

LABOR ACTION

NOVEMBER 22, 1943

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

Workers Defense League Obtains Levy Release

Private Alton Levy, former organizer for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, AFL, court-martialed for opposing Army Jim Crow, was freed November 12, at 10 a.m., after serving less than three months of his four-month sentence at hard labor, the Workers Defense League announces. Levy is now on his way to a Southern Army Camp.

The fight to restore Private Levy to his former rank of staff sergeant will be continued as part of a campaign against Army Jim Crow, according to statements issued by Samuel Wolchok, president of the United

to serve his term to its end, December 16.

Part of Mr. Wolchok's statement follows:

"The release of Private Alton Levy is a real victory, but it must be followed by his complete vindication. As chairman of the trade union conference representing 500,000 trade unionists which met at Freedom House in New York, October 20, and wired the President asking that Levy be freed and restored to his rank, I know I speak for the entire group of 100 AFL and CIO leaders in saying that we will not stop this fight for justice until Private Levy is once more Staff Sergeant Levy, with the same opportunities in the Army as any other soldier. On that fight depends the safety of many thousands of American boys, who, like Levy, have been trained by their unions to work for equal rights for all.

"At the last conventions of the CIO and AFL resolutions were adopted against race discrimination. Therefore it becomes the obligation of every trade unionist to fight against Jim Crow in every walk of life."

The text of the joint statement by Mr. Milgram and Mr. Minkoff follows, in part:

"This victory shows the power of the thousands of letters that deluged the White House; the power of the liberal, labor, Negro and religious press, which championed his cause; the power of truth and justice.

"But the fight is not yet won. Already we have secured many improvements in the conditions of Negro soldiers at the Lincoln, Neb., Air Base and we have obtained the freedom of a courageous soldier. The Workers Defense League now asks the thousands of progressive Americans whose protests and support of its efforts won this victory to continue their support of our effort to win the complete vindication of Private Levy by an early restoration of his stripes, and to continue the fight to end the system of Army Jim Crow against which Alton Levy fought."



ALTON LEVY

Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees, CIO, and by Morris Milgram, secretary, and Nathaniel M. Minkoff, discrimination committee chairman, of the Workers Defense League, which led the campaign to free Levy.

The War Department declared that Levy's sentence had been shortened for good behavior. Previously, Brigadier-General Early E. W. Duncan of the Lincoln Air Base had told the press that Levy certainly would have

LOBBIES FIGHT CEILINGS AS OPA PRICE CONTROL FLOPS

The Airplane Lobby at Work

A New Brewster Scandal

"There is speculation," says Drew Pearson in his column, Washington Merry-Go-Round, "over the \$30,000 fee paid Frank Comfort, ex-Democratic National Committeeman, for tax legislation introduced that pleased plane manufacturers."

The investigation of the Brewster Aeronautical Corporation by the House Naval Affairs Committee, revealed that the tax bill of 1940 would not permit the company to put advance payments from foreign governments in the class of "borrowed invested capital." Had they been allowed to do this, it would have saved Brewster and other plane corporations millions of dollars in taxes. Here the story begins.

The airplane lobby contacted Mr. Comfort in Des Moines, Iowa. The gentleman from Iowa turns up in Washington at the fashionable Mayflower Hotel. Shortly after his arrival, Senator Herring of Iowa introduced an amendment permitting the plane companies to put aforementioned payments as "borrowed invested capital." The amendment became a law and saved these corporations tremendous taxes.

For this little lobbying work, Brewster, Lockheed, Consolidated and Curtiss-Wright raised the sum of \$65,000; \$30,000 went to Comfort!

Pearson points out that in October, 1940, Comfort got \$15,000. On October 27, 1940, this lobbyist drew a

check for \$10,000 on the Iowa-Des Moines National Bank, payable to himself. In December, 1940, he received another check of \$15,000 and on the 28th of that same month he signed a check to himself for \$7,500.

An examination of this gentleman's account, however, reveals no deposits resembling such amounts for a considerable period thereafter.

The question in Washington, according to Pearson, is: Who got the money?

Back in August, 1942, Roosevelt, who got wind of this deal, asked for an investigation of it and other Brewster affairs, but in fifteen months' time, nothing has happened.

The ever-so-honest congressmen are too busy trying to bust Brewster Union, Local 365, UAW, to investigate the plane lobbyist who went about freely milking the government and the people.

According to the congressmen, if labor fights for its rights, that is a crime. If business cheats the government, that is honorable and pay-triotee—especially if the "lean and hungry" corporations come with their little black bags of folding money. Against labor, Congress moves with rocket-like speed. Against business, it remains frozen.

Ever since the failure of the Administration to control prices by an order setting up ceilings and demanding that the business interests adhere to them, it has sought to overcome the disgrace by obtaining congressional action permitting the payment of subsidies to big business in exchange for keeping prices down.

Until now, Congress has refused to grant subsidies in the amount demanded by the Administration. At present they want the complete elimination of subsidies. The government is now paying out \$800,000,000 a year in subsidies. But Congress is now debating in the House Rules Committee the barring of all subsidies after January 1, 1944. Behind Congress is big business.

What big business wants is no price ceilings and no subsidies which might keep prices at a certain level. They stand to make hundreds of millions of dollars in additional profits by "competition," that is, by unlimited price increases. What they would get from subsidies is chicken-feed compared to what they could get from unlimited prices.

In Congress, the campaign against subsidies, which is another

way of saying the campaign for higher prices and unlimited prices, is the same old gang of reactionaries, the tools of big business and the rich farm bloc—the whole gang of anti-labor politicians.

Spearheading this drive for higher prices are such well known congressmen as Eugene Cox of Georgia, Ham Fish of New York and the labor-hating Howard Smith of Virginia.

Faced with the elimination of subsidy payments, Chester Bowles, Price Administrator, declared that a congressional subsidy ban, on top of the fact that there is no genuine price control, would raise living costs from ten to fifteen billion dollars a year.

In the midst of this struggle in Congress, J. Raymond Walsh, chairman of the CIO Cost of Living Committee, revealed that the OPA has raised price ceilings THIRTY-FOUR TIMES in the last hundred days!

Since November 1 alone, the OPA has approved price increases SIXTEEN TIMES. Most of these increases have taken place on foods, already the biggest item in the rising cost of living, and the commodities for which the workers spend the greater part of their incomes.

The much-vaunted OPA winter vegetable program to roll back prices to the level of September, 1942, has failed miserably. As a matter of fact, in some cases, price increases were permitted. In addition to food, price increases have been allowed on ice cream, turkeys, tobacco, cigarettes and all winter clothing.

Labor is paying the price by accepting the Administration policy of do-nothing on prices, which places their control in the hands of big business or its professional politicians.

Trade union committees, cooperative organizations, consumer bodies, these are the only agencies which can control prices. They must set price ceilings beyond September, 1942, when they were already high, and they must control the price situation.

Otherwise all those who work, that is, the overwhelming majority of the people, will be gouged by a minority of profit-mad capitalists, who have enriched themselves from the war program and who seek to increase their riches through soaking the people for consumer goods, often of inferior quality.

UAW Local 501 Attacks Vinson Hearings

A resolution passed last week by Bell Local 501, UAW-CIO, declared the local's unequivocal support to the Brewster Union and its president, Thomas De Lorenzo. The resolution, in clear and unmistakable terms, denounces the House Naval Affairs Committee's investigation of Local 365 and its officers.

Not satisfied with the mere passage of a strong-sounding resolution, the membership of No. 501 is urging each and every UAW union to take immediate action on the resolution. Over 1,000 locals have already received copies of the resolution. A letter, signed by the president of No. 501, which accompanies the resolution, states:

"The reactionaries in Congress and the reactionary, anti-labor press have found a new way to attack labor. They are using Local 365 and its president, Thomas V. De Lorenzo, as 'guinea pigs' in their tests to see just how far organized labor is going to let them go in their attacks, thereby giving such pro-fascists as Westbrook Pegler more ammunition against organized labor.

The membership of Local 501, seeing just what is behind this new maneuver and realizing the dangers of these tactics, has decided to raise its voice in protest against the unjust, vicious and libelous attacks being leveled at a fellow local union. Not being satisfied with just protesting same, we are asking that all affiliated local unions take similar action immediately, BEFORE THIS PRECEDENT BECOMES A FACT!"

