speeded up? he asks. Every worker does, he answers. "The incentive wage plan is a basic method for bringing workers into the arena of production. It is at one and the same time a basic wartime policy."

Who Wants Incentive Pay?

The Fisher Body workers can play at the question and answer game too and retort with: Whose basic wartime policy is it? Answer: Not the policy of the rank and file of our International Union, which repeatedly, at conferences and in shopmeetings, has voted down any proposal made to introduce incentive pay. Not the policy of the president of Local 45, Charles Beckman, who voted against incentive pay at the GM conference in Detroit. Not the policy of the majority of the International Executive Board of the UAW, who do not support the incentive pay plan.

Question: But if it is not the "basic wartime policy" of union men, whose policy is it?

Answer: The answer to that is not hard to give. Newsweek magazine in its issues of March 15 and April 19 reveals that as far back as last fall, C. E. Wilson, president of General Motors, wrote to the War Labor Board that incentive plans would produce more war materials, result in bigger profits for management as a reward for introducing more efficient methods, etc.

Earl Browder is another "friend" of labor who urges the introduction of incentive pay-speedup plans. The United Automobile Worker recently took Browder to task for his part in the attempts to swindle the workers with this plan.

Question: Who else believes that incentive pay should be the "basic wartime policy"?

Answer: That great "friend" of

organized labor, Eddie Rickenbacker, is another who believes that it should be the "wartime policy." But Rickenbacker believes something else, and this something else is the most important part of the incentive system. General Motors and the other large corporations, for which Rickenbacker and many other spokesmen "front," MIGHT be willing to grant, for a short time, concessions to install a piecework pay system. But they will do this only with the long-range perspective of keeping this system after the war.

Incentive Advocates Are Hypocrites

Fenster then writes of a hypothetical case whereby, with an incentive scheme in effect, the workers in Fisher Body, receiving one hundred per cent of the labor-saving cost, make \$6.00 per week extra. "Fantastic, some will say," is his comment. Yes, fantastic! That will be the comment of every working man who ever worked under the piecework system.

Presumably, according to Fenster, the workers will work like mad (with time-study men looking over their shoulders counting the number of times they wipe the sweat from their brows) and make one hundred per cent of what they save and the government will pay less because the unit cost is reduced. Of course General Motors will be holding the bag. This is pure baloney. Fenster insults the intelligence of every Fisher Body worker with such tripe.

Fenster then points to the National Smelting Co. as an example of how incentive pay plans work. He takes the figures for the FIRST month of the plan and shows how the workers earned fifteen cents per hour more for the month of May. But again, Fenster doesn't write of the current fight of some of the UAW locals in Detroit and elsewhere to rid themselves of the incentive pay setup.

The May 1 and May 15 issues of the United Auto Worker carry stories of these fights. The Budd Local, after a long fight, rid itself of the plan. The Detroit Steel Products Local, which is attempting to throw out the plan, offers its help to any other local that wishes to rid itself of it.

The story in the May 15 issue of the Auto Worker is headed "Piecework Chiseling at Republic." It tells of the attempt of the Republic Aircraft Co., in Detroit, to cut down on incentive rates. The story says the dispute has been recurring for the past six months. "At that time" (March 18) the story says in part, "management had notified sixty employees that lower rates, based on new time studies, were being introduced in a revamped incentive pay system....The men were refused transfers to other work."

Every working man and woman must realize that they have to fight for a higher HOURLY rate, not incentive pay, for if incentive pay is put over on them it will actually lower their wage and living standards.

Detroit Mayor Shows His Anti-Negro Bias—Correct Action by UAW Needed

By T. R. COBB

Only the fixed bayonets and machine guns of the United States Army stand between the surface truce in Detroit's recent anti-Negro riots and the resumption of murderous attacks against a minority group by Klanned mobs and the city's police force. And as the troops are being progressively withdrawn, this fourth city of the United States, "arsenal of the United Nations," and heartbeat of militant unionism of the entire world, uneasily awaits a future brimming over with the possibilities of new and bloodier riots.

Even Mayor Edward Jeffries, in a "white paper" heavily weighted against the chief victims of the riots, the Negroes, admits this. Says Jeffries:

"I must warn you that another outbreak of race riots in Detroit can occur at any time after the troops end their patrols, another outbreak as explosive and as bitter and as ugly as those which we have experienced....It can happen because none of the underlying factors behind the racial hostility have been settled by the rioting of June 20 and June 21....This is a manifestation of a national problem which may not be satisfactorily solved in our generation."

Mayor Threatens Negroes

Without offering the slightest program for studying or changing the "underlying factors" behind the riots, Jeffries goes on to report what is essentially the sum and substance of his "white paper."

"The Detroit police department cannot prevent a recurrence of racial hostility. That is not its function and that is not within its powers....I guarantee you now that if there are any more riots they will be quelled faster and

more sternly than before....I am rapidly losing my patience with those Negro leaders who insist that their people do not and will not trust policemen and the police department.... These people are more vocal in their caustic criticism of the police department than they are in educating their own people to their responsibilities as citizens."

Here is a frank admission of bankruptcy on the part of the legally constituted authorities to offer protection and a guarantee of civil liberties to a minority group. It is also an open threat by the city administration that in case white mobs resume their bloody attacks on Negro workers, any efforts on the part of the Negroes to defend themselves will be met by a murderous barrage of bullets against them.

Thus a police department honeycombed with Negro-hating, Jew-hating elements is whitewashed for its murderous role in the riots and handed a dictum to go ahead and kill twice as many Negroes the next time.

Unions and a Labor Party

Mayor Jeffries displays such a criminal bias against the Negro citizens of Detroit in his "white paper" that it is a reflection on the muddled, half-hearted policy of the UAW leadership that not one of them has called for his ouster from office.

R. J. Thomas' plea for the recruitment of two hundred Negroes to the police force is a small step in a groping direction toward breaking down the barriers of race discrimination in the police force itself, but even a mixed police force, armed with a "shoot-to-kill"

Negroes-only" policy cannot possibly change the situation. If Thomas had thought the problem through to its logical conclusion he could not have opposed the resolution for the formation of an Independent Labor Party, recently presented to the convention of the Michigan CIO.

Such a party, in or out of office, could educate the population of this union stronghold to a correct understanding of the meaning of race prejudice, could take effective steps to shake up the police department and purge it of fascist-minded, anti-labor elements.

Such a party could open a full-scale offensive against wage freezing and the still rising cost of living.

Such a party could deal promptly with the civic reforms Detroit so desperately requires.

