

Workers! This Is Not Our War!  
It Is a War for Boss Profits!  
Join Hands in Independent  
Labor Action Against the War!

# LABOR ACTION

We Say—  
Conscript War Industries  
Under Workers' Control!

NOVEMBER 10, 1941

ORGAN OF THE WORKERS PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

THREE CENTS

## TREASURY PLANS WAR CUT IN WAGES!

### Government Witnesses Backfire at Minnesota Trial!

#### Court Admits Communist Manifesto As Evidence!

Special to LABOR ACTION  
MINNEAPOLIS, Nov. 4—The major development in the trial of 28 militants this week is the introduction of the Communist Manifesto as evidence acceptable to the court.

This is the first time in American legal history that such a document, written over 100 years ago by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels and circulated in all civilized tongues, has been accepted in court as evidence. In this case, the prosecution charges that the sale by the SWP of this famous historical and scientific pamphlet (to be found in almost every American library, printed by numerous publishers and used in many university social science courses) proves the SWP defendants to have been agitating for the violent overthrow of the government, since the pamphlet urges the abolition of capitalism. In a previous and relevant case, *Fredericks vs. New York State*, the introduction of the Communist Manifesto was not allowed.

The implications of this are astounding. If the prosecution wins the case, any person or group of persons who own, sell, publish or circulate the Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels or some similar book are liable to charges of seditious conspiracy. This is the most reactionary decision handed down by court yet; it has the most disastrous implications for the rights of the American people, if it be followed to its logical conclusion.

Special to LABOR ACTION  
MINNEAPOLIS, Nov. 3—In a sensational development, two witnesses, subpoenaed by the prosecution to testify against 28 members of the SWP and Local 544-CIO, gave evidence today that strongly buttressed the case of the defendants and knocked the bottom out from under one of the prosecution's main charges.

Thomas Smith, secretary-treasurer of Local 554 of the Teamsters Union in Omaha, and M. G. Love, member of the executive board of the same local, were called as witnesses by the prosecution in order to prove the government's contention that the SWP utilized trade unions to prepare for the violent overthrow of the U.S. government. Instead, the witnesses denied any such thing!

So important did the government consider this testimony that prosecution questioning was taken over directly by Henry Schweinhaut, special assist-

(Continued on page 3)



Defendants in the Minnesota "sedition" trial of 28 labor militants have set up their own communal kitchen and dining room at 919 Marquette Avenue, Minneapolis. Persons sympathetic with the defendants have supplied most of the food and the equipment. In the picture to the left the following are shown (left to right): Kelly Postal, Walter Hagstrom, Jake Cooper, Vincent Dunne, Max Geldman, Oscar Schoenfeld, Roy Orgon and Clarence Hamel. Above (also from left to right) you see George Frosg, Carl Skoglund (whose wife superintends the kitchen), Kelly Postal, Miles Dunne and Vincent R. Dunne drinking a coffee toast to their success in the trial

#### Wants Labor To Pay for Boss War By 'Savings'

By FRANK DEMBY  
The Treasury Department has announced that before the end of the year a comprehensive plan will be introduced into Congress for cutting down the "excess" purchasing power of the American masses. The central feature of this "anti-inflationary" program will be a tremendous increase in social security payroll taxes. The figure of 5 per cent has been publicly mentioned.

At present, employee members of the old age pension system automatically have 1 per cent of their wage deducted from their pay envelopes. This sum, together with the employer's contribution an equal sum for each worker, goes toward the creation of a survivor's insurance fund. When a worker reaches the age of 65 he is then entitled to certain benefit payments for the rest of his life.

This system, known as social security, was originally designed to solve the problem of old age insecurity. It is not to be confused with another aspect of the same law—unemployment insurance—which operates through the states. In spite of numerous flaws and injustices, social security was generally accepted as a step in the right direction. Now, however, under the pressure of tremendous war expenditures, this system is to be perverted into a means for making the masses pay for the boss war, lowering the standard of living of the average worker and, ultimately, destroying the old age pension system.

Just exactly what changes are being discussed by those entrusted with the safeguarding of our money is difficult to say, as it doesn't seem to occur to Mr. Morgenthau and Mr. Roosevelt that the workers ARE interested in the fate of their own pension system, and would like to have a public discussion of any proposals that are being made. It has been rumored, for example, that the social security system is to be broadened to include many not now covered, as farmers and government employees. If the "contribution" of the worker is to be increased to 5 per cent (and this apparently is the smallest figure under consideration), will the contribution of the employer also be increased to 5 per cent? Absolute silence from Treasury officials! If the workers contribute five times as much as previously, will their benefits increase by five times? No answer! Will the benefits increase at all? Still no answer, but one detects an embarrassed silence such as is usually present when you apprehend a person in the act of doing something wrong.

Above all, what relevance has it (Continued on page 3)

### Knitgoods Union Rejects LaGuardia and O'Dwyer A Labor Union That Speaks Like a Labor Union!

AN EDITORIAL

"The American Labor Party presents the anomalous spectacle of a political party that is non-partisan."

This statement on the character and antics of the ALP is taken from the election release of the Knitgoods Workers Union, Local 155, of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. The entire statement is concerned with the mayoralty election in New York City and explains why this local of the ILGWU would endorse neither LaGuardia nor O'Dwyer.

The union would not endorse LaGuardia even though the Mayor was a member of and endorsed by the ALP. The major part of the statement is taken up with an adverse criticism of the ALP and a demand for genuine independent political action by the working class and the formation of a real labor party free from allegiance to the Republican and Democratic Parties and free from the contamination of boss party politics.

The statement of the knitgoods union goes on to say that if the ALP is to deserve the support of the workers and the name of Labor Party, the organization must become a democratic working class party and not an appendage of one or both of the two boss parties, manipulated from the top by the trade union leadership. There must be party membership meetings in which the membership not only is given the opportunity but urged to make democratic decisions by which the party leadership is bound.

#### LABOR IS REAL ENEMY OF FASCISM

The statement reads that "only labor is the real enemy of fascism and only labor can be trusted to wage to the end an honest struggle against fascism." This is a precise stand and 100 per cent correct. It should be pondered by all workers who have been caught up in the boss-government propaganda that the present war is a struggle of democracy against fascism.

Any real labor party, which of course the ALP is not, would take such a stand and explain it to the workers. Such a party, functioning in the interests of the working class, not only would refuse to support the boss party candidates for office but would

also be an anti-war party. It would tell labor that this is an imperialist war, that it is not a workers' war, that the Republican and Democratic Parties are imperialist war parties and that the candidates of these parties, even their candidates for city and state offices, are pro-war politicians and not representatives of labor.

#### ALP DOES NOT REPRESENT WORKING CLASS

When the Knitgoods Workers Union says that "the American Labor Party presents the anomalous spectacle of a political party that is non-partisan," it says in effect that the ALP is not a political party at all. It has no independent program and platform. It has a Gompers AFL conception of working class politics: be non-partisan, reward your friends and punish your enemies

### For Independent Political Action Against the Boss-- For a Militant Labor Party

among the ruling class politicians. Vote for the ruling class "friends" of labor and punish the ruling class enemies of labor.

No party with such a conception of politics and with such a program can represent the working class. Its membership may be 99 per cent working class and yet not be a workers party because its program does not call for independent working class political action by labor. It does not demand that labor separate itself from the bosses and the bosses' government AS A CLASS and function in complete political independence. "We must continue to strive for an independent labor party, free from entanglements with the major political parties," the Knitgoods Workers' statement says in a closing paragraph.

#### LABOR MUST HAVE ITS OWN MASS PARTY

It is the position of the Workers Party that this is the main political-organizational question before labor in the United States today. The main political resolution of the recent convention of the Workers Party says: "The American labor movement is today more numerous and more strongly organized than ever before in this country. Yet it is almost totally unorganized politically... unless the American working class speedily develops an independent political party of its own, all its recent gains will be lost and it will itself be threatened with disintegration and impotence."

"The principal task of the class-conscious elements in the labor movement is thus clearly indicated. Foremost in their activities among their fellow-workers, in their trade unions and other working class organizations must come the propaganda and agitation for the formation and upbuilding of an independent labor party... every occasion, every strike, every struggle, every event must be utilized to draw the key lesson: the workers must have a party of their own, based on the mass organization of labor, or else the labor movement is crippled. The vanguard elements must understand this in a double sense and not at all in the sense that this is merely a 'good agitational argument': unless it develops a strong independent political movement of its own the labor movement as a whole will be paralyzed; and unless the revolutionary Marxist movement finds such a broad milieu in which to function, it too is threatened with doom or, at best, a strictly sectarian existence for the whole next period."

In this period of the Second World Imperialist War the working class must begin serious and determined functioning, not in collaboration with the ruling class and the government of the ruling class, but on a class basis separate and apart from the ruling class, from the boss and his parties. This means above all INDEPENDENT WORKING CLASS POLITICAL ACTION. The practical expression of this determination is the formation of a mass militant national labor party.

## For a \$5,000 Party Building Fund!

By MAX SHACHTMAN, Nat'l Sec., Workers Party

The second national convention of the Workers Party, recently concluded in New York, voted unanimously to launch a drive for a \$5,000 Party Building Fund.