The resolution, which was passed with only three dissenting votes, is couched in militant language. It is important that every local union militant urges his union to take immediate action on this.

The three who opposed the resolution were Stalinist union-wreckers. But their vicious attacks against De Lorenzo were howled down by the union militants, who were firm in showing their solidarity with their Brewster brothers.

Roosevelt's New Plans for Subsidies and Investigations Won't Stop Food Profiteers

By GERTRUDE SHAW

For months President Roosevelt has been promising to submit a plan to roll back prices and stop the skyrocketing of the cost of living. The suspense was getting unbearable. At last he has submitted his plan.

It consists of two parts. One was contained in his message to Congress November 1, asking for the continuation of subsidy payments beyond December 31, when the present appropriations end. The other was the appointment a few days later of a committee from the War Labor Board to investigate the rise in the cost of living.

This is all the President has to offer to the people victimized by war-profiteering prices. Can these measures really roll back and hold

back the cost of living?

First, let us examine the President's appointment of this price-investigating committee.

What Prices Does FDR Mean?

Honest figures on the cost of living are indeed necessary. When the President, in his aforementioned speech to Congress, declares that since 1939 prices have gone up only twenty-six per cent, a worker raises a quizzical eyebrow and wonders what prices the President is talking about.

For, since 1941—let alone 1939—the worker is paying on the average fifty to sixty per cent more for food, twenty-five per cent more for rent, and so much more for everything else from clothes and shoes to shoe-strings and clothespins, that, consid-

ering the sharp decline in the quality of goods, it is hard to estimate the real increase.

Workers squeezed by the President's hold-the-line order on wages don't need the report of his committee on the cost of living. They know what a dollar gets them over the grocer's counter. If there is more need for statistical proof of run-away prices, the unions have their accountants, statisticians and economists. They have presented plenty of figures to bear out the above situation.

So, we see that one-half of the President's plan is not designed to roll back prices but to hold down wages as long as possible. The CIO leaders very wisely did not fall for Roosevelt's strategy. They have announced their intention to go ahead with wage demands, beginning with an increase for the steel workers. It is up to the rank and file of labor to put unrelenting pressure on the lead-

ers to continue this good start and not to yield—as they too often do—to the requests of their "friend" in the White House.

So much for the committee appointed by the President. Now we come to the subsidy program, which is regarded by liberals and labor leaders as the white hope for rolling back prices.

(Continued on page 4)

Buffalo Local, UAW, for Support of Brewster Union

November 11, 1943.

Dear Sir and Brother:

The reactionaries in Congress and the reactionary, anti-labor press have found a new way to attack labor. They are using Local 365 and its president, Thomas V. De Lorenzo, as "guinea pigs" in their tests to see just how far organized labor is going to let them go in their attacks, thereby giving such pro-fascists as Westbrook Pegler more ammunition against organized labor.

The membership of Local 501, seeing just what is behind this new maneuver and realizing the dangers of these tactics, has decided to raise its voice in protest against the unjust, vicious and libelous attacks being leveled at a fellow local union. Not being satisfied with just protesting same, we are asking that all affiliated local unions take similar action immediately, BEFORE THIS PRECEDENT BECOMES A FACT!

We urge each and every local union to take immediate action on the enclosed resolution, which was presented and passed on by the membership of Local 501 at its regular membership meetings of all shifts on Wednesday, November 10th, 1943. There were only three dissenting votes.

Trusting that you will give this matter your immediate consideration, I remain, sincerely and fraternally,

JOHN MATURSKI, President,
Local 501, UAW-CIO.



But the best way to expose, while disposing of, the President's price-investigating committee, is to quote Robert F. Whitney, New York Times Washington correspondent, on the subject: "This move, coinciding with the decision of the Congress of Industrial Organizations to scrap the Little Steel formula, was interpreted as a 'delaying action' which insured retention of that wage program for at least two months."

WLB Calls for "Big Stick" Against the Workers

By WALTER WEISS

During the past week the War Labor Board threatened the whole organized labor movement in a way altogether unparalleled even in the WLB's own short but reactionary history, and that's saying something.

At the same time the WLB challenged Roosevelt, naturally without mentioning the Great Leader by name, and appealed over his head to Congress for support against an expected uprising by labor.

First, Chairman Davis announced that his report to the Senate on November 6 did not mean at all that the board was considering abandonment of the Little Steel formula. In that report he had said that labor alone was being asked to bear the burden in the anti-inflation program.

Davis now insists that he was merely suggesting that prices ought to be rolled back. Or, if not rolled

back, at least not allowed to go any higher. For his own part, he is convinced that the increase in prices since September, 1942, doesn't amount to much, anyway.

A New WLB Line

As we reported last week, the WLB asserts, and on the whole correctly, that the coal settlement was within Little Steel formula limits, since increased earnings are allowed not in the form of higher wage rates but as overtime pay for longer hours. However, the board is terribly worried, because the miners were not punished for their repeated strikes. Instead, Ickes negotiated his agreement with Lewis while a strike was in full effect.

Concerning this, Davis said that he had "greatly injured the policy of the WLB in dealing with strikes." He was even moved to quote Shakespeare: "O, what a fall was there, my

countrymen. Then I and you and all of us fell down."

Since Roosevelt by executive order had not only authorized but had actually "directed" Ickes to offer the miners a contract, it is obvious that Davis was aiming at Roosevelt.

The second step in the WLB attack came with the release of the text of the majority opinion approving the Lewis-Ickes agreement. The agreement was within the Little Steel formula, says the opinion, as laid down for this case by the WLB itself, but the board would never have agreed to the negotiation of a contract while the men were on strike. "Another agency" of the government committed this crime. That the accusation is once more really against Roosevelt, whom the board could not override, is made clear in the following paragraph from the opinion: "It is possible (that is, the possibility of further trouble with the

miners), however, together with the shock experienced by the whole country as a result of the United Mine Workers' defiance of the no-strike pledge, must of necessity bring into the forefront of consideration and discussion the whole question of the responsibility of unions for anti-social acts and of THE CAPACITY OF THE GOVERNMENT AS AT PRESENT CONSTITUTED to prevent such acts" (our emphasis).

In speaking of "the shock experienced by the whole country as a result of the UMW's defiance," the board is really expressing its own concern that other workers may follow the miners' example.

Seeking Severe Measures

Hoping to head off any such development, they threaten that "legislative sanctions more thoroughgoing than now exist (that is, than the harsh Connally-Smith Act)—W.W.)

may be required, unless organized labor itself demonstrates from now on its determination to accept the bitter with the sweet and to comply with the orderly processes of government which have been set up to cope with wartime conditions."

Once upon a time the WLB would have been willing to rely on the vague but tremendous "war powers" of the President for any necessary action. Now they speak of "legislative sanctions," evidently suggesting that a mere politician like Roosevelt, who has an eye on the labor vote in next year's election, is not to be trusted to clamp down with full force.

The industry members of the board, we should add, don't merely say that harsher laws MAY be required; they call on Congress to get to work at once. One public member went even further than his three (Continued on page 4)

Note Their Salaries-- They Oppose Wage Boosts

WASHINGTON—A current report of the U.S. Treasury Department executive salaries in 1941 shows a number of automotive industry employers among the upper crust.

Here are the 1941 salaries for some auto and aircraft industry magnates, as listed by the Treasury Department:

C. E. Wilson, General Motors	\$276,433.94
Edsel B. Ford, Ford Motor Co.	234,575.13
Charles E. Sorenson, Ford Motor Co.	220,004.96
H. F. Vickers, Vickers, Inc.	212,433.61
Albert Bradley, General Motors	208,643.30
Charles F. Kettering, General Motors	200,717.50
Donaldson Brown, General Motors	200,706.00
John Thomas Smith, General Motors	200,602.25
Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., General Motors	200,550.00
Charles B. Bohn, Bohn Aluminum	134,052.67
P. A. Markey, Bohn Aluminum	114,072.66
K. T. Keller, Chrysler Motors	100,950.00
Phil Huber, Ex-Cell-O	145,900.00
B. J. Craig, Ford Motor Co.	116,081.54
A. M. Wibbel, Ford Motor Co.	101,050.60
Marvin E. Coyle, General Motors	187,662.25
Harlow H. Curtice, General Motors	147,770.25
Ronald K. Evans, General Motors	105,114.21
Alfred J. Fisher, General Motors	101,358.75
Edward F. Fisher, General Motors	144,760.50
Lawrence P. Fisher, General Motors	152,330.25
Richard H. Grant, General Motors	152,244.25
Ormond E. Hunt, General Motors	199,594.00
Harry J. Klingner, General Motors	101,505.75
Charles L. McCuen, General Motors	116,906.46
James D. Mooney, General Motors	145,579.25
H. E. Hund, Reo Motors	128,988.87
Robert Ellis, Rinsheed-Mason	179,198.10

AND THAT'S NOT ALL

These 1941 salaries do not indicate everything received by the above management men and owners of industry from their respective companies. In addition to salaries, most of them also receive returns—frequently totaling more than their salaries—through ownership of stock, bonuses, etc.