In the meantime, all Detroit labor should remain alert and ready to take swift action against the slightest indication of a renewal of union-busting, anti-Negro demonstrations. The self-admitted impotence (and unwillingness) of the Jeffries administration to defend the rights of Negro workingmen and women puts it up to all unions and unionists.

Working Class Solidarity Needed

Will the decent, progressive-minded unionist of Detroit allow his daily working solidarity with his fellow unionist of another color or nationality be disrupted by vicious lies and rumors and by the Klan?

Will the UAW have the courage and the elementary sense of self-preservation, unhampered by the Stalinist scabs and cowards, to take immediate steps to cement the ranks of Detroit labor?

The Editor's Comments
Labor and Independent Political Action

The seventy-eighth Congress has just adjourned. It is probably the most reactionary legislative body in congressional history. Ruled by a bloc of Southern bourgeois, semi-fascists, big business hirelings and reactionaries of all stripes, this Congress organized itself for an assault upon all the progressive legislation it could lay hands on. But these gentlemen are far from through.

The record of this Congress on wages, prices, profits, labor's rights and taxes, demonstrates that it stands on the side of big business, the bosses, against labor, organized and unorganized. In this respect it is not fundamentally different from other Congresses.

Now there are new stirrings in the labor movement for independent political action, i.e., the organization of a labor party. It shows that the working men and women of this country recognize, if only in the most elementary way, the need for breaking away from the political machines of both capitalist parties.

Who Stands in the Way?

Many unions have gone on record for a Labor Party. These unions deem it necessary for the workers to set up their own political party to fight on the political field as well as the economic. But the fact must be faced: the biggest stumbling blocks in the way of independent political action of labor are the Stalinist flanks and the labor officialdoms!

They have made the issue: Roosevelt or Congress. They have taken the progressive desire of the workers for independent political action and have interpreted it to mean support for Roosevelt and his Administration.

The argument of the labor leaders is that labor can gain most under the President and his Administration, and for proof they point to the now dead New Deal, during which labor made so many gains. But what they do not tell the workers is that the progressive legislation under Roosevelt came primarily as a result of the PRESSURE OF THE WORKERS and the great struggles they made for such legislation.

You can bet your boots on it, that behind all progressive legislation is the labor movement and the pressure of the American workers. Reference to what Roosevelt did during the New Deal, when this capitalist system was in a state of collapse, when he was trying to save the profit system, is utterly pointless. He could not help himself! But what has he done in recent years?

It is a fact that Congress is reactionary. But who is the inventor of the "hold the line" order which has virtually frozen the wages of the workers? Who has bungled the OPA, which was to keep prices down and set drastic ceilings on others? Who demanded and got the no-strike pledge, which tied labor's hands and made it the easy prey of the profit-bloated bosses? The answer is clear: it was Roosevelt and his Administration!

Congress was able to act so freely and with such unconcern about the interests of the labor movement because it had a good lead in the policies of the President and his Administration!

What Independent Action Means

Independent political action of labor means that labor really marches against both capitalist political parties, the Democratic and Republican. It means that it has nothing to do with the Willkies, the Tafts, the Vandenberges, the Brickers and other Republican machines. But it also means that it has nothing to do with the Hagues, Kellys and Nashes, Tammany Halls, the Byrds, Connallys, Smiths, O'Daniels and Jeffries of the Democratic machines. It means, too, not to have anything to do with Roosevelt, whose strength lies in these corrupt and anti-labor elements!

Independent political action of labor means that it sets up its own party, runs its own candidates on a labor platform developed to represent and advance the best interests of the workers and the working farmers of this country, who must be enlisted as an ally of labor against the same big business front which exploits and robs both!

The tragedy in the present political situation is that the AFL officialdom still proceeds with that poisonous doctrine of "reward your friends and punish your enemies." This doctrine has tied part of the labor movement to capitalist politicians who have betrayed labor at every turn.

CIO Executive Is Wrong

But it is no worse than the conduct of the CIO officialdom, aided by the Stalinist scabs. At its last session, the Executive Board of the CIO, taking heed of the desires of the rank and file, also went on record in favor of independent political action. But it opposed doing anything about it now!

But in this case it did something. It announced that independent political action by labor means tying it to Roosevelt in the 1944 elections! It elected a committee headed by Hillman, that notorious nobody, and R. J. Thomas, who also gives lip-service to independent political action, for the express purpose of rallying labor behind Roosevelt.

Murray declares that this committee will explore the "possibilities of forming a labor league to mobilize support behind progressive candidates." This position is no different from that of the AFL officialdom. But one thing it does mean: the CIO officialdom is also against independent political action by labor. The CIO officialdom, however, is more wary on how it says this.

Labor has been catching it in the neck for decades from the boss parties. That is all it can expect in the future, too, by the present official policy.

What the labor movement must do is to proceed NOW with the organization of an Independent Labor Party, free of all entanglements with the boss parties!

Europe in Revolt
A Review of Political Events

BRITISH SHOP STEWARDS FORM MILITANT COMMITTEES

The Shop Stewards Committee of the Clyde shipyard workers were the vanguard of the British working class movement during the last war. Their activities were an example which inspired the shop stewards' movement in England. Now, in this war, the Clyde shipyard workers have again resumed their militant way.

Soon after the outbreak of this war the Clyde Shop Stewards Committee was formed. It based its program on working class militancy. Pressure from the reactionary trade union bureaucracy, who opposed this rank and file movement, compelled its subsequent dissolution.

In the beginning the Stalinists had taken part in the formation and activity of the committee. But the moment that Russia entered the war they stood opposed to any militant actions. They became the best allies of the union bureaucracy in the latter's endeavor to quell its militant demands and activities.

At the end of last year and during the first strike movement among the Clyde workers, the Stalinists showed their true face. They became the outstanding advocates for an immediate resumption of work and actually scabbed on the striking workmen. Since that time, the line-up at shop stewards' meetings has been split between the militants, who are supported by about half of the stewards, and the reactionaries and Stalinists.

Some old-time members of the Communist Party, disgusted with the strike-breaking role assigned to them by their scab leadership, spoke openly and sharply against the policy. The reaction of the Stalinist leadership came quickly. A dozen shop stewards were expelled from Kremlin Joe's party because they defended the demands of the workers. This has now become a crime in the Stalinist movement.

The militant group has now launched a new Clyde Workers Committee on a factory basis, with the following program:

- 1. Coordination of all militant trade union activity.

BRITISH SABOTAGE PROPAGANDA A TWO-EDGED WEAPON

The Bombay, India, Chronicle of December 3 contained the following notice:

"Yesterday I switched my radio on to the BBC and by a strange coincidence the first sentence I heard was an exposition of civil disobedience. The broadcaster's tone was so enthusiastic about civil disobedience that I almost doubted whether I had struck on the authentic BBC. I had—for London was talking about civil disobedience in Italy."