The money is to be raised by the members and sympathizers of the party in an all-out, high-speed drive to last no more than six weeks from the day it is officially launched.

The fund is to be used for financing the program for party expansion decided on by the convention.

Special organizers are to be sent into the main industrial and political centers of the country to speed up the agitational and recruiting activities of the branches. The first group of these special organizers, four in number, are leaving this month to take up their assignments in the field. Others will follow suit early in 1942.

Special concentration points, indicated by the convention, are to be placed on the Workers Party map by the shifting of whole groups of Party members from their present place of activity. These concentration points include the centers of the steel and coal, the automobile and machine industries, as well as a vital agricultural center. The last-named was represented at the Party convention by two specially-invited delegates representing the agricultural workers of their territory. In addition, in several key industrial centers in the East, the Middle West and the West Coast party branches which are too weak to cope with the problems confronting them are to be reinforced by the assignment of more party militants to work with them.

Plans are to be announced in a week or two for increasing the circulation of LABOR ACTION. The immediate increase will be not less than 100 per cent! Before three

months are up, according to the schedule adopted by the convention, the circulation is to be increased by more than 100 per cent above its present figure!

Our party is alertly aware of the tremendous job it has before it with direct American participation in the war impending. We mean to do this job with all the strength and courage and determination we can muster, in a manner befitting a revolutionary working class socialist organization.

A new registration of all party members is now being taken, with the aim of tightening the ranks of the party and eliminating all hampering deadwood. The fusion of the youth and party organizations, decided upon by the convention and endorsed by the Young Peoples Socialist League (Fourth International), is already virtually completed, an act which will further contribute to the centralization and concentration of all our forces. A new, more

rigid financial structure is being set up in the party. We are girding for the fight in the next period.

For this fight we must have a war chest. The war chest is our Party Building Fund. Quotas are being assigned to every branch, large and small, and every member; they will be published in detail in the next issue of LABOR ACTION. We expect to subscribe these quotas, and then to over-subscribe them!

Party comrades! Sympathizers! Readers of LABOR ACTION! Help us put over the \$5,000 Party Building Fund in ship-shape style! Send in your contributions—promptly and generously! Let everyone do more than his share!

All contributions to the \$5,000 Party Building Fund should be sent to the Workers Party, 114 West 14th Street, New York, N. Y.



## With the Labor Unions On the Picket Line

By David Coolidge

### ROOSEVELT KNOWS THE MINERS ARE TOUGH

Myron Taylor, John L. Lewis and the President have come to some sort of temporary agreement about the strike in the "captive" mines. The question has been referred to the National Defense Mediation Board. Lewis announced that the calling off of the strike is only a truce and that it will be resumed November 15 if the Mediation Board does not render a decision favorable to the UMWA. This means a decision favoring the "union" shop.

No one can tell what the Mediation Board will do. They may feel that they burned their fingers in the Kearny shipyard case, where they decided in favor of the "union" shop and render a decision against the union. Should the board do this there will be no other way for the UMWA but to renew the strike. It is to be expected that the board and Roosevelt will try by all means to come to some sort of compromise that will be acceptable to the miners, at least for a period.

It is interesting to behold Roosevelt proceeding more cautiously in this strike than in the case of the North American strike. Then he was pretty cocky and rushed in the army with drawn bayonets. He didn't feel the need for any congressional legislation to deal with strikes in the "defense" industries. He could take care of these situations alone as commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy.

The miners, however, are a different matter. They are not a bunch of kids just out of high school. They are scarred veterans of a thousand battles. They are not scared by a couple of companies of soldiers or marines. The young workers at North American did a good job; they held out but they did not have the forces or the experience to continue the strike in the face of the bayonet assault by Roosevelt's troops. Hence the strike was broken. The miners are something else and Roosevelt will hesitate a long time before he orders the Army in.

The setting of a deadline for the truce is correct procedure. The miners know what is involved in this

### "ORPHAN" ALUMINUM AND CAPITALIST SKULLDUGGERY

After going through the nation gathering up all the old aluminum pots and pans to be used for the manufacture of bombers, we are now informed that this junk aluminum is useless for this purpose, due to the impurities it contains. This wouldn't be so bad if it could be used for the manufacture of new cooking utensils. This can not be done, however, on account of aluminum priorities. There isn't enough aluminum for airplanes and this demand has first call on all aluminum.

This scrap aluminum that was gathered in with such high and ostentatious "patriotic" fervor is now piled up all over the country and has been given the name of "orphan" aluminum. The New York Times business section reports that "unless this low grade 'orphan' aluminum is used in the near future, either by changing specifications or diverting it to civilian uses, it may be wasted for all time, for once the war is over there is sure to be a surplus of high grade 'virgin' aluminum for civilian use."

Thus we see one more example of

### STRIKES ARE AS NECESSARY IN WAR AS IN PEACE

In his Navy Day speech, President Roosevelt told the country that the output of the war factories must not be hampered by "a small but dangerous minority of industrial managers" or by "a small but dangerous minority of labor leaders." Roosevelt was trying to serve notice on both these alleged small but dangerous minorities that he will crack down if they don't behave themselves.

Some workers are inclined to fall for this kind of tripe. We will not enter into any fancied or real quarrel that Roosevelt may have with his buddies of the ruling class. He is their man and they are his men. All of them eat from the same trough. They can fuss with each other and be damned. If Roosevelt is having some difficulty getting his class of bosses solidified around their own imperialist war that is their business. Workers should take advantage of this temporary opportunity and try to get something for themselves.

Workers should never swallow Roosevelt's hooey about equal responsibility of labor leaders and industrial leaders. Roosevelt has a right to get mad at the bosses who really sabotage the imperialist war that he is organizing for the benefit of the boss class. But this is not the workers' war, and there can be no question of labor leaders holding up and hampering anything that is of any benefit to labor. When workers strike in the war factories they do no harm to labor but to the boss class, and it is the business of labor to do harm to the boss class. When the working class does something for itself it always does something against the boss and the bosses' government. Of course, strikes in the war industries hamper production. All strikes hamper production. If they didn't

struggle between 53,000 miners in the "captive" mines and the great steel companies. What is really involved is the matter of the "union" shop for the steel workers. U.S. Steel is the spearhead of a drive to break unions by making it difficult for them to keep scabs and unthinking workers from getting jobs and refusing to become members of the union. If the steel and other corporations can get away with this it would be possible for them to pack the plants with stooges who of course would refuse to join the union. Under such a set-up the whole idea of industrial unionism would be destroyed. Also it would be possible for the AFL to creep into plants and industries where they have nothing now and where nothing of consequence is in sight for them. Think of the AFL getting an opportunity to enter the steel industry with its craft union layout. Bill Green's outfit would divide the steel workers into about 21 separate crafts. Furthermore, the AFL would not attempt to organize all the workers.

Therefore it is imperative that the steel union (SWOC) obtain the "maintenance of membership" clause in its new contract with the steel companies. This is not a "closed shop" demand, as the capitalist press tries to make it appear. All that is demanded in a "union shop" agreement is that every worker be required to join the union after a certain period of employment in the plant.

Murray will be on the spot when the "Mediation" Board takes up this case. We can assume that he will vote for the "union shop." There will be tremendous pressure on him however to remember the "national emergency," and to come to the aid of "your country." As we have said many times before: All the CIO leaders should resign from all government boards handling boss-worker relations. We confine our demand to the CIO, not because it is not correct for the AFL, but because we know that there is no possibility of the AFL leaders resigning from these boards.

capitalist skullduggery and "patriotic" hokum. These great "captains of industry," these "industrial statesmen," and government "economic experts" go through the country piling up thousands of tons of scrap aluminum that can't be used. The government got into this jam because the "experts" couldn't foresee how much aluminum is needed. They discover they are millions of pounds short and appeal to Mellon's Aluminum Corp. to get out more. The Mellons don't need any more aluminum production and sales because these would interfere with their aluminum monopoly prices. Then the government decides to give them a few million dollars to build new plants but the Mellons decide to take their own sweet time, and no plants are built.

There are the people who insult the workers by telling them that labor could never run the government and industry. The piles of "orphan" aluminum around the country are one more reminder that the present ruling class isn't even competent to manage its own imperialist war.

hamper production they would be futile and useless. Workers win strikes because production is stopped, which means that the bosses' profits are put in jeopardy. The boss finally decides that it is better to give a small increase in pay than to have all profits stop. Also the boss is afraid that if he does not make a few concessions the workers will get mad, take over the industries and run them themselves.

There is no difference between striking in a war industry and in any other industry. The strike is just as necessary in war time as in peace

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

## Wants to See Some Articles on Budd's

Dear Editor:  
For several months now, LABOR ACTION has been distributed to the workers of our factory. I for one find it to be the only paper which is telling the people the truth about the war and how the bosses are getting profits out of it, while we get nothing.

However, I have one criticism to make—you have made no mention of Budd's. This plant is making millions because of "defense" orders, while we who do all the work, get only a few cents. Recently the CIO has been trying to get Budd's unionized and they are still trying.

I know that a lot of other workers here in this plant would like to

## Philly Politicians Stall as Polluted Water Supply Spreads Illness

By M. BRYANT

Special to LABOR ACTION

PHILADELPHIA — Philadelphians thought that they were being attacked a few weeks ago because a number of people were walking around with gas masks. However, when these innocent people opened the water faucets in their houses they also ran for gas masks—THE WATER STANK!