For instance, the du Ponts are not on the above list, yet they also draw a few pennies from General Motors.—From the United Automobile Worker.

AFL and CIO Conventions Fumble Problem of Unionizing Women

By SUSAN GREEN

According to the figures of August, 1943, out of the total civilian labor force of 54,800,000 workers, 17,100,000, or almost one-third, are women.

Of the 17,100,000 women workers, around 6,000,000 are new workers coming from homes, schools, etc. Also among them are many women who have shifted from office to factory, from unskilled labor to skilled labor, from low-paying to better-paying jobs.

There is still an untapped supply of womanpower in the country, from which will come perhaps another million workers.

New Phenomenon—New Problem

Due to the demands of war production and the vacancies left by drafted workers, women are now doing every kind of work done by men with the exception of the few jobs where physical strength required is beyond a woman's capacity.

Women operate traveling cranes and weld plates with arcs and gas flames. They thread and cut pipe. They wire electrical machinery. They use every imaginable tool. They drive trucks and buses and trolleys. They throw switches for trains. And these are only some of the varied jobs that women are now doing. Perhaps fifty per cent of war workers are women.

Women workers in these numbers and in these jobs constitute a new phenomenon in industry and a new problem for the labor movement.

To suppose that the seven million or so women workers who will have been added to the wartime labor force will return to the proverbial

woman's place—the home—is fantastic. Some will, of course. But many millions will not be able to, even if they should want to. For grim economic necessity will demand that they earn a living. And not only in the ordinary sense in which this is always true. But more so because the casualties of war run into millions, inevitably leaving families deprived of male bread-winners.

The women workers must, therefore, not be the outstanding victims of post-war unemployment. On the other hand, because they will need jobs badly, they must not become the underpaid tools of the bosses to knock down the wage standards of all the workers.

The problem, therefore, is to organize the women workers on the basis of obtaining for them equal pay for equal work and on the basis of an adequate post-war unemployment program projected by the unions to get employment for all.

How did the two great organizations of labor in their annual conventions just concluded, approach this very important problem? Neither the AFL nor the CIO faced it squarely.

AFL Delegates Hear a Good Speech

At the AFL convention, Miss Rose Schneiderman, president of the National Women's Trade Union League, an organization which has done—in its limited sphere—some good work in educating women to the need for trade unionism, honestly posed to the delegates the urgency of the problem of women workers.

Following is a significant part of her speech:

"It is impossible to try to deal with

the gigantic problems of women in war industries without looking ahead to what women's place will be in peacetime industries after the war. Obviously it is too early to see the whole pattern, but even at this time certain basic things are clear. Equal pay is not only necessary for women's morale now, but if women are not paid for the same jobs, that the men they are replacing were paid, the value of the jobs will go down and will be down when the returning soldiers come back into industry. We must definitely resist the trend to pay women less, or the standard of living for all workers, both now and in the post-war period, will be lowered.

"The right of women to work at

any sort of a job where they have established their capacity must be recognized now and in the future. It must be assured in an orderly and equitable fashion, applying equally to all workers and apart from sex considerations. . . . That many women war workers will return to their homes, there is no doubt. On the other hand, economic necessity underlies most women's desire for a job and this necessity should be treated with as much respect and consideration as is given to men."

Miss Schneiderman urged the AFL to undertake an organization drive, and predicted that, if this is done in earnest, the AFL would be able to boast ten million members at its next convention instead of its seven mil-

lion. President William Green thanked Miss Schneiderman for her address.

However, a careful scrutiny of the proceedings of the convention does not reveal a single resolution passed to implement the ideas expressed by Miss Schneiderman.

The only measure taken bearing on the general problem of women workers was the acceptance by the delegates of the report of its executive council favoring a bill by Senator Thomas of Utah. The bill provides for an allotment of \$20,000,000 annually for the care of children of employed mothers in war areas. This is really a trifling sum for such a task. But, this aside, the important point is that the AFL in its 1943 convention did practically nothing to draw to the organized labor movement the army of women workers.

Action Taken by the CIO

The CIO acquitted itself better, although not as well as the situation demands.

The CIO also passed a resolution on child care, but related it to the realities of child delinquency, the drafting of fathers and so on. Whereas the AFL was concerned with child care only for the duration of the war and for six months after, the CIO asks for a PERMANENT program, including federal funds to cover all costs except food.

The CIO delegates, looking into the future, passed a resolution calling for a dismissal wage for men and women "disemployed after cessation of hostilities and during the period of conversion of American industry to production of peacetime goods." This demand is to be presented to the government with the object of having such a clause included in war contracts. CIO unions are to attempt to include a dismissal wage clause in all collective bargaining contracts.

Such a measure, if carried out as it should be, will provide a little protection and will surely meet with the wholehearted approval of both men and women workers to whom the post-war period looks pretty gloomy. But, again, this does not go far enough on the specific problem of women workers.

Another resolution of the CIO on organizing the unorganized directly recognized the problem of the women workers in the following clause: "We must direct special attention to the new problems arising from the influx of millions of workers into these industries such as the women workers, Negro workers now being employed in other than unskilled jobs, to the number of former white collar professional workers who are now working on production jobs, and to the farm workers finding factory work for the first time."

The same resolution continues: "We must also demonstrate to our membership that the new problems which face labor today because of the war situation can be effectively solved through the strength of organized labor."

Resolution of Buffalo UAW Local 501, Backs Brewster Union

Whereas, there is now in effect a congressional investigation involving Local 365, UAW-CIO, and its president, Thomas V. De Lorenzo, concerning certain Army contracts which have constantly been mishandled by two successive managements; and

Whereas, there has been investigation after investigation by congressional committees concerning the Brewster Aeronautical Corporation's production record, each investigation having proved that Local 365 and its president, Thomas V. De Lorenzo, have a clean and cleared record; and

Whereas, under congressional immunity, certain members of the investigating committee have made statements and demands which, under ordinary circumstances, if they were not hiding under this cloak of immunity, would be held libelous and at any rate were made to feed the mouths and typewriters of the anti-labor, pro-fascist propagandists of the Westbrook Pegler ilk, and

Whereas, Local 365 and its officers have proved themselves to be a militant, progressive union, with militant, progressive thinking; and

Whereas, a member of the investigating committee has demanded that Thomas V. De Lorenzo resign his position as president of Local 365, UAW-CIO, with the threat of taking war orders away from the Brewster Aeronautical Corporation if he remains, thereby attempting to take away the last vestige of democracy from our unions, making a demand that our own international president

cannot make and, most important of all, setting a dangerous precedent of a means of attack against not only local unions, but international unions and eventually the entire labor movement;

Therefore, be it resolved that Local 501, UAW-CIO, go on record supporting Local 365 and its president for its firm stand and militant, democratic actions and commending all its officers for having, built a strong, militant, well-united local union, and be it further

Resolved, that Local 501 demand that President R. J. Thomas and CIO President Philip Murray bring pressure to bear on those who are responsible for putting on this anti-labor show for the reactionary press, instead of conducting a bona fide investigation as to the real reasons for the lack of production, or to stop using the taxpayers' money, and be it further

Resolved, that our international union give unstinting support to Local 365 and its duly elected president by issuing a letter to all local unions pointing out that Local 365 is being used as a "guinea pig" for further oppressive and reactionary measures against all of labor; and be it finally

Resolved, that copies of this resolution be sent to all members of the investigating committee, all members of the International UAW-CIO Executive Board, President Roosevelt and President Philip Murray. In addition this resolution shall be sent to all local unions affiliated with the UAW-CIO and urging that each of them take similar action immediately.