Elsewhere in the Bombay Chronicle great emphasis is laid on the British appeal to Italy, which shows that great Britain "applauds acts of sabo-

- 2. Annulment of all anti-working class legislation.
- 3. Every shop a closed shop.
- 4. Workers' control of transfers.
- 5. Living wages for all workers and better standards of wage allowances for workers in the armed forces.
- 6. Confederation of all workers' committees on a national scale.
- 7. Workers' control of industry.

This is an excellent and well-thought-out program. It is proof of the growing maturity of the British working class. It is also a proof that militant parts of the British working class are going ahead independently of the union bureaucrats and the Labor Party bosses.

The Clyde workers are not isolated, either. The issue of the British New Leader which carried the foregoing news, also indicated that the Blyth seamen have formed a militant committee which demands, among other things, shop committees and shop stewards for every ship, and for the socialization of shipping under workers' control.

This rising spirit of militancy has won over some of the big unions. There was a rank and file revolt at the annual conference of the national Union of Distributive and Allied Workers. This union, among the five largest in Britain, adopted, by a six-to-one vote, a resolution for a vigorous wage policy and calling upon the labor movement to unite all the workers under the slogan: "For a Socialist Britain...to build a workers' peace." Resolutions were also adopted championing the freedom of India and denouncing the race-hatred campaigns of Vansittart.

The disgust of the British workers against the alliance of the Labor Party and the Tories has recently become so strong that even in the big unions, strongholds of the bureaucracy, the rank and file militants raise their voices and win important victories.

The British labor movement seems headed for a period of renewed militancy and the "labor" stooges in Churchill's cabinet are becoming increasingly uneasy over these developments.

tage and other underground activities of a more or less violent character on the part of the patriots in Axis-controlled countries." In India, by way of contrast:

"A mere flag salutation or shouting of a slogan or the possession of an unauthorized bulletin is viewed as a sufficiently serious crime to deserve either a heavy fine or a long term of imprisonment, though these 'offenses' may have been committed in the open without the least show of violence."

We believe that no further comment is needed.

Europacus.

ATTENTION, DETROIT WORKERS!

Labor Forum Presents a LABOR ACTION Speaker

on

How to End 'Race Riots'

Can "Rioting" Be Prevented?

Can the Local Administration Prevent the Recurrence

of "Rioting"?

Is the KKK Back of the "Rioting"?

These questions will be answered and a program to end race riots will be presented

AUSPICES OF THE LABOR FORUM

2841 Grand River, Room 304 Adm. Free
WED., JULY 21 — 8:00 P. M.

Job Worry Behind the Race Problem

By Susan Green

One cannot emphasize too much that the bosses want to drive a wide wedge between black and white workers—that they subsidize the Klan, the National Christian Association, the National Workers League and other fascist outfits for that purpose.

One cannot emphasize too much that the government itself sets the example of race discrimination.

One cannot emphasize too much that the war has created conditions of extreme social friction—that hundreds of thousands of war workers have been dumped into crowded production centers without necessary housing, recreation, schools, medical care, or even food.

It is also the sad truth that some workers from the South have brought with them to the industrial centers their long-standing prejudice against Negroes—a prejudice carefully nursed by Southern bosses.

All these are interlocking causes of the barbaric attack against the Negroes in Detroit, Mobile, Beaumont. But these causes could not have produced the catastrophic outbreaks if there were not something even more basic working along with them.

JOB INSECURITY, FEAR OF UNEMPLOYMENT, UNCERTAINTY ABOUT THE FUTURE—here you have the fuel ignited by the fascist elements trying to pit white workers against their black brothers.

Research organizations report that three out of four Americans fear the unemployment of the post-war period. Conservative capitalist economists predict that even if business is as good after the war as it was in the war year 1940, there will still be nineteen million unemployed. Already workers in war industries are being fired because of overproduction of certain war materials. The prospect of unemployment gnaws at the vitals of all workers.

The Klan elements could not have pulled the Packard strike against the upgrading of capable Negro workers—if white workers were not afraid that Negro workers might permanently take away their jobs. The fascist scum who led the attacks on Negroes in Mobile were able to incite workers by the specter of unemployment.

This fundamental connection between job insecurity and the race question must be brought out into the open in order to show how foolishly it is for any group of workers to suppose they can get permanent employment for themselves by turning against other groups of workers.

Suppose—for the sake of argument alone—the inhuman, undesirable and impossible feat of confining our Negro brothers to black ghettos could be accomplished—even as the Nazis dealt with the Jews. Would that remove the threat of unemployment for white workers? All Negro workers in all categories, rural and urban, in 1940 numbered only something over five million. The discrimination against the Negro worker has been so great that even today—the heyday of Negro employment—government departments report that in war industries on an average only sixty-seven workers out of every thousand are Negroes.

In the Los Angeles aircraft industry—where there has been such an influx of war workers—only five thousand Negroes have found work. But in some of the war industries there are hardly any Negro workers. For instance, in the manufacture of explosives only one per cent of the workers are Negroes; in electrical equipment, only two per cent.

Putting the Negro into a black ghetto—Hitler style—would not save many jobs for the white workers. The whole Negro population of the country, men, women and children, is only thirteen millions. Whereas economists predict unemployment of nineteen million.

How do the Jews fit into this picture? They too are blamed for everything. There are all told some five million or less Jews in this country and they are not overwhelmingly in industry.

Or some vicious demagogue might urge Protestant workers to start an extermination campaign against Catholic workers—to keep the jobs for the Protestants.

Or some mischievous messiah—going beyond the color and religious lines—might begin to shout for drawing the sex line. There are, after all, around fifteen million women industrial workers. Would it be an idea to throw all women workers out of their jobs?

Even if at a given moment the impossible were accomplished and all the available jobs were held by male white Protestants, the unemployment menace would still be as big as capitalism itself. For every new labor-saving machine would, as always, throw workers out of their jobs. Every factory made idle for lack of profitable sales orders would, as always, add to the army of unemployed—and the mass of disinherited, starving Negroes, Jews, Catholics, women and other groups, hovering in the background, would be a mighty weapon in the hands of the bosses to beat down wages, to worsen conditions, to break strikes, to bust unions.

This economically erroneous and anti-social—let alone inhuman—idea of suppressing groups of workers is meat for the bosses. FOR THE WORKERS IT IS POISON.

Workers must proceed on the correct premise that all people have an inalienable right to the needs of life on the level that modern industry can provide.

Workers must proceed on the correct economic and technological premise that modern productivity is great enough to provide plenty of the best things of life for every man, woman and child, of ever color, creed and race, of every country or origin.