The Philadelphia water supply is obtained from the Schuylkill River into which the authorities also dump the raw garbage. This situation has been going on from about 1880—but our "fair" government has done nothing about it. Every year they keep dumping the raw garbage (other cities first burn the garbage before dumping it to remove the harmful bacteria) into the Schuylkill and every year the water becomes polluted and spreads sickness.

### Typhoid Threatens

This year the water was really badly infected. The authorities became alarmed, typhoid was threatening. To counteract the pollution, they dumped chlorine and more chlorine into the water. This explains why there was a boom in the sale of gas masks. The odor was terrible, the taste even worse.

When our clean government was asked to correct this, they threw their hands up in dismay and cried, "Where are we to get the money?" Perhaps we can help these poor souls out of their dilemma by pointing out a few things:

Philadelphia has more defense contracts than any other city in the U.S. How about taxing Budd, Drexel-Biddle, etc., who are making millions, because of the defense orders. Or—instead of appropriating huge sums of money for aquariums—let's remember the workers want water for themselves, not for fishes.

## Objection Sustained

Special to LABOR ACTION  
MINNEAPOLIS — At one point when District Attorney was leading stool pigeon Bartlett all over the map, he began asking him questions as to the SWP's stand on the Russian Revolution.

"What was the relation of the Russian Revolution to the party here in Minneapolis?" asked Anderson.

"Just a moment," objected Defense Attorney Goldman, "I do not see the relevance of the Russian Revolution to this alleged conspiracy, much less the relevance of the opinion of the witness on that revolution."

Objection sustained.

## Objection Overruled

When Hophead Bartlett (as the boys out here call him) was telling his story of his visit to Trotsky with defendant Harry DeBoer, the prosecution introduced a picture showing Bartlett, DeBoer and their wives together with Trotsky.

"What is the relevancy of that picture," Goldman inquired. "Does the prosecution contend that it is part of the conspiracy?"

Objection overruled.

time. The boss doesn't give up his profits, interests and dividends in war time. He only demands that the workers give up their wages so that his profits, interests and dividends will be bigger. This is what is known as everyone sacrificing for the "national effort."

know what you expect with most of us going around without a nickel in our pockets two days after payday and with hardly any of us wanting to become soldiers.

"Sure, they try to do their best to lift our morale. For example, they took us to the theater to see some 'morale' pictures. During most of them we had a chance to catch up on some sleep. One of them was a real super-duper, but instead of cheering, the boys hissed, booed and laughed. To get the hellishness out of us, they drilled us the rest of the afternoon. It didn't help, no more than did the morale officer they sent down from Washington.

"No we don't do much about it except gripe. But I know of one regiment where the men beefed about the food they were getting and refused to go to the mess hall for sup-

per. The next day they were taken out on a picnic and treated to beer and delicacies. That didn't help much but it showed the officers were worried.

"Sure, we get our regular dose of KP—and that only makes matters worse. Why, in my platoon we didn't answer a whistle soon enough one day, and we had to spend three days at KP. I suppose you think KP is a joke. It isn't to us, and getting KP doesn't help our morale much. The army is supposed to have automatic potato peelers, but I never saw one. Working for 13 hours at a stretch in a hot kitchen is no lark—take it from me. But the men are so dissatisfied that there's always plenty of reserve for KP. And the guardhouse is always filled—sometimes you get sent there or on KP for the slightest infraction.

Here we are, soldiers through no fault of our own, working—and hard—for a lousy wage. We don't want to die, but there it is. When I came in I thought I'd go crazy. Now I've gotten used to it, like most of the others—sore as hell but going along. What else can I do?"  
G. A.

# Britain's Black Record

The following article is continued from the issue of October 27. Written by George Padmore, internationally known Negro socialist, it is reprinted from the British New Leader, organ of the Independent Labor Party.

### DEMAND FOR CHEAP LABOR

The question of Lebensraum for the 60,000 British settlers in Rhodesia was raised about the same time that Hitler was demanding more "living space" for the German Herrenvolk.

And the imperial government was adopting the same appeasement policy with Huggins as with Hitler. While Chamberlain was selling out the Czechs at Munich, a royal commission, headed by Lord Bledisloe, was dispatched to South Africa "to inquire and report into the question of amalgamating the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland.

Fortunately for the blacks, the war intervened before a deal could be fixed up between Whitehall and the imperialists in Southern Rhodesia. The imperial government is afraid that any surrender at this time might incite the natives of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland to open rebellion, for the Africans in these countries told Lord Bledisloe and his colleagues that they don't want to have anything to do with "Fuehrer" Huggins and his fascist regime. Their conditions are already bad enough, but Southern Rhodesia is no better than a glorified concentration camp for Africans.

Meanwhile the problem of meeting the demand for slave labor increases with the war effort. As Northern Rhodesia needs all the labor she can obtain for the Copper Belt, and the South African Union is drawing heavily on Nyasaland and the Portuguese colony of Mozambique, the Southern Rhodesian government is resorting more and more to the use of juvenile labor to meet the agricultural needs of the tobacco planters and other employers.

Rhodesian tobacco and maize are cultivated chiefly by cheap black labor. Africans are paid about 12 shillings six pence per month of 30 working days. Women and children get even less!

### CHILD LABOR

There is no colony, with the possible exception of Kenya, where child labor flourishes as in Southern Rhodesia. In passing the Juveniles' Employment Act, a government spokesman declared that: "It was in the best interests of the children.

## FROM OUR WEST COAST CORRESPONDENT

# Movie Moguls Imported Willie Bioff

By JACK WILSON

HOLLYWOOD—Behind the day-to-day news of the Willie Bioff trial on charges of extorting \$550,000 from movie industry magnates is a sensational story of the real labor situation in this cinema capital which is being largely suppressed.

For Willie Bioff, Chicago gangster, who became West Coast czar of the International Alliance of Theater and Stage Employees, an AFL union, is a symbol of racketeering in the union movement whose origins and causes are being covered up by everyone from Westbrook Pegler, alleged foe of racketeering, to the movie magnates themselves.

And the truth about racketeering in the AFL is explained by the facts of the Bioff case, a classic example of this phenomenon.

Bioff obtained an "in" in the union movement when the Capone gang of Chicago muscled, murdered, and slugged its way into control of some Chicago unions during the 1930's.

### Bosses Call Him In

He first appeared in Hollywood when the CIO strike wave in 1936 had caused a stir in all workmen, and the employees in the movie industry, 12,000 of them, began to think in terms of unionism again. The IATSE had been virtually broken in a 1933 strike. It had only 33 dues paying members when Bioff arrived here.

Joe Schenk, Jack Warner and other movie moguls, afraid of a genuine union movement which appeared inevitable, called Bioff here and signed a closed shop agreement with the IATSE.

The 12,000 workers had no say in the matter of the union contract or their own union leadership. They were forced into the union by the bosses. They were forced to accept Bioff's dictatorship as special inter-

national representative appointed by the stogie of the Capone mobsters, George Browne, president of the IATSE and former vice-president of the AFL.

All dissidents in the union were fired from their jobs by the movie tycoons, whenever Bioff called them and asked them to. That is how Bioff remained in power. The bosses kept him there. They used their economic control over the workers to force racketeering on the union!

Westbrook Pegler never mentions this fact. Racketeering in the union movement is primarily a creation of and a weapon for the bosses. When the 38 memberships of the IATSE expanded to 12,000, the workers fought hard against this whole lousy set-up. But the companies beat them, using Bioff as their tool.

The ties between Bioff and the movie magnates first came to public light in 1937 when it was discovered that Schenk, representing the movie industry, had given Bioff \$100,000 cash as payment for his services as a tool of the industrialists.

Incensed by this scandal and aroused to fighting pitch by the successes of the CIO, militant movie workers fought for and obtained the right to hold an election between a newly formed CIO union and the IATSE. With a few bread crumbs passed out, coercion on the part of the bosses, Bioff's rough stuff and other anti-labor devices, the CIO lost the election by a close margin.

Of course Bioff was an expensive dictator. Browne and he shared at least \$500,000 in contributions from grateful movie magnates. Likewise he obtained, through assessments, over \$2,000,000 in cash out of the hides of the workers.

When Bioff, partly under a lust for more revenue and power, and partly under demands of his masters, the

as it prevented them becoming vagabonds and waifs exposed to pernicious influences."

This child labor regulation gives the native commissioner and officers of his department the right to arrange the hiring out of children to white employers for a period not exceeding six months at a time.

The labor regulations also provide for punishment by fines, imprisonment or flogging for any breach of contract. According to Hansard (28-3-39) 1,056 Africans were sentenced to corporal punishment in 1938.

Commenting upon the working of the Juveniles' Employment Act, the chief native commissioner makes the following interesting observations on the history of child labor in the colony:

"For the past 30 years there has been no lack of voluntary—insistent, even—child labor. Wherever employment is offered, children have been among the first applicants for it. . . . There is probably no missionary's home without it. . . . The legislation was designed, as its tracers well know, to protect and control the ever-increasing stream of children, to legalize their claims for the wages they earned, and to ensure for the other part that their monthly engagement should not, to their own detriment, be lightly abandoned."