Sperry Union Votes Undemocratic Constitution

By ROCCO

NEW YORK—Two weeks ago, the members of Sperry Local 450, United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America, voted to accept the constitution and by-laws finally offered them by their leadership.

This constitution, ten months in the making, is one that begins with high-sounding, democratic phrases, and has written into its various articles vicious attacks on the right of members to participate in the governing of their union.

Although it NAMES the membership as the highest governing body of the local, the new constitution makes no provision for the members to give themselves in any way. It governs the right of final decision in most matters to either the executive board or the general stewards' council, not the membership as a whole. It guarantees the members only one membership meeting in six months, on either a plant or local basis, and in the by-laws imposes a special time limit of five minutes per speaker at such meetings!

How Nominations Are Made

Perhaps the most undemocratic point in the constitution is the provision that, although a member of the executive board may nominate people for office simply by standing up on the floor of a meeting and making his nomination known, a member of the rank and file must present a petition signed by one hundred other union members in order to make such a nomination.

In short, Local 450, by a proportional vote advertised in the local's paper, "Shop News," as six to one, has accepted a constitution that leaves them holding the bag.

How many members actually knew that the ballot was being taken is perhaps indicated by the fact, announced in "Shop News," that the best represented building, by proportion of votes cast to total building membership, was Gair, one of the smallest buildings in the whole Sperry set-up.

The Members Can Make the Union

It becomes evident that once again the clique which comprises the leadership of the Sperry Local has gotten away with something, despite the protests of many of the older members in the shop.

Undemocratic as the new constitution is in effect, there is room in it to make it possible for the rank and file to build a really democratic union.

Although it provides for only two meetings a year, it does not prohibit more frequent meetings—meetings where the rank and file can discuss, make motions, and vote.

Sperry workers should compel their union officers to administer the new constitution democratically, in the interests of the members, rather than as a means of helping the leadership keep their power.

If all the members would follow the lead of the real union militants in the plant, the old members who were the mainstay in the first organizational drives and who have fought for democracy in the union ever since, Local 450 would be well on its way to becoming the strong, well-organized, democratic union that it can be.

New York Workers Party School

FALL TERM

Two Classes

7:30 p.m.—Fundamentals of Marxism

ALBERT GATES

9:00 p.m.—History and Principles of the Workers Party

MAX SHACHTMAN

Friday Evenings

Nov. 12 through Dec. 17

Six Sessions per Course

Single Course—\$1.00
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ENROLL NOW!

WRITE TO: WORKERS PARTY, 114 WEST 14TH ST.

New Subs to L. A. Keep Coming In

LABOR ACTION continues to go over with a bang! The reason for this, we believe, is simple enough. It is the only socialist labor paper which consistently reflects the interests and desires of the working class.

On the important questions facing the labor movement, LABOR ACTION speaks out clearly and boldly in defense of the workers.

It was the only paper to stand side by side with the coal miners in their grand fight. It went to bat for the rightful demands of the United Mine Workers of America at a time when the whole rotten capitalist press joined in a lynch cry for the miners' scalps. LABOR ACTION saw in the miners' struggle a fight for the entire labor movement and did not hesitate to say so.

Our paper carried on a similar campaign against the WLB, which board has earned the scorn of all workers, and a large section of the organized labor movement; against incentive pay as the bosses' new scheme to cheat the workers, to reintroduce the speed-up, piecework system into the factories.

LABOR ACTION has spoken out clearly on the important political events of the day, the war, the Moscow Conference, the struggles of colonial peoples for their freedom.

And LABOR ACTION has spoken out clearly on the election issues in this country to show how necessary it is for the working class to engage in independent political action through their own organization, a Labor Party!

The workers who read our paper know where we stand on all important questions: for labor, against the capitalists!

The Negro workers know where we stand too: for complete equality of the Negroes, against discrimination and Jim Crow!

All workers know, too, where we stand as regards this system: For socialism, and against profit-mad capitalism with its misery, poverty and war!

These are the reasons why LABOR ACTION is growing, why workers read and subscribe to our paper. Since our last press column, we have received almost three hundred new subscriptions. That's an average of about seventy-five new subs a week!

On top of the list comes Cleveland, which has averaged more than five subs a week.

Seattle hit the bell, too, with twelve new subscriptions!

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Plan for Women Workers

This is exactly what the CIO—and the AFL—must prove to the mass of women workers. And these great unions would have gone a long way towards arousing the eager interest of women workers in organization, if they had faced squarely the issues involved and stated clearly a plan of action.

Such a plan would have to include a fight for equal pay for equal work for men and women, Negro and white—a fight that means business and would actually remove inequalities. A real plan of action would also have to adopt far-reaching measures to combat unemployment and provide jobs for every man and woman, the Negro and white, who will want a whole working class, drawing them job:

A demand for a thirty-hour week

at the same weekly pay—a demand for the nationalization of government war plants to provide jobs for peacetime production instead of giving the plants to big business for a song so that they may stand idle—a demand for a peacetime scheme for housing, public buildings and public welfare comparable to the huge expenditures made for war purposes.

This was the time for the CIO and the AFL to put forth such demands. Such a serious program for equal pay and on post-war unemployment, such determination on the part of the unions to protect women workers, would make their organization a foregone conclusion. For the sake of the women workers and for the Negro and white, who will want a whole working class, drawing them into the unions is of primary importance.

Carnegie-Illinois Steel Union Negotiating New Wage Contract

CHICAGO—Workers at Carnegie-Illinois Steel Company's South Works plant are vitally concerned with the new contract which the United Steel Workers of America are soon to negotiate with the U. S. Steel Corporation and its subsidiaries.

A wage increase of at least \$2.00 a day is necessary to meet the undisputed rise in the cost of living for South Works employees. The best evidence of this statement is the fact that Carnegie workers have been leaving the South Works in large numbers in attempts to get new jobs because they could not make enough to maintain a decent standard of living.

Just as the companies today are guaranteed their profits in the form of cost-plus contracts from the government, so, likewise, do the Carnegie workers strongly feel that they are entitled to a living wage.

At the last meeting of Local 65, United Steel Workers of America, the

membership authorized the appointment of a committee of ten to draw up proposals for demands to be pressed for in the national contract negotiations. This committee is to report on its recommendations to the next meeting of the local, on Tuesday, November 23.

The committee will have failed in its purpose if it does not bring in proposals for wage increases which will compensate for the increased cost of living of South Works employees, besides recommendations for the satisfaction of the other demands which are agitating Carnegie workers.

Particularly at this time, when a new contract is being negotiated, it is the duty of every union member to attend this local meeting. This is one way whereby union members can participate in the discussion of the proposals made by the contract committee and on other problems facing the union.

Union News In Brief.....

By D. C.

The National Labor Relations Board recently conducted a strike vote at Chevrolet in Flint. The vote was on the question: "Do you wish to permit an interruption of war production in wartime as a result of this dispute?"

Despite the phony and tricky formulation of the question, the workers at this plant voted four to one in favor of strike: 8,099 for to 2,070 against. This is, over 8,000 workers who knew they had long-standing grievances and who also knew the best way to have those grievances settled, refused to be intimidated by the NLRB. They were not influenced by an NLRB black-jack wrapped in the United States flag.

The strike vote had nothing to do with the "war effort" or "war production." The 8,000 who voted for the strike were not expressing their opinion on the war, but rather on how they felt about their low wages and working conditions in the plant.

The problem of the Flint, Chevrolet workers is similar to that of labor all over the country: how to get enough food, clothing and decent homes to live in. In the factories, the workers are surrounded by tanks, munitions and airplanes. But they can't eat them. It isn't like working at a sandwich counter where you can eat what you are making.

The worker's wife has to have money to go to the store. She has to pay five, six or seven cents apiece for eggs, fifteen cents for four ounces of butter if she can find any, about the same for a quart of milk, and forty-five cents a pound for bull neck at the corner market.

There isn't enough money to go around. And so, we have to take a strike vote. And after the vote, if the grievances are not settled, we have to strike. That seems simple enough. That's nothing new. Labor has been doing that for a century or more. To date no one has found a substitute.

On the Miners' Fight

The miners are back at work, but the WLB, the capitalist press, the bosses and the Stalinists are still having the jitters. There is also a little unrest among the top leaders of the CIO and AFL. The "public members" of the WLB charge the UMWA with "cynical and repeated violations of the no-strike policy" and with "sowing confusion" among union members. The three "public members" are Davis, Taylor and Graham: an obscure patent lawyer, a college professor and a university president.