And workers must ask why—in view of the existing means of security for all—do we live in constant fear and trembling lest starvation overtake us? In fear so great that there are white workers who allow themselves to be aroused against their black brothers because of it!

The answer is that the capitalists stand in the way of economic security for all. Not the Negroes, not the Jews, not the Catholics, not the women workers, not the foreign-born workers—the CAPITALISTS block the way of the whole working class. IT IS AGAINST THEM THAT ALL WORKERS MUST UNITE.

Unite to make your unions more powerful, class-conscious and militant. Unite to demand a short enough work week—with an adequate basic wage—to allow every worker to get a job in the post-war period. Unite to take over and operate factories and plants that the bosses will shut down as soon as war orders cease—so that the workers can continue on their jobs producing needed commodities for the people.

Unite against the bosses in a class-conscious working class political party. Unite for the goal of a workers' government under which the capitalists will be ousted from their seats of profit-grubbing and the workers themselves will control industry.

Only then will labor-saving machines mean shorter work hours and more leisure for all—instead of unemployment, as now. Only then will no factories ever be made idle because of capitalist profit-seeking machinations and lack of foreign markets—for industry will be run to supply the needs of living people.

After the Dissolution of the Comintern

New Stalinist Plans to Undermine Labor

By MAX SHACHTMAN

Part I

The dissolution of the Communist International, which was actually buried by the Russian bureaucracy many, many years ago, is being followed up by new plans and radical changes for the various Communist Parties throughout the world. These plans and changes directly affect the organized, free labor movement wherever it exists, and are therefore of vital concern to it.

The first thing for every worker to do is to learn what is being planned by the Stalinists and to understand what the changes mean. Unless he does, he and his organizations and his class interests will fall easy victim to the reactionary campaign of Stalinism.

The decree dissolving the so-called Comintern was, first of all, a diplomatic gesture in the Kremlin's foreign policy. It was designed to make easier the job of those capitalist politicians, like Roosevelt and Churchill, who realize that their fate in the war, at least as it is now developing, is bound up with collaboration with Russia. With one stroke of the pen, Stalin aimed at removing from the scene the specter of an organization which the extreme reactionaries in this country and in England are still stupid enough—or pretend to be stupid enough—to regard as a revolutionary working class movement.

Behind Stalin's Decision

The dissolution of the Stalinist International did not mean, however, and was not intended to mean, the dissolution of the Stalinist parties. Not their real dissolution, at any rate.

The Russian ruling class differs from all others in the world in that it operates and will continue to operate inside the labor movements of all capitalist countries. The indispensable instrument for this is the network of Stalinist—or so-called Communist—Parties. For them to continue working, and working

along the lines dictated by the Russian bureaucracy, they have no more need today for what was called the Executive Committee of the Comintern, than they needed it yesterday, or will need it tomorrow.

The Kremlin has a dozen way of controlling and directing the Stalinist parties, and any one of them is more real and more effective than the collection of paid serfs whom it appointed to the fictitious "executive committee."

But it does not follow that this Stalinist network must or will continue to function under the old name and in the old form. It is quite possible that the various Communist Parties have already received their instructions to undergo a radical transformation by changing their name and their method of functioning. In fact, it is more than possible; it is probable—and there is already more than one sign to show that the change is already taking place.

What Happened in Costa Rica

The press has already reported that the little Communist Party of Costa Rica has decided to dissolve itself. That is what it did one fine Monday. The very same day, or a day later, all the members and leaders of that party bobbed up in a new organization, the Partido Vanguardia Popular (Popular Vanguard Party), constituted out of themselves, out of the usual fellow travelers, and out of whatever dupes it could attract under the new disguise. It is interesting to note that one of the first advantages gained by this self-conversion was the announcement by the local Catholic archbishop that the ban applying to membership in the former Communist Party did not apply to the new Popular Vanguard Party, and that membership in it was not incompatible with adherence to the church.

Why has this happened first in comparatively obscure Costa Rica? It is an old custom of the Stalinist bureaucracy to try out a new ma-

neuver on a small scale in order to see, first, how it works out, and, second, what reaction it produces in the more important countries. There is, in this case, also a special reason. Costa Rica is, like most Latin American countries, a more or less Catholic country. The Kremlin has been making great efforts to establish friendly relations with the Vatican, and one of the obstacles in the path of a conciliation between these two pillars of political reaction has been the existence of the Comintern and its national sections.

Vatican-Kremlin Rapprochement?

When Costa Rica's archbishop, Victor M. Sanabria, declared that "Catholics who so desire may enter the new party replacing the Communist Party without conscientious scruples," and adds that "I have written a page in church history. Mora (the Stalinist leader) has written a page in political history.... Neither Mora nor I are trying to deceive anyone"—he indicated that the church has taken one-tenth of a step in the direction of comradeship-in-arms with the most reactionary force inside the labor movement. The near future will show how much further the Vatican or its representatives will go in this direction. The mere fact, however, that it has given even this much of a blessing to Stalinism speaks with murderous eloquence of the latter's political degeneracy.

Developments similar to those that have appeared in Costa Rica may be expected in other Latin American countries. But not only there. We can see the beginnings of the new change in the United States, too.

For some time now, without too much publicity, the Communist Party in this country has been "experimenting" with a reorganization. The old branches have been gradually replaced by "community clubs." We learn from the April 6, 1943, issue of the Daily Worker—which has nothing whatsoever to do with the

Communist Party, as every sparrow knows—that:

"The transformation of many party branches into large clubs was a progressive and positive stride forward. Already we can witness its correctness and advantages. Where the clubs function correctly they have become integrated with the life and people of the community. Though in initial stages, some clubs begin to reflect in their discussions and activities the needs and troubles of the community. In some instances they have become known in the community as Communist clubs and as such have helped influence the people along the correct path." And so on.

Stalinists Prepare a Disguise

This transformation can easily become—if it was not deliberately intended for this purpose from the outset—the point of departure for the formal dissolution of the Communist Party into a "non-Communist" network of "community clubs." Toward what end? Toward facilitating the organized campaign of the Stalinists to infiltrate, seize control of and corrupt to their own political purposes—that is, the purposes of Russian Stalinist bureaucracy—every labor and progressive organization in the country. How facilitate? By removing from themselves and their activities, or removing as much as possible, the discredited name and label of the Communist Party, whose complete subordination and exclusive loyalty to the Kremlin is nowadays known and rejected by the great bulk of the labor movement.

The change, in other words, does not mean for a single moment the actual liquidation of the Stalinist movement throughout the world. Stalin will never consent to such a step of his own accord—never. But he will not hesitate to reorganize his movement if it suits his needs, to reform it, to give it a new name or a new form, or a new field or method of activity.