The commissioner speaks about wages earned by children. Well, let's examine the general scale of wages paid to adults in Southern Rhodesia.

In view of what I have already said about the regime in relation to the Africans, it will be no surprise to learn that trade unionism is not allowed among natives. The trade union movement in Southern Rhodesia, like the Labor Party, does not admit blacks to membership.

Moreover, the government is hostile to labor organization among Africans. Some years ago, African organizers connected with the Bantu trade union movement in the Union, known as the ICU (Industrial and Commercial Union), attempted to organize the native workers in Southern Rhodesia, but they were arrested and deported. As stated, it is unsafe to form a religious society in Africa much less an industrial organization for the purpose of obtaining higher wages, shorter hours and better working conditions. Colonial "blimps" consider native trade unionism synonymous with bolshevism!

The working day is usually between 10 to 14

hours. Thirty working days constitute a month. Miners get about 29 shillings 6 pence a month. Imported labor is paid less. Africans from Nyasaland get 25 shillings and those from Northern Rhodesia 18 shillings. They all receive rations—valued at 7 shillings 6 pence per month! Agricultural laborers get less than miners. The wage is 12 shillings 6 pence per month for men; 9 shillings for women, and 5 shillings for children. Some in domestic service only get rations. (A shilling is worth approximately 25 cents; a penny, 2 cents.—Ed.)

### LIVE LIKE ANIMALS

The Africans live and work under the most appalling social conditions. They live like animals and only a small percentage of them enjoy any sort of protection under social legislation.

Discussing the status of black miners, Lord Hailey in "An African Survey" (page 674), says:

"Compensation for industrial disability is provided under Ordinance 15 of 1922 as amended by Act 16 of 1930, but it is awarded on a fixed scale which makes no provision for natives drawing but low rates of pay."

White miners, on the other hand, receive a minimum wage of 20 shillings per day of eight hours, plus free quarters and other social amenities. They are protected by all kinds of social legislation: Workmen's Compensation Act, Miners' Phtisis Act, etc., etc. It is no wonder that the white workers in the colonies constitute a labor aristocracy divorced from the life and struggles of colored labor. Imperialism not only exploits in the economic sense, but has succeeded in inciting the white proletariat against the blacks.

To maintain their political and economic domination over the Africans, the settlers are opposed to educating the natives. By keeping them ignorant they seek to justify their own racial superiority and right to rule.

Hitler is pursuing the same policy in Europe. In Poland and Czechoslovakia the Nazis are trying to suppress the national culture of the natives by destroying their schools, colleges and universities and by prescribing the books they may read. Since the African had no institutions of learning to destroy when they stole his land, the Rhodesian Herrenvolk have had it easier than the Nazis. But like the Germans they are determined to keep all "dangerous thoughts" away from the natives— (From the British New Leader, September 27.)

It cost them over half a million to control the union via Bioff. This was much better than wage increases which might cost them \$10,000,000 over a period of five years.

The alleged bribery of congressmen, senators and the courts hasn't come out yet. It might not. It took ten years for the facts to come out that William Fox, former movie magnate, bought out a federal judge. But sooner or later the truth will out on this situation too.

### A Lesson for Labor

There is an important lesson here: racketeers in the union movement are an importation of the bosses, an instrument they create and maintain in order to keep down the rank and file workers in the shop.

William Green, president of the AFL, and his associates, are guilty of shielding this fundamental fact from the workers and of assisting the bosses in keeping the racketeers in control of some AFL unions.

A reactionary like Westbrook Pegler tries to cover up these fundamental facts about the relations of the bosses to the racketeers by writing sensational stories about only one aspect of the racketeering. Thereby he hopes to conceal from the working man the power behind the scenes—the capitalist.

Bioff is guilty, of course. His guilt is part of the guilt of the capitalist class in its crimes against the union movement. The workers must not forget that basic truth.

Racketeering in the union movement will be abolished when the source of it is removed, namely the industrialists. Cleaning the unions of racketeers is part of the bigger struggle to clear the country of its truly big racketeers, the Wall Street gang, the Morgans, Rockefeller, du Ponts, etc., who make Capone look like a piker.

Occasionally you get a decent officer, and that helps. But with some of these boy scout officers who know about as much as we do, and try to get some authority by being tough—they get cursed roundly by the men. No matter how good the officer is or the food, it can't possibly help.

Here we are, soldiers through no fault of our own, working—and hard—for a lousy wage. We don't want to die, but there it is. When I came in I thought I'd go crazy. Now I've gotten used to it, like most of the others—sore as hell but going along. What else can I do?"  
G. A.

If You Are Not Already a Subscriber to Labor Action, Lose No Time in Availing Yourself of the Special Introductory Offer—25¢ for 3 Months!



## Where Stalinist-Controlled CIO Council in Mpls. Stands

Special to LABOR ACTION  
 MINNEAPOLIS—Luvorne Noon is a big, husky man who is secretary of the Hennepin County Council of the CIO. This council is Stalinist controlled through and through and the non-Stalinist unions have withdrawn. Noon himself is said to be a Stalinist. I was interested in hearing what he had to say about the indictments since I could thereby get the line which the Stalinists put forward when they have to pose as trade unionists. It is quite different from that of the official CP stand. "The local CIO Council," said Noon, "was not consulted about the granting of a charter to 544. We were opposed to it because we think 544 is an undesirable element." As a matter of fact, it's none of the local council's business to whom an international grants a charter, and that's why they weren't consulted. "Why are they undesirable," I asked. "Bad tactics. Roughneck stuff. We don't think that they have democracy in their union. The Dunes have played a disruptive role in the union movement out here." There was, of course, no point in talking about this with Noon. I was primarily interested in his attitude toward the trial. One thing of interest, though: Wherever I went, every trade union leader or spokesman of either the CIO or AFL has an unholy fear of the Dunes. They always complain of their roughness, but never say against whom it is used. "Where do you stand on the trials?"

"I haven't followed them closely." This lame excuse was also given by every embarrassed Tobin man or Stalinist. "But," he continued, "we're opposed to the conviction of the Dunes, though we're not their defenders, because we fear that an attack on one minority can lead to an attack on another. It might set a dangerous precedent and could be used against the CIO. Mind you, we're not friends of the Dunes." I knew that well enough. It is interesting to observe, from the above quotation, that the Stalinist trade unionists have found themselves jockeying into the uncomfortable position of having to give lip service opposition to the indictments—though in practice, of course, they sabotage any attempt to involve their unions in an active struggle against it. Nor can they repeat the CP idea about supporting the indictments if they were changed to accuse the defendants of being fascists instead of revolutionists. There are several reasons for this: 1) the fact that the national CIO has come out in support of the defendants; 2) they actually fear the possibility that they themselves might suffer if a precedent is set, since the Stalinists in the CIO do not fit in anywhere near as snugly with the Roosevelt Administration as do either Hillman or the Tobin gang; and 3) there is some rank and file sentiment in their unions for support of the defendants. As for the official CP attitude—see next week's LABOR ACTION.