It is extremely difficult to grasp what Davis, Taylor and Graham are talking about. The UMWA was "sowing confusion" among union members? What union members? The members of the UMWA? A strange kind of confusion!

The miners have a tradition and position that they "do not work without a contract." At the expiration of their wage agreement they asked for a \$2.00 a day increase. There was no confusion about this, except in the ranks of the coal operators and in the WLB. The miners understood it and so did millions of other workers.

I know of two union locals that were so clear on the matter that they promptly passed resolutions supporting the miners and demanding the same pay increases for themselves.

As an illustration of the absence of "confusion," the miners, when they did not get a contract, refrained from trespassing on the property of the coal companies. There was the kind of clarity and lack of confusion in which virtually every miner from Pennsylvania to Alabama, from Arkansas, to Washington and back to Wyoming, through Iowa to Ohio, stayed at home and waited for the contract.

When instructed by their policy committee, they returned to work. When the truce expired, they refused again to trespass on company property. When another truce was declared by their elected representatives, they returned to work. A third time they came out and then returned. As October 31 approached they began the fourth retreat from the mines. By this time the WLB, the capitalist press and the coal operators were beginning to see the light—just a little.

The miners had been in and out of the mines, in solid ranks, for a period of six months. The UMWA hadn't lost a man except by death, or to the Army, or to some other industry. Furthermore, other workers and unions were beginning to get ideas into their heads, very clear ideas about wage increases, and the additional idea that the way to get more wages was to follow the example of the UMWA.

Is that what Davis, Taylor and Graham mean by "sowing confusion"? When the miners maintain the most superb discipline they are supposed to be confused. When they fight to the last ditch, united to defend and protect their union, they are confused, say these "public members" of the WLB. When other workers learn from the miners and begin putting pressure on the Greens and Murphys, these workers are "confused" also.

It's all the miners' fault, say Davis, Taylor and Graham. When the shipyard workers or the aircraft workers strike, it is because the UMWA has spread "confusion" in their ranks. The college president, the obscure little professor and the previously unknown patent lawyer couldn't possibly think of any other reason for the recent strikes and demands for wage increases! Imagine!

Warren Ruling Upholds Race Discrimination

By W. F. Carlton

The FEPC is being kicked around again. Under pressure from the Negro people and the liberal press, Roosevelt has finally said that Executive Order 9346 was mandatory and was not just a "directive" against discrimination. But at the same time he sends it back to Attorney-General Biddle for a ruling.

A few days before the President's statement, his secretary, Stephen Early, prepared the ground by insisting that Roosevelt had known nothing in advance about Comptroller Warren's ruling. We are made to understand that Roosevelt was so preoccupied with international affairs that enemies of the Negro people in the Administration were able to sabotage the FEPC behind his back.

MEANING OF WARREN'S RULING

The request for Warren to rule on Executive Order 9346 came from James Byrnes, Roosevelt's second in command and director of War Mobilization. If the Kansas Telephone Co. did not want to sign the contract with its anti-discrimination clause, then Byrnes was perfectly able to understand that it was a violation of the order. But nothing legal could be done, he claimed. The violation, however, was clear.

If Byrnes wanted to be quite sure, he could have asked FDR to define his own use of the word "shall" in the order. Instead, Byrnes went to Warren. Warren is notorious in Washington circles and throughout the country for his campaign and ruling against serving Negro congressmen in the House restaurant when he was chairman of the House Accounts Committee. Byrnes is no fool. He knew what to expect from Warren.

As soon as the protests from the Negroes, labor and the liberals began to be heard, we got more of the by-play and buck-passing which has characterized the Administration in its dealings with both the Negroes and labor. Roosevelt asks BIDDLE to interpret the word "shall." Thus Biddle is given a chance to redeem himself for the scandal provoked when he proposed that Negroes be excluded from industrial areas.

SOUTHERNERS ON THE MARCH

The significance of all these maneuvers is unmistakable. The reactionary pressure of the Southern Bourbons impels retreats by the Administration from its professions of anti-discrimination. Warren's ruling was a trial balloon by a part of the Administration, especially the Southern Bourbons, to test how far they could go. This time the balloon collapsed because of the ferment which was created among the people.

Despite the bravos and acclaim that the Negro press and the liberals will make about Roosevelt's statement, the situation has not advanced a step from where it was before Warren's ruling. The FEPC remains a powerless committee and because of that it fools some of the Negro people into believing that something will be done for them through it.

Before Father Haas resigned from the chairmanship of the FEPC he made it clear that there would be no prosecution of those who continued their discriminatory practices against the Negroes. In other words, Haas did in fact what Warren tried to make into law. The thing to remember is that the tendency to reaction in the Roosevelt Administration is so strong that even this toothless act was considered a danger.

Organized labor can look and learn. We cannot leave these questions solely to the government. We must have our own committees to fight the battle against discrimination.

Analyzing the New York Elections

Independent Role--Only Hope for ALP

By R-C

In the midst of another upsurge of labor, with workers throughout the country seeking means to combat the anti-labor policies of the government, the American Labor Party has again performed its role of tying the workers in New York to the tail-end of the Democratic Party.

Basing itself on the program of what was once Roosevelt's New Deal, it has again confined itself to supporting the major candidate of the Democratic Party, and limited itself to a few "independent" nominations for the minor offices only.

There can be no question but that the ALP as constituted today has no intention of becoming an independent political party. Even last year, when the ALP nominated its "independent" candidate for Governor, Dean Alfange, it did so not because it intended to change its course, but rather because of the dissension inside the Democratic Party.

Farley's man, Bennett, was unacceptable both to Roosevelt and the ALP. When the latter finally got someone to accept its nomination, he was not a man connected with the labor movement, but an ex-Tammany politician running on a platform, to wit: he was a much better Roosevelt man than the official candidate of the Democratic Party, Bennett, who was hardly a Roosevelt man at all.

In the current elections, with comparative peace in the Democratic Party (at least as far as the lieutenant-governorship was concerned) the ALP reverted to its policy of supporting the Democratic candidate. It stressed the necessity of this support on the theory that in this pre-presidential electoral year, the election of Haskell would strengthen Roosevelt's chances of carrying New York State in 1944. Its program once again was Roosevelt's and its campaign subordinated to the needs of the Roosevelt Administration.

When one of the candidates for the Supreme Court bench, supported by both the Democratic and Republican Parties, was exposed as a friend of the gangster, Frank Costello, and indeed owed his Tammany nomination to Costello, both parties, in order to save face, had to renounce Aurelio. The Democrats indicated support of Levy, the ALP candidate.

In the elections, however, the Democratic machine actually threw its support to Aurelio, who had remained on the official ballot, and thus assured his election. The Republicans aided in this by nominating a third candidate and splitting the anti-Aurelio vote. The ALP was again left holding the bag, but this seems to have made no deep impression on its leadership.

A Summary of the Detroit Elections

By BEN HALL

DETROIT—The complete bankruptcy of the CIO policy of supporting so-called "friends of labor" and the urgent necessity for the immediate formation of an independent Labor Party with a fighting program were demonstrated by the recent mayoral campaign in Detroit and by the whole course of the election campaign itself from the primaries on October 5 to the final balloting on November 2.

Mayor Jeffries, running for re-election, was backed by all three local daily papers, by the Detroit Board of Commerce and by an undercover campaign of the Ku Klux Klan. His election bid was marked by vicious attacks against the Negro population of the city and slanderous charges against the CIO.

Frank Fitzgerald, supported by the Democratic Party, the CIO and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and proclaimed as a "scholar, athlete, soldier, lawyer, professor and judge," went down to defeat.

The final returns show that Jeffries nosed out his opponent by a vote of 297,799 to 173,817, a majority of some 32,000 votes.

From the viewpoint of the labor movement, on a national scale, these elections are of great significance. The startling feature of the election campaign was the ability of Jeffries to turn almost certain defeat into victory.