(Part II will appear in next issue)

Giraud-- Disciple of Roosevelt

By A. A. B.

De Gaulle left London to go to Algiers. Giraud leaves Algiers and comes to Washington. De Gaulle says that his quarrel with Giraud is about the reorganization and command of the army so as to help reorganize it to win the war. Giraud says that he comes to Washington purely on military affairs, so as to help win the war.

The hypocrisy of the ruling class in regard to the war is here once more exposed. The war these gentlemen are fighting is a class war, a war against the French working class. Giraud is Roosevelt's man and he comes here first to consult with the President as to how to deal with de Gaulle. The fact that he keeps on saying that he has come here only for military reasons is proof that he has come for something else.

Roosevelt, on the other hand, seeing that the reactionary policy of American imperialism in regard to France is stinking to high heaven, not only in France, in Europe, in the Far East, but in America also, is trying to give Giraud a build-up and create some sort of support for him in view of the throat-cutting that this apache has been hired to do.

GIROUD-DE GAULLE—WHOM THEY REPRESENT

What are the forces behind Giraud and what are the forces behind de Gaulle? Both have the backing of the United States, the former being the real choice of the State Department. De Gaulle has behind him a few Frenchmen who were living abroad and a few capitalist Jews, who, because of their status, were unable to accept the Hitler-dominated Vichy regime. They fled to Britain and joined de Gaulle. They represent nothing. But de Gaulle has widespread general support in France. In that respect he stands better than Giraud at home. There are some de Gaulle soldiers in various parts of the colonies, who amount to about 90,000 men.

Giraud has behind him the French bourgeoisie, such as it exists, independent of Vichy. But it is the most disgraced and the most discredited, fascist capitalist class that has ever existed. It hung on to Hitler's coat-tails and now it hangs on to Roosevelt's. Power it has none. Giraud's army consists of about two or three hundred thousand men, chiefly Africans, with no equipment to speak of and unable to move a yard without American asset and lend-lease. Giraud has no mass support in Algiers; de Gaulle has little.

The quarrel therefore is who shall get the support of America? At one time British imperialism seemed to be backing de Gaulle. Roosevelt put his foot down on that and now Churchill has abused de Gaulle in the House of Commons and has suppressed the de Gaulle newspaper, La Marseillaise, hitherto published in Britain.

WHAT ROOSEVELT-CHURCHILL WANT

What Roosevelt and Churchill want to do is clear. They propose to build up Giraud into a hero. They propose to equip a French army of some 300,000 men, which will march into France to help win the great victory, or march in after the great victory is won. This army will be the instrument of the French capitalists in Algiers.

With it and American food they hope to place the decadent French ruling class in their former power and will put and keep the French workers in their place, to prevent the masses from taking power. If tomorrow they told de Gaulle to go drown himself in the lake, he would make some speeches but he would soon have no radio through which to speak and no paper in which to print an article. They don't do it because they still need him and they still need him because of the masses of French people and the masses of the people all over the world. That is de Gaulle's only strength and he is using it as only a nephew of Petain knows how to use the power of the people in order afterward to misuse and abuse it.

De Gaulle's strength is in France. It is not only that he raised the banner of national liberation at a time when all seemed lost. It is that he is opposed to the fascists in Algiers.

Take the statement of André Philip, de Gaulle's representative in the underground committees in France. In an article on "French Unionism and the Fighting French" (Free World, July), Philip says that the working class is the "vanguard" and the "driving force of every movement of resistance." He says that the working class is united with the rest of the nation, and this unity has been achieved by the de Gaulleists. How have they done it? "Through their fidelity to certain principles and their uncompromising attitude when those principles are at stake."

Philip then goes on to talk about moral purity, etc. It is not difficult to know what these principles are. They are not "moral." The working class says: "No fascism," and if de Gaulle does not appear as uncompromisingly opposed to fascism, then he is lost.

FOR THE PRESENT DE GAULLE IS NEEDED

That is the only reason why Roosevelt has not thrown him out. Roosevelt wants Giraud, that is to say, a French fascist, to be in command of the army, but he also needs de Gaulle to make the French people feel that the army is not fascist. De Gaulle needs the power of American imperialism, the army, but he wants first to get rid of the better-known fascists to save his face in France, and, secondly, he wants COMMAND of the army in order to have the power at his disposal.

Each needs the other. They can't agree and yet they can't turn their backs on one another. Roosevelt therefore has now set out on the task of building up Giraud because the weakness of Giraud is that not only the French workers but the whole world knows that the French bourgeoisie in Algiers is fascist to the core. Much therefore depends on the way the American workers show to Roosevelt that they will not be sold to this fascist at any price.

In a succeeding article we shall show the extent of public opinion in favor of de Gaulle as against Giraud, and more important, we shall show the exceptional folly of thinking that because Giraud is a fascist and de Gaulle is against Giraud, therefore de Gaulle represents democracy. As a matter of record, they both represent French capitalism and a decadent ruling class, antagonistic to the best interests of the working class.

A Word to Our Reader-Correspondents

Due to the overwhelming amount of news from the labor front lately, our readers have not taken the floor in the last two issues. This does not mean that we are discontinuing "Our Readers Take the Floor." Quite the contrary! Now more than ever do we want our readers' comments and opinions. So send them in!

Strange Bedfellows of Boss Hague --

(Continued from page 1)

gang in every country depends for its very existence.

If the interests of the Kremlin overlords call for a pact with German fascism, the Stalinists here want that pact backed up by the labor movement.

If those interests demand an alliance with American or British imperialism, the Stalinists here suddenly discover that the war is a people's war and must be supported by the labor movement.

If support of the war demands that labor in this country be reduced to economic and political subservience to capital and capitalist politics, the Stalinists use every ounce of their machine strength to force labor's neck under the yoke.

Chaining Labor to Reaction

Stalin is now interested in an "all-out-for-the-war" effort in the United States so that he and his fellow bureaucrats can stay in the Russian saddle. He is interested also in proving to Roosevelt and American imperialism that he will do all in his power to keep labor's nose to the capitalist economic and political grindstone and labor's mouth shut. No independent economic action by labor; no independent political action by labor—that's Stalin's program and therefore the program of the so-called Communist Party.

If that means an alliance with the most reactionary wing of the Democratic Party, as represented by the Hague machine, and an alliance violently against the basic interests of labor, it is perfectly all right with Stalin and his mercenaries here.

Stalin himself has made alliances with even more reactionary elements than Hague—with Hitler, for example.