# Shades of Moscow Trials - - Government Names Leon Trotsky Defendant in Minnesota Trial of 28

Special to LABOR ACTION  
 MINNEAPOLIS, Oct. 31—The last three days of the "sedition" trial of 28 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and of Local 544-CIO have been taken up by the prosecution, which has introduced a large number of exhibits—most of them copies of Marxian classics—and presented its first witness, James Bartlett, former SWP member turned stool pigeon. Bartlett's testimony has consisted of a mixture of commonplace items of information about the SWP and Local 544, with malicious slanders against both. Bartlett was, till recently, an organizer for Local 359 of the Teamsters International and is now an organizer for Local 544-AFL, working as one of Dan Tobin's stooges. In the early 30's he was a member of the Communist Party, then he joined the Socialist Party and next he was a member of the SWP from 1937 to 1940. The main tack of his testimony has been his assertion that he heard various members of the SWP declare themselves in favor of armed revolution. District Attorney Anderson leads him all over the map—including a trip which he took with defendant Harry DeBoer to see Trotsky in Mexico on which the local press has seized with lurid glee—in attempts to incriminate the defendants. On Wednesday, October 29, the first day Bartlett assumed the witness chair, an extremely important legal ruling, which threatens to prove quite harmful to the defense, was given by Judge Joyce. Defense Attorney Goldman requested a ruling prohibiting the presence in court of prospective witnesses until they are called to testify. Judge Joyce denied Goldman's request, despite the obvious fact that if witnesses are allowed to remain in court as the questioning of previous witnesses takes place, they can thereby take the lead of these previous witnesses and fit their stories accordingly. Judge Joyce ruled, however, that they could remain, not to give evidence, but to observe the questioning and to be ready to testify if they were called. (It should be carefully noted in this connection that there is a world of difference in BELIEVING that the Defense Guard, given certain social conditions, may turn out to become a workers' militia and the charge that the organization of Workers Defense Guards is intended to overthrow the government.) Bartlett testified that Defendants Emil Hansen and V. R. Dunne had told him how they expected the Union Defense Guard to become part of the future "red army." (It should be carefully noted in this connection that there is a world of difference in BELIEVING that the Defense Guard, given certain social conditions, may turn out to become a workers' militia and the charge that the organization of Workers Defense Guards is intended to overthrow the government.) The court was treated to the fantastic spectacle of District Attorney Anderson reading the entire constitution of the SWP and large excerpts from its Declaration of Principles as an "exhibit." How long Bartlett has been in connection with the FBI is not evident yet, but it is clear that he has been working with the FBI in recent months. He admitted having aided in making a sketch plan of the SWP headquarters for the FBI and is seen in the constant company of the numerous G-men who flock around the court. At this point Anderson found it necessary to take Bartlett off the stand and place two FBI agents on as witnesses. The reason subsequently became clear. Anderson was to introduce in later testimony innumerable copies of Marxian classics and SWP pamphlets which he was to ask Bartlett to "identify," and he needed the testimony of these two FBI agents to show that all this material had come from the SWP headquarters when the FBI raided it on June 27, 1941. Goldman Traps FBI One of the not infrequent ludicrous spectacles arose when the FBI man paraded up to the witness stand sheepishly carrying the red banner with the name "Socialist Workers Party" on it. He dutifully identified it, as well as a list of books which he confiscated and also a picture of Leon Trotsky which he had taken from the wall of the headquarters. Goldman brought the house down with an objection to the picture on the grounds that: 1) the picture is irrelevant to any alleged conspiracy and 2) "I can furnish a much better picture myself." The judge, however, thought this likeness sufficiently accurate. In his chance to cross-examine the two FBI men, Goldman brought out a very interesting point. FBI Agent Thomas Perrin admitted that when he visited the SWP headquarters at 919 Marquette Avenue to obtain the necessary evidence on which to base a search warrant, he was not interfered with, he was allowed to see all the pamphlets in the book room and they were, he admitted, all openly displayed. He purchased the Communist Manifesto and the Founding Congress of the Fourth International and returned in 30 minutes to make the raid. Q. Where these pamphlets hard reading? A. Well, they were short, but they were very hard to read. Q. Did you read them before you executed the search warrant? A. No. Q. When you executed the search warrant, did you find any pamphlets or materials which were hidden, which had not previously been offered for public sale or publicly displayed in the library for reading purposes? A. No. By thus trapping the slow G-man Goldman succeeded in establishing two points: 1) that the materials seized in the raid were public documents that could easily have been purchased or found in libraries and 2) that the government made its raid without sufficient legal cause since the so-called basis for the raid, the two pamphlets, had not even been read by the raiders. At this point, Defense Attorney Goldman objected to the practice of the prosecution offering excerpts from documents as evidence and demanded that the government either offer the entire documents from which the excerpts were taken, or give defense attorneys an opportunity to examine the materials which the government intended to offer in order to determine whether they were accurate quotations, whether additional sections from the documents were needed to clarify them, etc. This was the bill of particulars which the defense has been requesting for such a long time and now the government had to give it to them. In order to check these documents, a day's recess was declared. Bartlett on Stand Again Today, Bartlett was again placed on the stand to relate his tale of how V. R. Dunne was constantly contrasting, for Bartlett's benefit, the difference between reformist parties which want to achieve socialism peacefully while the SWP wanted to achieve it violently. (It should be noted that in the last section of his opening presentation, Defense Attorney Goldman spent considerable time in a careful presentation of the SWP point of view on the question of "armed revolution" which was sufficient answer to the prosecution's claim.) Bartlett testified that Defendants Emil Hansen and V. R. Dunne had told him how they expected the Union Defense Guard to become part of the future "red army." (It should be carefully noted in this connection that there is a world of difference in BELIEVING that the Defense Guard, given certain social conditions, may turn out to become a workers' militia and the charge that the organization of Workers Defense Guards is intended to overthrow the government.)

Trotsky is a defendant here, or was one of the conspirators?" "Yes," blurted Anderson. "It doesn't matter," chimed in the embarrassed brain truster, Schweinhaut, "but Trotsky is responsible for this conspiracy, he is its ideological parent." So once again Trotsky is a missing defendant at a frame-up trial of reaction! First at the trials conducted by the "socialist" government of Stalin and now at the trial conducted by the "democratic" government of Roosevelt. And both times the "crime" is the same—being a proletarian revolutionist. The questioning of Bartlett broke down at this point and Anderson began the introduction of numerous Marxist works as evidence. Goldman vigorously objected to their introduction on the grounds that they were not published by the SWP, the SWP does not take responsibility for everything in them though it does not deny its agreement with their basic line, and the specific SWP application of the Marxist ideas found in them could be found in its official Declaration of Principles. The judge overruled the objection and the following are some of the pamphlets that were offered as "exhibits": Lenin's State and Revolution, Trotsky's Lessons of October, Lenin's Revolution of 1905, Goldman's What Is Socialism, Trotsky's Manifesto of the Fourth International, and Trotsky's War and the Fourth International. A saving grace of this fantastic procedure was the prosecution's introduction of a program booklet, of a social which the SWP had held in 1939. Proving conclusively that the SWP held socials, the prosecution proceeded to read the program booklet which contained the words of the International, Solidarity Forever and the Workers Flag. Your correspondent does not believe he will ever forget the sight of Anderson booming out the words of the International — GOLDMAN HAD REQUESTED HIM TO SING IT!—and quite correctly repeating the chorus twice. But these farcical exhibitions of the prosecution must not be allowed to make us lose sight of the one main fact that has so far been shown in this case. The government has no evidence to prove that the SWP engaged in a conspiracy to overthrow it and is relying solely on the theoretical and programmatic ideas of Marxism—or rather, its version of them—in order to jail the defendants.

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### BULLETIN!

MINNEAPOLIS, Nov. 5—James Bartlett, government stool pigeon, today destroyed his earlier testimony which charged Vincent Dunne with advocating a violent revolution by admitting that the Socialist Workers Party believed that a revolution to establish workers' rule must be the work of the majority of the population which would have to overcome the obstruction of the minority.

Bartlett also testified that V. R. Dunne told him in December, 1939, that he was delinquent in his duty to the party because he failed to recruit more union members to the SWP since, he alleged Dunne said, most of his union members were of draft age, and it would be important for the party to keep contact with class-conscious militants drafted into the army. He let the prosecution down with a bang, however, when he declared that Dunne had NOT told him anything about what to do when drafted!

### A la Moscow Trials

The prosecution then led Bartlett into telling the story of how he and Harry DeBoer took a trip down to Mexico to see Trotsky, how Trotsky mistook DeBoer for a person with military knowledge who had come down to supervise the guarding of Trotsky and how they saw a bull-fight together, at which DeBoer thought he was being followed and therefore destroyed his notes of a conversation he had had with Trotsky. Exactly what relevance this had to the alleged conspiracy (which more and more seems to be nothing else than the mere existence of the SWP) was not clear until Defense Attorney Goldman asked: "Does the prosecution infer that

## Civil Rights Committee Bulletins

Tucker P. Smith, Michigan director of the United Retail and Wholesale Employees of America, CIO, last week expressed the deep concern of the labor movement with the prosecution of the 28 indicted leaders of Local 544-CIO and the Socialist Workers Party, in a statement endorsing the work of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, organized to rally support to the Minnesota defendants in the "seditious conspiracy" case.

The national executive board of the Workers Defense League sent a sharp letter to Attorney General Francis Biddle stating that "The Workers Defense League considers the present federal prosecution of Minneapolis teamsters and others to be unreasonable and unjustified." The statement also warned that the "people's freedom of conscience is in serious danger if such actions can be distorted into a conspiracy to overthrow the government."

As the work of organizing the raising of funds proceeded, the Buffalo branch of the Civil Rights Defense Committee reported that several CIO locals in that city had rallied to the defense of the 28 by giving substantial donations. Two locals of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee and the Ford local of the UAW heard a speaker from the committee and voted contributions.

Dorothy Norman, editor of the magazine, Twice a Year, a publication devoted to the arts and civil liberties; Mark DeWolfe Howe, dean of the School of Law of the University of Buffalo; A. J. Muste, secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and Morris Reiger, international representative of the Paper, Novelty and Toy Workers International, CIO, are among those who joined the committee last week.

## Sidelights On Trial

Special to LABOR ACTION  
 MINNEAPOLIS, Oct. 30—The courtroom looks as if there were a convention of the FBI taking place in it. The place is honeycombed with G-men of all sizes and descriptions. Some of them may be called on to testify but the others wander around innocently in the corridors trying to pick up snatches of conversation from the defendants and their friends. Most of them can be spotted pretty easily by the way they try so hard to be detectives who look like they were trying not to look like detectives. The defendants, who are plenty short of cash, have set up a communal kitchen mothered by Mrs. Carl Skoglund. Here dinners and suppers are served to the 28 every day. As you can see, they're trying pretty hard to scrape up enough pennies to pay the enormous expenses of this trial. Any amount of money our readers could contribute—send it to the Defense Committee, 160 Fifth Avenue, New York City—would sure come in handy.

So far the trial has gotten a great deal of publicity in the local press. The St. Paul Dispatch featured a full page of pictures of the defendants. The Minneapolis Times goes in for the most sensational and biased reporting, having carried a front page headline: "Admit Plan for Revolution." The defendants of course admitted no such thing. There don't seem to be many reporters from out of town papers, but perhaps they're using the press service dispatches. (If they're getting them, they're not using them.—Ed.)