Victory of Fitzgerald in Primaries

In the primaries, on October 5, Fitzgerald received 98,583 votes to

60,360 for Jeffries. This impressive victory came as a surprise to all the local newspapers and political commentators. It proved conclusively that labor was in a fighting mood and desired a voice in politics, and that the Negro people, thousands of them members of the CIO, were weary of the toleration and white-wash of Klanist activities by the police department. They were convinced of the need to back a candidate supported by the CIO. This does not mean that Fitzgerald was a REAL labor candidate. But support by the CIO made this Democrat appear to be a spokesman for labor. As a result, the entire campaign was a farce.

Betting odds after the primaries were overwhelmingly for Fitzgerald. It seemed as though he would win a decisive victory.

But between October 5 and November 2, Jeffries, the daily press and the Klanists were able to take the offensive, to raise those issues which they wished to discuss, to mobilize thousands of voters who stayed away from the primaries, and to put Jeffries back in office.

In the final returns, Fitzgerald received forty-five per cent of the votes cast. In the primaries he had received sixty-two per cent of the total vote cast for himself and Jeffries.

The facts therefore demonstrate that even if Fitzgerald had finally nosed out Jeffries by a small margin, the whole course of the election campaign was a tremendous increase in the influence of the enemies of labor in contradistinction to their poor showing in the primaries. It is this fact, not the simple matter of Fitzgerald's defeat, that demands the attention of the labor movement.

Labor Movement Versus Capitalists

The real contenders for power were the organized labor movement on the one hand and the big capitalists, ably represented by the daily press and the Klanists, on the other. But neither side came out openly under its own banner and program.

While labor appointed as its spokesman, the Democratic politician, Fitzgerald, who remained silent on all the main issues confronting labor and who conducted a vacillating, defensive and empty campaign, big business had an able and vocal champion for its interests in Jeffries, the self-styled liberal and "non-partisan" respectable Mayor. It soon became clear that Fitzgerald's victory in the primaries would be nullified.

Two issues dominated the campaign, both aggressively raised by Jeffries and both sidetracked by Fitzgerald—the CIO and the June riots against the Negroes, together with associated problems of race relations.

One of a series of provocative and anonymous little cards which bear the unmistakable stamp of the Ku Klux Klan and which were distributed secretly by the thousands in the streets and in the shops stated:

"Your ballot is secret. Will you let a few power-hungry labor leaders order YOU how to vote? Use your God-given American right to vote as you choose. It's all up to you."

Fitzgerald and the CIO

What was Fitzgerald's reply? Nowhere did he state openly or even by implication that we need a labor government, that labor, not big business, constitutes the majority of the population and is entitled to rule; that it was labor which produces the goods of life for all and deserves to run a government really in the interests of the people.

His platform stated that he was in favor of "a helpful and cooperative attitude toward labor." He could not even take an unambiguous stand on the right to strike. When asked a point-blank question by the Detroit News: "Do you believe a city employee has the right to strike?" he refused to give a clear reply. "This is a legal question," he said, "...the question is of little bearing upon the immediate future, as practically all responsible unions are pledged not to strike during the period of the war emergency."

But Fitzgerald cannot dodge the fact that responsible unions have gone on strike and even now are in the midst of strike votes. Fitzgerald could not take a stand openly for the workingman and the unions because he is a supporter of the capitalistic Democratic Party.

The Negro Problem

The Negro issue and the June 21 riots played a prominent role in the campaign. Jeffries adopted a disgraceful, irreconcilable, anti-Negro line.

Money was spent like water to rush through the trial of two Negroes, Leo Tipton and Charles Lyons, who were accused of making inflammatory statements on the eve of the June riots. Every attempt was made to inflame the public by this sensational reported in lurid headlines in the pro-Jeffries daily press. The trial was pushed through to conclusion before the elections.

This trick was exposed by the Michigan CIO News for what it was, "...a well planned and executed maneuver by the Hidden Government that has this community in its grip and is seeking to perpetuate itself, to re-elect Jeffries as Mayor."

Jeffries, speaking of the riots, said: "Negro hoodlums started it; the conduct of the police department was magnificent." The Klan thrived in the Jim Crow atmosphere established by Jeffries. Its tiny cards proclaimed: "Fitzgerald says the Negroes need protection. Protection against whom? What do you think?" and "26,245 Negroes voted for Fitzgerald. Only a few voted for Jeffries. How are you going to vote?"

Fitzgerald's reply? Asked by the News how he would prevent a recurrence of race riots, he replied: "A hoodlum is a hoodlum, whatever his

convention resolution, which reads: "It will not be the policy of the CIO in connection with the 1944 elections to build labor's political organization in the form of a third party, but to abstain from and discourage any move in that direction."

When it helped elect the candidates of the Democratic Party, or defeat them as it did last year, the ALP showed that it held the balance of power in New York politics—that it could determine which of the capitalist parties shall hold office.

In the last election, even this role seems to be diminishing, and the ALP is threatened with becoming a mere "labor" wing of the Democratic Party unless it makes a clean break with boss politics and prepares for an independent intervention in the political life of the state. This means, in the first instance, the development of a program which will correspond to the needs of the workers in opposition to the Democratic Party and Roosevelt.

The ALP Must March Independently

It means an all-out attack on the anti-labor legislation, on the freezing of labor, the freezing of wages, the tax program of the Administration.

The ALP must develop a program which would take the burdens of paying for the war off the backs of the workers and place them on the capitalist class, which can and should foot the bill. It must call for price control by the labor organizations, the raising of wages, the repeal of the Smith-Conally bill, a one hundred per cent tax on war profits, an end to Jim Crow by making its practice a federal offense.

To implement this program it must end all alliances and deals with the capitalist parties and run candidates on the Labor Party program who come from the ranks of labor and are responsible to the workers who vote for them.

The adherence of the trade unions to the ALP would do very much to bring about this change, but this is possible only if such adherence is on the basis of a program for an independent party, and not on the basis of the CIO's Political Action Committee and the Stalinist misleaders in the unions who opposed any movement for a third party or independent labor political action.

The campaign for a genuinely independent ALP must begin now. It must be carried on in the unions and inside the ALP itself. Unless this is done, the ALP will continue to play the role of handmaiden, to the capitalist politicians and must eventually give way to a genuine party of labor, which will correspond to the growing political consciousness of the American workers.

color may be, and the moment he is caught violating the law he should be clamped into jail."

Fitzgerald thinks that hoodlums, Negro and white, were responsible for the riots. This is an absolute falsehood. The Klanist element bears the real responsibility for big anti-Negro strikes and street demonstrations and its activities on a nationwide scale are the real immediate cause of the riots in Detroit and elsewhere.

Housing in Detroit Elections

Mayor Jeffries came out squarely against the policy of allowing Negro and white occupancy of the same public housing projects. He denounced the idea that Negroes should be permitted to move into housing projects in hitherto white neighborhoods.

Labor has given up the right to strike, he said. No group should fight for social gains during wartime, he maintained. To the Negro this means that because we are supposed to be fighting a war for democracy he should surrender the fight for democracy right here at home and permit Klanists to run riot. A peculiar war for democracy! Jeffries was silent on the social gains of big business, which is the only real gainer out of the war.

Where did Fitzgerald stand? Not a single forthright statement in favor of the democratic rights of Negroes. At the beginning of the campaign he said that the demands of Negroes for mixed occupancy of public housing "must be considered." Later in the campaign he issued a denial that he had ever taken a stand in favor of mixed housing. Some of his supporters tried to counteract Jeffries's campaign by trying to prove that it was he who "forced a Negro housing project into a white neighborhood."

This argumentation conceded everything to the Jim Crow campaign of the Klanists and put everything on the basis of who was REALLY more anti-Negro, Jeffries or Fitzgerald. This criminal propaganda in his behalf was never repudiated by Fitzgerald.

By his anti-Negro campaign, Jeffries sought two objectives: In the first place, he wanted to divert labor from what should have been the main issue of the campaign, rule by big business versus rule by labor, and in the second place he sought to cover up the vicious part played by his own police department, headed by his own appointed police commissioner, Witherspoon.

Because the labor movement supported Fitzgerald, a supporter of a capitalist party, Jeffries was able to succeed completely in his strategy. The fact that the police shot Negroes on sight, at the slightest provocation, disarmed Negroes and threw them to the Klan-led mobs and at the same time adopted a "kid-glove attitude toward the Klan gangs in the June riots... all this was covered up and forgotten.

The Newspaper PM Writes on Anti-Semitism

By Carl Davis

The New York newspaper, PM, which carries on a fight against all forms of racial discrimination, is now engaged in a campaign against anti-Semitism which, in our opinion, is extremely harmful.