If that means, tomorrow, an alliance with Democratic Party elements still more reactionary than Hague—the poll-tax Democrats of the South, who are also "all-out-for-the-war" and "all-out-behind-

Roosevelt"—you may be sure that the Stalinists won't hesitate for a fraction of a second. They'll be right on the spot, doing all they can to cajole and bludgeon the labor movement into being the voting-cattle of reaction.

What do they care if that means the political emasculation of labor? They are not interested in labor's interests. They are interested ONLY in exploiting the working class movement for the "defense of the Soviet Union," that is, for the defense of the slave system under which the Russian bureaucracy has waxed fat and powerful.

But what right has the New York Times to be so all-fired pious about Hague? Every time it supported Roosevelt for office, it supported and was allied with the Hague machine, the Kelly-Nash machine in Chicago, the bigoted Bourbons of the Southern "Democracy," and just as bad and worse throughout the country. The only complaint the Times and papers like it can make is that the Stalinists are now down to their real level.

The same hold for people like Alex Rose and others of the American Labor Party. They may not have been quite as brazen as the Stalinists, or

We Like This Kind of a Letter

Dear Sirs:

I received a few copies of LABOR ACTION free at Consolidated Shipyards. Now I am enclosing \$1.75 for a year sub for it plus The New International. I don't want to take a chance on missing an issue and, I want to help a good cause along. Keep up the good work.

M. C. H.

Long Beach, Calif.

(We'll certainly do our best. A letter like this is a good boost and we like to receive them.—Editor.)

gone quite as far, but the fact is that they had a common candidate in the elections time and again with Tammany Hall, with Jim Farley, with Frank Hague, with Tom Connolly, with Ed Crump and with similar flowers on the Democratic Party bush—and they are ready to do it all over again in the next presidential election! The Stalinists are simply one jump ahead of them.

Labor Needs Its Own Party

Isn't it high time that our American labor movement struck out on its own independent path in politics, and kicked out of its leadership anyone and everyone, from the Stalinists up and down, who tries to keep them chained to the stall of capitalist politics?

Isn't there already a big enough mountain of evidence to show that BOTH capitalist parties, Republican and Democratic, are the enemies of labor and its interests?

Isn't the latest piece of evidence—the monstrous Connolly-Smith bill, put over by both these parties—more than enough to emphasize the need of a militant, uncompromising, Independent Labor Party?

That's the direction in which labor is moving. It is moving much too slowly, but it has begun. In Michigan, in New Jersey, in Pennsylvania and elsewhere, there are encouraging signs that labor wants a party of its own.

In all cases, however, the most violent opponents of an Independent Labor Party are the Stalinists. Its formation doesn't suit Stalin's interests (or Roosevelt's, or Wilkie's, or Hague's, or Farley's, or the interests

of any of the capitalist politicians), and the Stalinists will move heaven and earth to sabotage it, to prevent it, to disrupt it and paralyze it when it is formed.

The biggest obstacle—because it is the best organized and most conscious—is the Stalinist machine. Its new Hague policy is additional evidence, if more was needed. This machine must be broken to bits. Stalinist control and influence in the labor movement must be shattered by the labor movement itself.

The labor movement cannot be Hague's movement and a real working class movement at the same time.

It cannot be Roosevelt's movement and a real working class movement at the same time.

It cannot be Stalin's tool and a real working class movement at the same time.

Labor needs a forthright and unafraid Declaration of Independence.

Labor needs—not ten years from now, but now—a nation-wide Independent Labor Party of its own.

Right Hand Doesn't Know What Left Does

In the July 14 issue of the New York Sun we are given the glad news—on page one—that the government is acting to assure the meat supply. Read on to page 17, gladness turns rapidly to deep gloom on seeing the headline, "Warns of New Beef Crisis." In this manner is the food crisis "solved."

O'Daniel, Texas Bourbon, Demands Sixty-Hour Week

Immediately after the passage of the Smith-Connally Anti-Labor Bill, Senator Lee (Pappy) O'Daniel, the Texas anti-labor demagogue, announced that he would press for a bill abolishing all overtime pay. This Southern lackey of big business, while voting for the Smith-Connally bill, stated that it was "milk and cider legislation that certainly imposes no hardships on labor."

The yodeling senator from Texas, in voting for the bill, said that he "did not think we were doing anything more than administering some emergency treatment."

What does this apostle of darkness really want? He wants to establish a minimum sixty-hour week by legislation. In his opinion, the work now being done by forty-two million workers could be done by twenty-eight million—by stretching the work week to sixty hours! But this shameless creature of profit-mad industrialists wants to save the bosses \$8,736,000,000 by passing a no-overtime pay bill!

Thus he would reduce even further the present lowered living standards of the mass of people in favor of increasing still higher the income of the bloated war profiteers, the rich industrialists and the big monopolists of the country.

Like the rest of his ilk, the bourbon demagogue, Pappy O'Daniel just loves the honest working man. He is against the labor racketeer—so he says—and this bill is designed against him.

But its real aim is to double the profits of the bosses by making a slave of the worker. No wonder big business loves Pappy O'Daniel. He is the perfect stooge!



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Editorials

Curtiss-Wright—Symbol of Profit

There is no doubt that many people became highly indignant upon reading the Truman Committee report on how the Curtiss-Wright Corp. passed on defective airplane engines with the help of Army inspectors. PM, for example, printed an editorial comment with a black border around it to indicate something—perhaps it believed this was a blow against democracy, or some other dreadful thing.

We are able to understand such indignation. Here is a corporation which holds the second largest amount of war contracts—something over four billion dollars' worth. It is making and will continue to make enormous profits from war production.

The company, however, is not satisfied with its present super-profits. It wants more. And if it is necessary to pass on defective material in order to keep profits high and transfer losses to the government, it will do so. Big business will never hesitate to do anything to enhance its profits.

The real point is this: Curtiss-Wright is not the first, nor will it be the last, company to operate in this way. That is capitalism!

But it will, as in other instances of the same kind, "get away with it." It has the power, financial, economic and political, to ride over such "little storms" as the disclosures of the Truman Committee!

Millionaires In Russia

Along with providing for stripes on the pants of his generals and designing official regalia for his diplomatic corps—for naturally the Great Stalin himself must attend to such affairs of state—he also finds time to send messages of greeting and congratulation to the outstanding purchasers of war bonds.

A "collective farmer" named Berdybekov, from the district of Kazakhstan, with his family, bought war bonds to the amount of 1,037,000 rubles—paid in full and in cash. This millionaire "collective farmer" received official recognition from Stalin himself—that bureaucrat of bureaucrats who led Russia so far away from the socialist goal that millionaires can flourish there.

Other "collective farmers" are reported to have signed up for thirty, fifty, seventy, one hundred thousand and more rubles' worth of war bonds—and to have paid for them in cash.