It is interesting to observe the relationships existing between the prosecuting attorneys. Victor Anderson, U.S. District Attorney for Minnesota, does all the talking; but most of the thinking seems to be done by little Harry Schweinhaut, who has been sent up here especially for this case by Washington. Time after time Schweinhaut has had to come to the rescue of Anderson, who has been trapped by Defense Attorney Goldman's objections to Anderson's leading, vague and irrelevant questions.

There was a full day adjournment on Thursday, October 30, and most of the defendants spent the day at SWP headquarters where, it is related, Max Goldman led an informal discussion on problems of the Roman Empire and the attitude of the Swedish nobility toward labor problems (on which subject Carl Skoglund lent a hand).

By all odds the most hilarious thing your correspondent has heard about this trial—and its comic features are distinctly subordinate—is the fact that the prosecuting attorney, Victor Anderson, is a member of the . . . American Civil Liberties Union! The ACLU is supporting the defendants; Roger Baldwin, ACLU leader, is coming here to speak; the ACLU has even handed in a brief requesting the dismissal of the charges, but the prosecuting attorney still remains a member of the ACLU. No doubt the ACLU leaders will justify this on the grounds that it grants its members the liberty even to frame up those whom it defends!

I dropped into the offices of the local chapters of the America First Committee and the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies to find out if they had, perhaps, taken any stand toward the trials. The Committee to Defend America declared that this problem did not come under its province and that "our sole interest is in aiding Britain." The lady at the America First office said that her organization didn't take sides in strikes (she apparently thought that the 1934 general strike of Local 544 was still going on) and when informed of the case, she replied: "The America First Committee is not interested in these civil liberties cases, or what happens to these union leaders." To that I could only nod in agreement and walk away.

LABOR ACTION readers will be interested in knowing something about the judge in this case. Judge Mathew M. Joyce is a former corporation lawyer, having served the Minneapolis & St. Paul Railroad. He is a life-long Republican and a leader of the Catholic Club. He was the judge who sentenced the Minneapolis WPA strikers to eight months' imprisonment in 1939; he listened for three days to the summation argument of the defense attorneys at that trial and then immediately read a previously prepared written decision! So you can see which way the cards are stacked.

## Gov't Witnesses Backfire - -

(Continued from page 1)

ant to the Attorney General, who has been sent here especially for this case and who is generally considered to be the "brains" behind Anderson, Minnesota, district attorney.

Witness Smith testified that Defendant Al Russell had been an organizer for his teamster local in Omaha and that he had quarreled with Russell several times. Prodded by Schweinhaut's questions, he also told how Defendant Carlos Hudson had been sent down from Minneapolis to edit a special strike paper which his local published during a strike which lasted from September, 1938, to February, 1939. Smith said he had asked to join the Socialist Workers Party and that five out of the seven executive board members of his local were also SWP members. When he joined the SWP, Smith asked for some reading material on the general aims of labor and the socialist movement—he was new to both—and Farrell Dobbs suggested the following books: Dynamite, by Louis Adams; The Case of Leon Trotsky, and The Communist Manifesto, of Marx and Engels. He had had difficulty with the Manifesto, he recalled, and had asked Dobbs why, if the SWP was a party for the poor, it distributed pamphlets which only college students could understand. Dobbs had then suggested a study class which Russell led one session. He had quarreled with Defendant Russell over the question of whether to retain a full time editor for the local paper, Tom Gattis, (alleged by Smith to be an SWP member) and had burst out with a question as to who was running the local; the rank and file or the Trotskyites? Defendants Farrell Dobbs and V. R. Dunne had thereupon held conversations with him, trying to straighten out the matter. There had been no agreement. After five months as a member, Smith had left the party.

### Goldman Cross-Examines

That is the full extent of the facts brought out by the prosecution—with the obvious intention to show the "insidious" infiltration of the SWP into the trade unions for "revolutionary purposes." Defense Attorney Goldman then followed with a cross-examination which, when finished, left Schweinhaut trembling with rage. A summary of it follows: Q. When did you first meet Farrell Dobbs? A. At a union meeting called to organize the 11-state conference, to organize the over-the-road drivers in the Midwest. Q. Did you then talk to Dobbs, and if so, on what? A. On union matters. Q. Under what conditions did Dobbs come to Omaha? A. Local 554 asked Dobbs to come to Omaha when the Omaha employees reneged on the general contract that was then signed. Farrell did most of the work in the negotiations for our new contract. His presence and work were approved by Dan Tobin. Q. So it was Local 554 that asked Farrell to come to Omaha, and not the SWP? A. Yes. Q. Who asked Carlos Hudson to come to Omaha? A. The executive board of Local 554. Q. Under what conditions was Dobbs elected secretary of the 11 state organizing committee?

A. At a meeting where 400 local representatives unanimously elected him. Q. Were you asked to vote for him by anyone from the SWP? A. No. Q. Why did you vote for him? A. Because he was a good union man. Q. Did the executive board ask Dobbs to speak at local meetings? A. Yes. Q. What activity was Dobbs doing at that time? A. He was participating in arbitration proceedings. (This question had been asked because the prosecution contended that the defendants wanted to stir up "unrest" by constantly refusing arbitration in their unions.) Q. Did Dobbs, at union meetings or anywhere else, ever advocate the forcible overthrow of the government? A. No. Q. Did he tell you to prepare for such overthrow? A. No. Q. Why did you join the SWP? A. I was convinced by the work of the party that it helped the poor and I saw the fine union work which its members like Dobbs and Dunne were doing. Q. What was the extent of your participation in the party? A. I attended about three meetings, I never read any of its literature, except The Appeal. At one meeting Al Russell explained the Communist Manifesto and I felt the explanation was satisfactory. Q. Did Russell, at any party meeting or elsewhere, advocate the violent overthrow of the government? A. No. Q. After you joined the party, was there any difference in your union conduct? A. No. Q. Did the SWP try to change any of the democratic procedures of the union? A. No, it did not. Q. Why, as far as you know, did Dobbs quit his job as international representative, stationed in Omaha? A. He told me that the international office of Tobin was directing him to sell out our strike in Omaha and that he refused to be a party to that. Q. What happened after he quit? A. T. T. Neal (now leader of Tobin's 544-AFL in Minneapolis) came in as union receiver, and we got the worst contract in our history. Q. The book, Dynamite, which Dobbs suggested you read—was that a book advocating the violent overthrow of the government by the use of dynamite? A. No, it was a history of labor in the 1800's. When this testimony was over, it was apparent to all that the defense had won a signal victory. These statements of the witness Smith—which were echoed by the witness Love—came, it must be remembered, from a government witness, one whom it considered a trump card. And yet, on every essential point, the witness corroborated the defense and destroyed the charges of the prosecution.

When the second Omaha witness, Love, testified that he had joined the party for the same reasons as Smith, that he had never heard any declarations about overthrowing the government, and that he had been asked to join the SWP by Smith and not by Dobbs, the prosecution abandoned these witnesses altogether. It had run into

a serious snag; it had accidentally called honest witnesses!

### Prosecution Fumbles

The prosecution was so unnerved by this experience that it kept fumbling for the rest of the afternoon. Having recalled stoolpigeon Bartlett to the stand (described in yesterday's dispatch), Anderson pulled boner after boner. Most of the questions he asked were objected to by Goldman on the grounds that they were leading or too vague and the objections were sustained. The session this morning was occupied with defense challenges to the exhibits introduced by the prosecution. On a number of these, the defense scored an important victory.

Goldman challenged Lessons of October, Revolution of 1905, Stalinism and Bolshevism, and State and Revolution on the following grounds:

- 1) They had not been written by any of the defendants or published by the SWP;
  - 2) Though the defendants agreed with the general ideas of Lenin and Trotsky—to the degree that these principles were included in the SWP Declaration of Principles—they didn't agree with everything Lenin and Trotsky wrote and there was no party statute binding them to the works of Lenin and Trotsky;
  - 3) The party is based on agreement as to present program, not past historical events.
- These objections were sustained and the books withdrawn from the record. Only one such pamphlet was to be later introduced into the record, however, and that was the Communist Manifesto. Schweinhaut argued for its introduction on the grounds that the testimony of witnesses Love and Smith showed that the pamphlet had been used for an SWP study class in Omaha and that it advocated overthrow of the government and was therefore a basis for the SWP conspiracy! The government was upheld by Judge Joyce.

## A Stooze Gets Paid

Special to LABOR ACTION  
 MINNEAPOLIS—There's one thing you can always be sure of—the capitalist class takes care of its boys. If you do a little job for the bosses—break a strike, destroy a union, frame up a militant worker—you'll get your "promotion." Take the case of one Alfred Blair. He used to be an official of the Brewers Union out here. Then he was appointed by Governor Stassen to administer the infamous Slave Labor Act under the title of state labor conciliator. He did his little job—he denied the Minnesota Teamsters the right to democratic elections to determine their bargaining agency and awarded exclusive bargaining rights to Tobin's AFL outfit. And now he's gotten his reward. He's just been appointed as "labor relations expert"—a fancy title for union baiter—by the vicious anti-union companies of Gamble-Robinson and Pacific Fruit. He's going to "handle" their relations with the trade unions. Yes sir, there's still opportunity in this country. If you're ready to stab your brothers of yesterday in the back and prostitute yourself for the bosses—then you can get a lucrative job as a bosses' bootlicker. That is, if you like the taste of licked boots.