The purpose of this campaign is to prove, in reply to the anti-Semites, that the Jews do not really control the world, or the United States.

What device does PM employ in its campaign? It cites examples from business, government, the movies, writers, industry, the labor movement and political organizations, to show that the Jews are an extremely small minority in business, industry, politics and culture. Thus, argues PM, the Jews cannot possibly control these things.

Obviously, the Jews, so small a minority all over the world and in this country, do not and are not likely to control life in this or any other country. But the thing which stands out in the PM campaign is its cowardly retreat before the attacks of the anti-Semites in high places and in low ones.

WHAT THE PM POLICY MEANS

It is the kind of argument, which, drawn to its logical conclusion, would mean that if the Jews did make up the majority in one field of enterprise or another, in one field of culture or another, that would be a bad thing. It is one form of the argument that the Jews must remain in their place, and should not be represented at any time by a percentage greater than their population.

It is easy to see what this can lead to: a witch-hunt of Jews, a movement to deprive them of their democratic, political and economic rights. It would have nothing to do with ability, experience, education or welfare. It would be a simple arithmetical judgment which is a form of race or national prejudice, because it would soon be followed in respect to other nationalities and races, and finally to people of different religious faiths.

The Anti-Semites do not want the Jews represented by "proper percentages." They want a total elimination of the Jews from all forms of social activity. They want to disfranchise the Jews altogether. They want to reduce the Jews to the position of the Negro in the South and to deprive them of all social, political and economic equality.

The most important thing to understand about anti-Semitism is that it is a social, political and economic movement of reaction and that it serves anti-labor purposes!

WHAT THE BOSSES WANT

When an industrialist refuses to give a wage increase to his workers it is not because the workers are Jews, Irish, Italians or Slovaks. He refuses to give a wage increase to all who work for him, regardless of nationality, or religion, or color, because he makes profits from those in his employ, as workers. When workers resist the boss, it is not because he has a certain color, or religion, or is of a certain nationality.

They resist him as a boss because he wants to reduce their level of existence, and make more profit from them.

As socialists, it makes no difference to us who the capitalist is, what his color, religion or nationality may be. We oppose him because he is an oppressor of labor and profits from the sweat of the workers. This is true, whether the boss is a native American, Irishman, Englishman, German or Jew. And it is true whether he is a Protestant, Catholic, or Mohammedan.

PM cannot understand this point of view because it is essentially a capitalist newspaper—even though a liberal one—interested in upholding the profit system and defending the "right" of the capitalist to exploit workers and profit from their toil.

THE SOCIALIST VIEWPOINT

We do not, of course, deny that race, religious and national prejudices exist, and that they are deep-rooted. But we know that much of it is induced from above by leaders of "society," whose interests are served by such divisions among the workers.

Much of it is artificially maintained by the agitation of politicians, newspapers and the pulpit. Neither Congress, the press, nor the church, and, in this case, especially the Catholic hierarchy, has spoken out forthrightly on this question. But the reason for it is that these forces are essentially on the side of the capitalists and against labor.

The way to fight this thing we are talking about is by a clear and militant opposition, without retreating one inch, not the way PM is doing. This is essentially labor's battle. The future of labor depends upon its unity against all forms of reaction. The way to labor's defeat is through disunity, by swallowing all the prejudices which make it the easy prey of a capitalist class whose well-being rests upon a divided working class.

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Editorials

Lessons from the Recent Elections

It is only a couple weeks since several important state elections took place. These elections, in New York, Detroit, Ohio, New Jersey and elsewhere, found the labor movement involved as an active force behind the Democratic Party and its so-called "labor" candidates.

In each case, the candidates supported by labor were defeated, some badly, others by a close vote. Thus labor, any way you look at it, suffered a political defeat!

There are many explanations for this political defeat of labor, but we are con-

cerned with the most important one—the **failure of the labor movement to participate in these elections as an independent force, with independent candidates through the instrument of an independent political party of its own, that is, a Labor Party.**

The articles which have appeared in LABOR ACTION, particularly those in this issue, explain a great deal about this electoral debacle. They also point a way out.

It is of enormous importance for the labor movement to understand these lessons and to draw some conclusions from them.

What the Political Situation Dictates to Labor

This paper stands unequivocally for the immediate organization of a nation-wide independent Labor Party as a political means to effectively defend and extend the interests of labor against the capitalists.

Millions of workers have learned through experience that the Republican and Democratic Parties do not represent their interests. They know that these two parties are the political organizations of big business. They know that the programs of these two parties are the programs of big business and that these programs are concerned solely with defending the profits of business, cutting its taxes, defending its rights to exploit labor and insuring its rich standards of living against the workers and all the poor.

Moreover, the past three years have shown on whose side Roosevelt really

stands. These years have demonstrated beyond a shadow of doubt that his administration is a capitalist administration. Nothing has so borne this fact out as the so-called "equality of sacrifice" program, which has really leveled all blows against the working class, given it a wage freeze, a job freeze, a Little Steel formula and the farce of price control, while profits of the big war industrialists were never as high as at present.

In the face of the burning need of labor to travel the independent road of political action, the union officialdoms have risen to fight one of the most progressive tendencies in the American labor movement in order to tie it to Roosevelt machine and his Southern comrades or to support "labor's friends" in the rotten political machines of both parties.

How Labor Joined in the Elections

The labor leaders got behind the election campaign just passed. They spent the hard-earned money of the workers on candidates like FitzGerald in Detroit who should have been spat upon by all the workers of that city. They spent money on the Democratic campaign in New York, New Jersey and Ohio. They organized the energies of the unions behind these candidates. They wasted labor's precious time in support of a few professional ward-healers who aren't fit to tie a worker's shoes.

If these rotten capitalist candidates made a fight of it, they did so only because of labor's support. Without labor support, the votes of these miserable capitalist politicians, from both parties, be it remembered, would have been much lower.

Take labor's votes away from these candidates and it is clear that independent labor candidates would have made a great fight and—on the basis of a fighting labor program.

Take all the money which the unions contributed to these capitalist candidates, all the time and energy spent by thousands of unionists in this campaign and put them behind a campaign for a Labor Party and

labor candidates with a progressive labor program, and the working class will have advanced politically a thousand times.

This is the crying need of the American labor movement. This is the lesson of the elections just passed. Every worker, every unionist, should understand this lesson. Every worker, every unionist, should raise his voice now: **For an independent Labor Party! Away with boss politics! No more support to capitalist politicians and their rotten political machines and parties!**

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Roosevelt's Subsidy Food Plans --

(Continued from page 1)

Allen S. Haywood, a vice-president of the CIO, speaking over the radio recently, said: "For a year or more, labor has been demanding that the government keep faith with it by rolling back living costs. The President has tried to do this through a program of food subsidies, but he has been blocked and obstructed by Congress at every turn."

Labor leaders persist in calling the congressional kettle black and the presidential pot white, though to normal adult eyes they both look pretty much the same color.

It is true that earlier this year the President appeared to have a tussle with Congress on appropriations for food subsidies. Congress represents the interests and position of the food monopolists, who oppose price fixing. Even though the big farm corporations, big meat packers, big food processors of all kinds are the main recipients of government subsidies—and NOT the small, hard-working farmer—these capitalists consider government subsidies mere chicken feed.

For example, a recent convention of food processors strongly opposed subsidies and acclaimed the "principle of free competition." See what that means today! With shortages the rule and the demand extremely high, "free competition" would allow prices and profits to zoom even above present lofty heights. That's what big business in the food industry wants—and Congress aims to please... big business!

But the President also yields to the power of these interests. He is only making a gesture toward labor in asking for subsidies. He does not really go to town to get them. And this can be easily proved.

Back in May, 1943, or thereabouts, the President indicated that it would take around \$1,500,000,000 in subsidies to roll prices back to the September, 1942, levels. To roll back prices to the September, 1942, level from today's level would take much more—because prices are now much higher.

But in his message to Congress, the President does not fix—nor even mention—a definite sum. He leaves the all-important point of "how much" open, giving Congress the loophole it wants to make only a token appropriation.

However, the real question is: Can the working people actually get any worthwhile relief by this method?