A small point that must not be missed

here is that these moneyed "collective farmers" are not the ordinary, every-day variety. They are what the reader suspected right along—the directors or chairmen of collective farms. Millionaire Berdybekov, for instance, is the chairman of a collective farm named after Karl Marx—the man who devoted his life to end the reign of all millionaires.

"... The chairmen of collective farms, like the directors of the factories, earn many times the sums paid to ordinary workers," comments the New York Times editorially; and further, "Many observers have claimed that communism was dead in Russia, but few can have suspected that it was that dead."

As readers of LABOR ACTION know, in these quarters the stench of the cadaver was recognized a long time ago.

Roosevelt's 'Veto'

Anyone who stops to think about it will notice something very peculiar about the way in which President Roosevelt vetoed the Smith-Connally Anti-Strike Act. For ten full days he had the anti-labor edict on his desk; for ten full days he kept completely silent about it. A few hours before the deadline by which it would have become law without his signature, he suddenly issued a veto message. We shall comment on its contents in a later paragraph. But ask yourself the following questions:

Why did President Roosevelt, if he really wanted to defeat the anti-strike law, wait until the last minutes to issue his veto—the Friday afternoon when he knew that most of the Eastern congressmen who might be counted on to sustain his veto would be leaving for their homes for the week-end? Why didn't he issue the veto when they were in Washington and the chances of being sustained were greater?

And, again, if he were really interested in defeating this bill, why didn't he campaign against it during the ten days it was gathering dust on his desk? Why didn't he whip up a campaign if he really wanted to lick the bill?

The payoff is in his message. He vetoed the bill, but said that he favored those sections which prohibited strikes in industries taken over by the government. In other words, he supported the most important and vicious sections of the bill. He said that he was merely against that section which prohibited labor unions from making political contributions, and that section which requires a thirty-day notice before a strike can be called.

Could it be, then, that his last-minute veto was a maneuver to keep his labor support, while he knew full well that the veto would be overridden? Could it be that it was just a phony veto, a political maneuver?

Yes, it most certainly could be!

Imported Jamaican Laborers Work Under Peon Conditions

By R. CRAINE

When the Duke and Duchess of Windsor arrived in New York about a month ago they made some very enlightening and world-shaking remarks to the press. For instance, the Duchess was well pleased with the general situation but complained that the royal couple did not have enough American dollars to spend. This, of course, did not prevent them from attending every show and play—and even two visits to the circus (ringside seats, of course)—in the city or from ordering several new wardrobes in the swankiest tailoring and dressmaking establishments this side of the Atlantic.

The Duke visited a New Jersey labor camp where some four hundred of his "subjects," imported from Jamaica to help with the farm labor shortage in this country, were engaged in asparagus picking. According to the Duke, the work was proceeding quite well and he was satisfied that "his" people were being cared for and treated with every consideration. His only regret was that he himself was not young enough to assist at this heavy physical labor!

The Duke's age was certainly a fortunate thing for him, for had he undertaken to work at the farm he would have found the following conditions:

Living Conditions and Food

In Swedesboro, N. J., there are four hundred Jamaican farm laborers living in a labor camp which was built to accommodate only two hundred and fifty people. These workers came to the United States, together with thousands of others, under contract with the American government, to work in farming areas

where there was a manpower shortage.

When they arrived at the government camp at Swedesboro, N. J., they found that they would have to live in wooden shacks. Others were not so fortunate; they were given tents which are hot by day and cold by night. The food which was accorded them consisted of: Weak tea and four slices of bread for breakfast; two sandwiches (cheese or jam, no butter), an orange or apple, cake, water for lunch. For dinner they were on their own. When they complained about this, the United States Army mess sergeant in charge added a third sandwich to the lunch and promised to supply a noon drink, something like punch.

These sumptuous meals, however, were supplied to only a part of the four hundred laborers; many others have gotten nothing! When the workers lined up for their rations, the leaders among them claim, as many as two hundred had gone unfed for many days, since the food would run out before the end of the line was reached. The government is willing to admit to only seventy or eighty unfed laborers!

Rules of Conduct for Natives

These workers are sick and tired of the way they have been treated and they want to return home. When they left their homes to come to these shores they were told by the Labor Department of Jamaica that they should live up to the reputation of hard-working, industrious, well-behaved men. "Be as courteous to your employer and to all those whom you meet as you would wish them to be to you."

"Social customs vary in different parts of the United States," they were warned. "Remember, that in the United States the word 'Negro' is not used to offend but is used and accepted in the same way as the word 'colored' in Jamaica." They were not warned that the word "Negro" in the United States is the excuse of lynchings, race hatreds and race riots. But they learned this soon after they got here.

But the real tip-off about the status of the Jamaican farm hand in this country is contained in this paragraph of the government-issued pamphlet of instructions: "Should you leave camp without authority, seeking work elsewhere, you will not be able to get it because you hold no United States Selective Service card which is demanded of every man applying for work."

Jamaicans Are Indentured

In other words, these workers are in the United States in the status of indentured servants—they are under contract to work for a given length of time, regardless of the conditions awarded them, and they cannot leave their jobs unless they wish to take up as refugees without any legal standing in the community.

Appeals to the camp authorities will yield nothing, except an additional sandwich. This is a job for the trade unions. The Jamaican workers must be granted full rights of a worker—the right to leave his job if he is not satisfied with it and to look for work elsewhere, if he wishes to remain in the United States, or be given passage back home if he wishes to return. Those who remain at the camps must be organized into unions of agricultural workers through which they can fight for decent wages and living conditions.

Living Costs Going Higher--

(Continued from page 1)

by the Director of War Mobilization. These Roosevelt-appointed administrators are not at all concerned with the labor movement and the mass of working men and women.

Despite the threat of the AFL and the CIO that, unless some drastic steps are taken to roll back prices, they would open campaigns for general wage increases, Roosevelt's administrators went on their merry way, showing that they are not at all interested in the feelings and desires of the working class, even as hesitatingly and badly expressed by their union leaders.

Matters are altogether different so far as big business, that is to say, the war profiteers, are concerned. Roosevelt's pre-war declarations that there would be no new—or old—war millionaires, were just words. The fact is that they are becoming enriched as a result of war production.

The Economic Outlook of the CIO points out in its latest report that despite the fact that taxes in the years 1940, '41 and '42 rose ten times, profits increased by seventy per cent, or over \$2,800,000,000. Profits in the year 1943 will exceed even those of the previous three years! The Outlook writes:

"Profits, in short, continue to climb. For all our determination, the war has become what we were determined it should not—a tremendous windfall for a few.... While profits have soared and continue to soar, workers, whose wages are still stabilized at a level 15 per cent above January, 1941, are paying at least 25 per cent more to live than they did when the United States entered the war." Thus the whole situation is summed up. Enrichment for a few—destruction of the living standards of the vast majority of the people.