# Editorials

## OUR PROGRAM AGAINST THE WAR

1. Against both imperialist war camps! For the third camp of World Labor and the colonial peoples!
2. For the right to strike! For the defense of civil liberties and all workers' rights! Stop the persecution of aliens. Against the M-Day plans and war-time dictatorship.
3. Thirty hours a week; thirty dollars minimum pay! Time and a half wages for overtime above 30 hours. For increased wages to meet the rising cost of living.
4. Let the people vote on war! For the right of youth to vote at the age of 18—old enough to fight, old enough to vote!
5. Not a man, not a cent for Wall Street's war! A capital levy to cover the costs of imperialist war. No indirect taxes on the people.
6. Conscript the war industries under workers' control!
7. Expropriate the "Sixty Families"—the three per cent of the people who own ninety per cent of the wealth!
8. No government contract without a union contract!
9. Abolish secret diplomacy! Open the files of the State Department.
10. Full workers' rights for conscripts—the right to organize and to bargain collectively with the officers, the right of free speech, press and assembly.
11. \$60 a month minimum for conscripts. Former employers to pay the wage differential and guarantee return of the job.
12. Withdraw all armed forces from territory outside the United States. Free the colonies. Hands off Latin America.
13. Down with Jim-Crow and anti-Semitism! For full social, economic and political equality for Negroes. End discrimination against Negroes in industry and in the trade unions.
14. For Workers' Defense Guards against fascist and vigilante attacks!
15. For an Independent Labor Party.
16. For a workers' government and a people's army! No confidence in the Roosevelt government.
17. For Peace through Socialism. For the Socialist United States of America, for the Socialist United States of Europe, for the World Socialist Federation.

## When Is News Unfit to Print?

If you read LABOR ACTION you are fully acquainted with the details of the vastly significant trial now in progress in Minnesota. But if you rely on the boss press for your information, you probably haven't read a line about it!

No less than 28 persons, all of them militants in the labor movement, are on trial charged with sedition. Not since 1919 has there been any trial to compare with it in scope or issue. And you have to go back to the early nineteenth century, during the tenure of the second President of these United States, John Adams, to find a real parallel!

So historic a trial must surely deserve some real attention in the press. So unprecedented is the action of the government in this case that vital constitutional issues are at stake: principally FREEDOM OF SPEECH. Yet, in the New York Times, to single out the paper which boasts of printing "All the News That's Fit to Print," there were in the past week some two or three tiny and perfunctory stories buried in the deep recesses of the paper.

Surely it can't be accidental. Has the government told the press to lay off? It's possible!

The prosecution's case is so preposterously weak, yet so damaging in its intentions against labor, that the Administration might well prefer to keep the whole business under cover. Were the facts published in the press with anything like the attention given the divorce of some addled dowager, the Administration's case would be exposed before the nation. It would rally the indignation of every person who has not yet yielded to the blandishments of totalitarianism.

We can understand the reluctance in certain quarters to publicize the fact that 28 people are on trial for no other reason than they expressed a BELIEF in socialism.

With the Administration scheming up ways by which to throttle the labor movement, it would no doubt prefer to get a conviction with the maximum of quiet and then use the precedent in persecuting others in the labor movement who oppose the war, who refuse to accept the shackles of jingo "patriotism."

But if the boss press won't publish what's fit to print, we will! And it is the duty of every working man who is conscious of his own liberties and rights to spread the facts

on the trial as widely as possible—in his shop, in his union, among his friends. Labor's freedom is on trial! We must make the facts known to labor!

## Once More On Aluminum

A few weeks ago we wrote on how the Federal Court had issued a decision whitewashing the giant Aluminum Corp. of America (ALCOA) monopoly. Since then some additional interesting facts have come to our attention.

When the government started collecting aluminum pots and pans, and screamed about a shortage of aluminum, it contracted with ALCOA to build new plants. It agreed to pay \$52,000,000 for them.

Before a special investigating committee, ALCOA officials admitted that construction isn't even in the blueprint stage and that, if they could get away with it, construction would get that far. Secretary of Commerce Jesse Jones admitted that the contract would be lived up to and that the government would probably have to build its own plants.

But here's the payoff: If the government does have to build its own plants, it will still be obligated to pay ALCOA the \$52,000,000 specified in the contract. No wonder ALCOA isn't in a hurry!

Moreover, the government can't supply its own plants with bauxite, from which aluminum is produced, except at terms specified by ALCOA. The government will not be able to operate its plant until it obtains ALCOA's consent.

We wonder if this flagrant piece of chicanery has anything to do with the fact that the OPM's aluminum and magnesium division is run by "Dollar-a-Year-Man" Arthur K. Bunker... who is also on the payroll of ALCOA. Or is it unpatriotic to wonder these days?

And the next time any politician blathers to you about how everyone must sacrifice in these days of national emergency, just tell him the story of how ALCOA runs its profitable monopoly with the aid of the government, how it gets these contracts which strengthen its monopoly, how the government refuses to contract with any of the other small aluminum companies, and how ALCOA is going to get \$52,000,000 for NOT building new plants.

## Pepper for Hitler?

You don't have to take our word for this. You can find it in the column of the very respectable journalists, Pearson and Allen (New York Mirror, October 31):

"PEPPER FOR HITLER!"

"At a formal reception, German newsman Kurt Sell was introduced to militant Senator Claude Pepper, of Florida. On-lookers held their breaths. But—they got along fine. High point was when Pepper complimented the German system. 'The totalitarian system,' he observed, 'provides discipline, and that is necessary in this machine age.'

"You are right, Senator," exclaimed Sell, then added with a grin: 'I think I should run out and send a news bulletin to Berlin—Flash, Pepper endorses Hitler!'"

That's what Pearson and Allen said, and why should anyone doubt it who knows the least thing about Senator Pepper. He is one of the loudest enemies of the bill to outlaw lynching. And Florida has established for itself a sizable reputation as a Jim-Crow, lynch-law state.

It needs to be added that Pepper is Roosevelt's right-hand man in the Senate—the jingo whip, in fact. He wants war, and he wants it fast. Why? To fight Hitlerism, HE SAYS. But, you see, there's more than a little reason to doubt his motives!

# Treasury Scheme Will Make Labor Pay for the Boss War

(Continued from page 1)

to the needs of the working class? There are now millions upon millions of dollars in the social security fund, of which about 90 per cent has been "borrowed" by the government for war purposes. The new proposal is therefore obviously designed not to safeguard the security of the worker but to get more money for the bosses' war!

The bosses undoubtedly figure that this subject is too "complicated" for the average worker to understand. It involves such matters as inflation, taxation and finance. The worker, in the mind of the boss, is too dumb to discuss these matters; he should

merely concern himself with sweating, toiling and bleeding so that the bosses can make more profits, and he should leave these mysterious matters to the representatives of the bosses, like Mr. Morgenthau, who will take care of everything.

Suppose, however, that somebody proposed that you take a 5 per cent wage cut. You would want to discuss it, wouldn't you, especially with the wife complaining that the cost of everything is going sky-high? And even if you were told that by taking a 5 per cent wage cut, you would be stopping prices from going up, you are absolutely confident that the workers would want to discuss such

a proposal. And yet, this, in reality, is what is being proposed. Of course, the bosses don't say that this is a wage cut. They will tell you that you will be saving your money and that you will get it back when the "emergency" is over, when you'll need it.

### The Keynes Plan

This is the line that the bosses of England are handing out to the British workers. There, a famous economist by the name of John Maynard Keynes, who is concerned with the problem of making capitalism work, proposed at the beginning of the war his "deferred savings" plan. The trouble, says Mr. Keynes, is that under a war economy less and less of the necessities of life are produced. The war needs the factories and the machines, the raw materials and the labor. So we are forced to cut down on production of consumer goods. At the same time, more workers are being employed in the war industries. This means more money in the hands of the workers. In other words, the demand for consumer goods is increasing at the same time that the supply is being reduced. Such a situation must result in rising prices—that is, in inflation. This is bad, so the only solution, according to Mr. Keynes, is to reduce the demand of the workers for the necessities of life. Let 5 per cent of the worker's wage be deducted from his payroll. This will be a sort of forced savings. The government can use this money to finance the cost of the war. Then, when the war is over, the money which the worker loaned the government will be returned to him, and there will be a big demand so that manufacturers will find it profitable to produce consumer goods once again. England has adopted the Keynes "deferred savings" plan. As a reward, Mr. Keynes was just elected as one of the directors of the Bank of England.

Mr. Keynes made a trip to the United States earlier this year. At that time, it was reported that he had discussed his plan with Treasury officials. Apparently, we are now to receive the fruits of this visit. For, it should be obvious that an increase of the social security tax to 5 per cent is merely a different form of carrying out the same basic idea.

At the same time that Mr. Morgenthau made his announcement in Washington, a small item in the financial section of the newspapers announced that Dr. Fritz Reinhardt, assistant Finance Minister of Germany, had proposed to the German workers the development of "iron savings accounts." These accounts cannot be touched until one year after the war is over. The amount that an individual worker can save is limited and is tax exempt. We do not know if Mr. Keynes made a trip to Berlin in order to expound his theories to the Nazis, but we do know that the Nazis have adopted and perfected his theories. We also know that if the German system is compulsory savings, as the American press was quick to point out, then Mr. Morgenthau's proposal is also compulsory savings, in spite of his denial.