How Are Subsidies Working Now?
We must consider that a subsidy program is now in effect. Subsidies are being paid out by the government to the tune of \$800,000,000. Specifically, just what foods are being subsidized?

In his message the President reported that \$450,000,000 of the total subsidy payments went to roll back the prices of meat and butter. But for the most part of this year meat was not available—except through the black market. Lately butter also is a precious rarity. And when it is on hand, storekeepers sell only a quarter of a pound, for which the housewife grudgingly pays half a cent or a cent over, making the price of a pound several cents higher than the ceiling. Thus, the civilian consumer has not been benefitted very much by that \$450,000,000 paid mostly to the meat and butter barons.

The President also reported that a subsidy is being paid the dairy farmers to cover the increased cost of cattle feed—in order to keep down the price of milk and milk products.

But when a housewife pays seven-teen cents for a container of Borden's cottage cheese that a few months ago cost eleven or twelve cents, she can indeed see how the Borden company gains by the government subsidy. She benefits little or nothing by the subsidy.

Similarly the President was proud that "the water had been squeezed out" of the price of cabbage and lettuce. True, the outrageous price of cabbage was deflated—whether due to the presidential squeeze or to other causes. But not so with lettuce, which is priced so high that it must be regarded by a working class family as a delicacy rather than a necessity.

Going from these specific items to the whole cost of living in 1943, while the big boys are gobbling up most of this \$800,000,000 government subsidy, prices are continuing upward almost uninteruptedly. That is a reality that must be emphasized.

Why Have False Hopes?
These facts are here presented so that workers shall not have false hopes that the subsidy program will solve the problem of war-profiteering prices.

A broad hint of what is required to control runaway prices is contained in the shameful situation in which the Office of Price Administration makes a study of profits in the canning and packing industries—and then suppresses its findings! How damning the profits of these food monopolists must be if the OPA is not permitted to publish them!

There is only one way to break the power of these enemies of society and to stop their enrichment at the expense of all of us. Capitalists and their friends and politicians are not

British and French Rivalry

Behind the Lebanon Events

By EUROPACUS

A few weeks ago we reported on the demand for independence voiced by the Arabs of Algeria and the repression which followed. In the last few days the papers reported that the Parliament of the Lebanon Republic, a part of Syria, adjacent to Palestine; had passed a unanimous resolution making a clear bid for independence.

This country, although nominally an independent republic, is in fact a colony of France. French imperialism has been exploiting Lebanon, as well as Syria, ever since the Versailles Treaty gave France a mandate over them. The French have been making and unmaking governments, parliaments and constitutions in Lebanon since they have been there. As soon as one of the native governments dared to oppose them it was immediately dismissed and replaced by more amenable elements.

What de Gaulle Promised

After General Charles de Gaulle had conquered the country from the Vichy French he did not spare the most eloquent appeals to the Arabs. Before the entry of the Allies into the country, in June, 1941, General Catroux said:

"Free France... will come to put an end to the mandatory regime and proclaim you free and independent."

Already in 1941 Lebanon had been officially declared a "sovereign state." But when the Parliament of this "sovereign state" passed a resolution asking for independence, the French immediately declared a state of virtual martial law, imposed a strict censorship on all outgoing messages, forbade the appearance of the local newspapers, and placed armed guards in the streets and around all public buildings. The next day the President and all the members of this "sovereign and independent state" were arrested and Parliament dissolved.

There could hardly be a better illustration of the hypocrisy of imperialists when they talk about "in-

dependence." French imperialism, under the leadership of this great "democrat," General de Gaulle, who has just won an important victory over the reactionary Giraud, is now massacring the Arabs who claim that they too have a right to their independence. The deGaullists who try to arouse emotions in picturing the state of oppression of France, oppress liberty and independence, wherever they have the power, just as brutally as does Hitler. One day de Gaulle speaks of the rights of men and of human dignity and the very next day sends tanks against the crowds who demonstrate for their most elementary rights. Here is a demonstration in a nutshell of the whole rotten living system of capitalist-imperialist politics.

Behind the Lebanese Events

The backgrounds of the happenings of these last days is exceedingly complicated. The French have been at least as masterful as the English in dividing the inhabitants of their colonies along religious and tribal lines. First they played the orthodox Christians (who are a substantial minority in Syria and Lebanon) against the Arabs, then the Arabs against the Christians, then the Arabs against the Druse tribesmen, and the liberal Arabs against the more reactionary elements.

They split Syria, which is a political, ethnic and economic entity, into two different "independent" republics. The French continually made promises of independence but never really thought of leaving the country if for no other reason than the fact that one link of the all-important oil pipe line from Mosul reaches the Mediterranean here.

British imperialism, for a long time, attempted to seize these rich lands from the French, and English influence has been actively behind the different nationalist movements. This is also the reason why British authorities are now protesting in Algiers against the brutal French measures. Another reason is that they are very much afraid that the Leba-

non movements might spread over the whole Middle East.

The British now favor a policy of appeasement of the Arabs and the gradual elimination of French rule. De Gaulle and his representative in Beirut have of course a wonderful "legal" argument: "The League of Nations entrusted us with the mandate over Syria and Lebanon. Since the League of Nations has not taken it away, we will stay." Naturally, since the League of Nations is long dead, French imperialism is presumably to stay on indefinitely. But Catroux did not mention this when he tried to induce the Arabs to come over to his side two years ago.

Arab World is Aroused

As these lines are written an extension of the independence movement is reported. Street fighting is going on in Beirut; the inhabitants fight with home-made bombs against French tanks. Furthermore, the movement has already caused tremendous repercussions all over the Middle East. The Egyptian press is protesting angrily and the Egyptian government has addressed a sharp note of protest to de Gaulle. Other Arab states of the Middle East are following a similar line of action. It is very possible that the Lebanon events might very seriously disturb the extremely delicate balance of power all over the Middle East.

The Arabs remember only too well how they were treated after the First World War, when the British and French repudiated the promises of independence they had given when they need allies against Germany and Turkey. This time, the Arabs, even the feudal elements which make up the governments of the semi-independent Middle East states, want more tangible evidence of British and French intentions. The Lebanese demand independence NOW and the Syrians and other Arab people may soon make similar demands. It might very well be that the Lebanese revolt is only the first stage in a bid of the Arab world for independence and against imperialist domination.

WLB Asks for "Big Stick" --

(Continued from page 1)

brethren and the four industry members: public member Morse voted against approving the contract, choosing to defy the miners, Pres. Roosevelt, bell and high water rather than violate his own pure conception of law and order.

To show that in the future it means business and is out looking for trouble, the board suggests that further study of travel time may show that some or all the miners are entitled to less pay than is now being allowed. This will bring a showdown, since "another issue of compliance may be presented which will determine finally whether or not the present powers of government are adequate to deal with recalcitrant unions."

What Lies Ahead?

Just what is the situation which the board sees coming up? This, for example: Suppose that study shows the miners in Pennsylvania use an average of one hour in travel, instead

of the three-fourths of an hour assumed in the case of the Illinois mines and used by Lewis-Ickes as a basis for all the fields. Then instead of eight hours of work and three-fourths of an hour of travel, there will be seven and three-fourths hours of work and one hour of travel. Instead of a daily wage of \$8.50, the miners, according to the board's formula, will be back to \$12.12. There can be no doubt at all that this would provoke another strike.

Roosevelt, stalling for time, has appointed another of his endless committees. This one will investigate the miners' travel time, now that the board has again raised the issue.

A Progressive Program

Workers in all unions have been given full warning by the WLB to prepare for a fight. The miners have led the way, despite Murray, Green and their ilk. Now the issue is all too clearly one of life or death for all unions. Perfectly clear too is the necessary program.

First: demand that labor members resign from the WLB at once! William Green's protest that the board's statement makes it "increasingly difficult for labor to participate in the work of the NWLB as now constituted" is worthless. He has said as much before and done nothing. The same goes for Murray. What do they want—some new members? Or a new board? Two years ago Lewis killed the National Defense Mediation Board, demanded a new board and got—the present WLB! We must demand: restore collective bargaining!

Second: put an end to the no-strike pledge! That is the only way collective bargaining can be restored.

Third: demand the abolition of the Little Steel formula and increases in basic wage rates. Longer hours of overtime and incentive pay speed-ups are not the way out. Nor will the Green-Murray threats against the formula accomplish much, unless the preceding two steps are taken to put some teeth into this third demand.

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