Beyond this general picture of the situation there is the fact that profits are only one side of the picture of the enrichment of America's capitalist class.

Direct profits are not the only source of this enrichment. There is the enormous increase in salaries and bonuses of company officials. These salaries, already over-large, have been doubled, tripled and quadrupled.

Big business puts away its contingent funds, reserves and adds in miscellaneous expenses—all of which are profits in other forms.

On top of all this, these companies have added hundreds of millions of dollars in property values. Thus, rubber companies have increased their property from \$700,000,000 to almost a billion dollars. This is only one example; there are hundreds more.

Food or profits? The answer is clear by the decisions made in Washington, in the Administration and in Congress. They have chosen profits against food!

Profits climb! Prices climb! Taxes climb! The cost of living climbs! But wages have actually been reduced—REAL wages are lower! The standard of living has been lowered. The general well-being of the mass of people is being destroyed. The capitalist greed for profits and wealth is unabated!

P.S.: Washington, July 14—Price Administrator Brown left Washington today for a month's vacation!

Cramp Ship Refusal--

(Continued from page 1)

the yard, whom your reporter spoke to, have little hope of anything worth while coming out of Washington.

A chipper says: "If they gave the miners such a raw deal, what can we expect." The men are becoming restless and disgusted. Without a contract to protect the men the company is cracking down more and more.

The history of Cramp explains the company's change of policy. Cramp closed in 1927 after a boom during World War I. With the coming of World War II, the old yard was bought up by the Averill Harriman banking interests and rehabilitated.

In order to expand from a handful of workers to its present 13,000, the company had to attract mechanics from other Philadelphia industries. It did this by dealing with its men in a soft way and spreading the story that Cramp was a good-paying yard. Now that it has the men and, with government help, has frozen them to their jobs, it is showing its true face. It shows itself as a money-grubbing corporation, with one purpose—to get whatever it can in war profits.

Though it made \$700,000 net profit last year, the company was not satisfied. Facts have come to light, through a congressional investigation, that in rehabilitating the yard there was "fixed" bidding. Officials were paid to throw juicy contracts to certain firms. But nothing was done about it. The president, Admiral William G. DuBose, was demoted to the position of chairman of the executive board of the company. But it meant nothing but a reshuffling of the same officials.

Today the company's soft days are over. It's getting down to business—to the business of making big profits. It doesn't care that its thousands of workers can't meet the rising prices with Cramp wages. Even things the company gave in to in the old contract it is now trying to take away.

Not many new workers know the history of the yard. But the old-timers who do, point out that most of the top officials today are the

same ones who were scabs and strike-breakers in the great Cramp strike in 1924. It was a veteran riveter who told me the story of that strike: how the company used police to break the strike and what a hard and courageous fight the union men put up. That spirit is not dead. The Cramp workers we met will not take it lying down.

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CHINA

A 'Poor Relation' In the 'Big Four'

By RIA STONE

The Generalissimo's lady—Madame Chiang Kai-shek—has just arrived home in China after spending several months in the United States, collecting honorary degrees and posing for the press in cap, gown and velvet hood.

Due to the present concentration of Allied military might on the European continent, the Mississippian's activities and those of China are receiving a minimum of attention, insofar as they might deflect the interest of the American people.

Roosevelt and Churchill are one-continent-at-a-time strategists—first Africa, then Europe, then Asia.

The Allies are undoubtedly concerned with the ultimate defeat of Japan and the recapture of the privilege of exploiting the colonial peoples. Today, however, the problems of storming the European fortress and controlling the revolutionary sentiments of the imprisoned masses are sufficient to occupy the military and political energies of Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin.

It is significant that Madame Chiang Kai-shek was not invited to attend the recent conferences in Washington between Roosevelt and Churchill in Washington. The excuse of distance was certainly not in order. Nor could it be pleaded that this woman's place is in the home. For Madame Chiang Kai-shek was formerly head of the Chinese National Commission on Aeronautical Affairs which is a branch of the National Military Council. Today, that position, like every other critical office in China, military, financial and political, is occupied by the husband, the Generalissimo.

The exclusion of Madame Chiang Kai-shek from that conference underlies the subordinate role which China's fight against Japan has assumed in this global war. Right now the armed forces of America and Britain are not available for Eastern action in sufficiently large numbers to carry on simultaneously the war against Japan and against the colonial masses of Asia, in whose eyes America and Britain have been so discredited.

Roosevelt and Churchill are anxious only that China remain in the war and keep Japan occupied. The last thing they wish is that Chinese manpower be the decisive factor in the defeat of Japan. Suppose Japan were forced to withdraw from Manchuria, China and Burma by predominantly Chinese forces while the Western powers were still engaged in fighting Hitler. China could then take a path independent of the United States and Britain.

Even if a victorious Chinese army were offered, armed and financed by Anglo-American imperialism, the defeat of a major imperialist power by the forces of a semi-colonial nation would give a tremendous impetus to the masses of all Asia to undertake independent action for national liberation against all imperialisms.

Today, American and British military activities in the Far East are primarily confined to capturing and constructing the strategic bases for a major offensive against Japan. According to their plans, this offensive will be carried out by Western armies and navies. To this end, they inch up the islands, clear the seas and exploit the labor of the Asiatic peoples to build air bases, roads, etc.

It is not without interest that most, if not all, recent references to the United Nations are confined to the United States, Great Britain and Russia. China is obviously a "poor relation."

No Wage Increases For Low Income Labor Since Pearl Harbor

We have been reading a great deal in the press about the high wages of industrial and other workers. The New York Times, for example, continues to howl the lie that the wages of the workers have increased above the rise of the cost of living.

It does this by lumping everything together, showing that total payrolls (INCLUDING THE GREATLY SWOLLEN SALARIES OF ALL EXECUTIVES) have increased over sixty per cent. What this scurrilous sheet finds "unfit to print" is that much of the increase in payrolls is due to the fact that since war production began, industry has taken in almost nine million unemployed!

But here is another aspect of the real story of workers' wages: Millions of workers earn less than \$1,500 a year. Reports just made public show that out of these many millions, only twenty-eight per cent have received ANY wage increases since Pearl Harbor.

Seventy-two per cent of all workers earning \$1,500 or less have not received a wage increase since Pearl Harbor, when the cost of living was already high and has been rising steadily. This is what some congressmen and other lick-spittles of big business call "the profits of the workers."

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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. 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 per cent of the people who own ninety-six 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.