### Lowers Living Standard

We object to the proposal of increased social security taxes because it is unnecessary, because it will not prevent inflation and because, ultimately, it will wreck the social security system. It is unnecessary because a genuine, democratic approach to the problem of preventing inflation would start with a real 100 PER CENT EXCESS PROFITS TAX. If it is not profitable to raise prices (because the extra profits will be taken away through taxes), the biggest incentive that the bosses have to raise prices will be destroyed. Further, this American adaptation of the Keynes scheme will not prevent inflation, unless at the same time, rigid totalitarian controls are introduced. By themselves, forced savings can only mean a LOWER STANDARD OF LIVING and will throw the main burden of financing the war onto the backs of the masses.

Finally, the question must be asked: where will the government get the money to pay back these forced savings, once the war is over? The answer is that it can't unless it pays back in inflated dollars, which would mean a worthless currency. We shall return again to this question. Meanwhile let's hear from our readers and let every worker raise the problem in his trade union!

## THE WORLD AT WAR

### Roosevelt Uses Kearny, James Sinkings to Promote War Plans of U. S. Imperialism

By MAX STERLING

Congress is now in the process of repealing what remains of the already threadbare Neutrality Act. As it happens, America is already in the war. For Roosevelt has not only sneaked us into the war; he is in fact running it!

Already, since the signal was given for the American Navy to shoot on sight, one American destroyer was damaged and another sunk by U-boat torpedoes and 108 American seamen have perished. This is not a step toward war, this is war!

At the moment America's part in the war is just what Roosevelt wants it to be. This is borne out by his relatively passive reaction to the sinking of the U.S. destroyer Reuben James. Though this is the worst casualty suffered by America so far, Roosevelt, who can certainly wave the bloody shirt as well as anyone, commented quite calmly on the affair. All that Roosevelt could bring himself to say was that "such bloodshed was inevitable in the German drive to sever sea lanes to Britain and American counterdrives to sweep the raiders from the ocean."

### Why So Mild?

Compare this mild, almost philosophical statement with the language he used in his Navy Day speech, whose stage was set by the damaging of the U.S. destroyer Kearny. On that occasion Roosevelt bellowed that "shooting is on" and "we have cleared our decks and taken our battle stations."

The reason for this discrepancy in language is not hard to find. The damaging of the Kearny provided Roosevelt with the occasion for the next step in the war and it is because he does not want to go beyond this that the sinking of the Reuben James was practically ignored. With the damaging of the Kearny Roosevelt called upon Congress to repeal the ban on arming merchant ships and their entry into the war zones. The hysteria promoted on that occasion has had its effect. The necessary votes in Congress have already been secured. The House has already voted to remove the ban and the Senate votes are also in the bag.

For the time being Roosevelt is satisfied. To declare war on Germany or even to break off diplomatic relations is admittedly premature. That explains Roosevelt's apparent fatalism over the sinking of the Reuben James.

The armed forces of the United States are only partially participating in the fighting. So far military action is limited to the Atlantic fleet. To that fleet Roosevelt has just added the Naval Coast Guard. But if actual military participation is as yet small, the preparations are immense for future participation on a grand and total scale.

Though the present tremendous war program has called for an outlay of \$60,000,000,000, the war makers have come to the conclusion that this is hardly enough. Under this program America would have a two-ocean navy, an annual production of 42,000 planes and war materials to arm an army of 4,000,000 men. This, it has been estimated,

is not enough to defeat Hitler. Consequently, a new revised program has come to the fore which is called the "Victory Program." Under this program at least double the present expenditures and appropriations are expected. Out of it will come no less than 100,000 planes and, we must assume, arms for 8,000,000 men. This, evidently, is what it will take to defeat Hitler.

In his Navy Day speech Roosevelt asserted that Hitler and his armies could be defeated. "In the long run," he said, "all that matters is who fires the last shot." Roosevelt has connected these two ideas. The defeat of Hitler is possible but the perspective for this must necessarily be a long one.

### Priorities for Russia

For the realization of America's grandiose war preparations and the perspective necessarily connected with it, the "democracies" must first make certain that Hitler does not break out of the bounds of the European continent. Hitler has got to be kept embroiled in Russia. The German war machine must be kept from running over into the oil of the Caucasus and from their to more oil in Iran and Iraq and onto the highroads to Suez and India.

Fully understanding this iron necessity, Roosevelt has proclaimed priority in airplanes and war materials for Russia. This priority takes precedence over supplies to the American Army itself. However, the problem of transportation must also be solved. Here too the United States takes the lead. The tremendous job of road and railroad construction in the Middle East to assure movement for masses of supplies and troops to Russia and the coming Caucasian and Middle Eastern theater of war has been assigned to an American military and technical mission. The United States is expected to supply steel rails and thousands of freight cars.

Roosevelt's chief job today is that of producer and supplier of war materials to the critical fronts of the war. In this task American industry, technology and the Navy bear the brunt of the work. If the German armies are delayed long enough in their rush towards oil and the British Empire, the roads and rails laid by America in Eurasia may have to sustain more than American war supplies. Roosevelt will then take that step which in any case is inevitable. The youth of America will then be impressed to make their stand side by side with the British and the Russians. When that time comes Roosevelt will have not one but a million bloody shirts to wave.

Here's a whopper, reported in the local press, from Attorney-General Francis Biddle, the moving power behind the trials: "In so far as I can, by the use of the authority and the influence of my office, I intend to see that civil liberties in this country are protected; that we do not again fall into the disgraceful hysteria of witch hunts, strike-breakings and minority persecutions which were such a dark chapter in our record of the last World War."

# Railroad Bosses vs. Workers

By MIKE STEVENS

(Continued from issue of October 20)

In answer to the railroad workers' demands for an increase in wages, the owners have "countered" by making demands of their own. Let us dispose of the main demand of the bosses, the suggested changes in the working rules, for here the reactionary thinking of the railroad owners is fully revealed and it is a bit easier to understand how they earned the title of Robber Barons of America during the last century.

### SUGGEST CHANGES IN WORKING RULES

The proposed working rules are so drafted that agreements will be a joke, for they give the company complete freedom to violate ALL working rules. They want to destroy all classifications of work and thus nullify wage rates and seniority. No worker to receive time and one-half unless he works a minimum of 56 hours per week. Split shifts of eight working hours in 12 to be re-introduced. Destruction of the six-day eight-hour guarantee that exists in many of the present agreements, thus permitting the owners full authority to decide when and where full time workers are necessary. Thus workers will be employed for the busy hours only and then sent home; competition among the workers will be tremendous and the "casual" worker will once again become a threat to the unions' very existence.

Some of the union leaders believe that the owners threw in the proposed changes in the working rules only to cloud up the issue in the wage matter. But this is not so. The bosses want them changed because they can deprive the workers of millions of dollars in wages under the new rules. T. Joyner, an owner of Southern railroads, objects to the present rules because they "affect operating efficiency, employee morale and fundamental employee relations." He wants the new rules for they permit favoritism, discarding of workers, speed-up, wage cuts—and he says so!

The fact finding board is taking up the question of the proposed changes in the working rules, but only for the AFL shop crafts. The Big Five Brotherhoods are permitting the National Mediation Board to decide this issue for them after the beginning of the year. The leaders of the Big Five have already made this concession to the bosses. It means that if the fact finders and FDR give in to the workers and grant them a "quieting" portion of their demands, then in January, after the strike threat is over, the National Mediation Board will give the bosses a "break" by wrecking the present working rules of the Brotherhoods.

The AFL shop craft unions in demanding that the fact finding board hand down a decision on the bosses' working rules are free to strike if they do not agree with the decision of the board. Whereas the Big Five Brotherhoods must abide by the decision that the Mediation Board makes next year.

Because of this, the AFL shop crafts leadership may seem to be a more militant lot than the officials of the Brotherhoods. The real reason why the AFL has NOT made the same concession is because they don't dare. The rank and file is up in arms against arbitration. Only a few months ago, when their unions sat down with the bosses and "neutral" arbitrators from the government to arbitrate for paid vacations, something that the bosses had promised to grant as soon as business got better, the bosses walked in with twelve demands of their own.

### SHOP CRAFTS DEMAND VACATIONS

The AFL unions are now demanding paid vacations, which quite obviously they did not get when they sat down to arbitrate. The owners refuse on the grounds "that the national emergency precludes releasing men from their employment for that purpose." During the depression they said they could not afford it and besides the men did not require vacations for they were getting more than enough rest and recreation.

During the past 15 years the railroads have laid off over a million men. Many of them are still unemployed or receiving part-time work on the railroads. Hope for full-time employment, pension possibilities and not knowing other trades has forced these men to remain close to the railroad centers. This reservoir plus the unemployed youth shatters the lie of the owners that they can't replace the workers if they give them paid vacations. The railroad workers of England, in the midst of the war, are getting their vacations.

The lowest paid and most harshly treated workers on the railroads are the maintenance of way men. They are the crossing watchmen, bridge tenders and operators, etc. They do not receive overtime pay unless they work over 10 hours a day, and many of them are monthly rated and work even Sundays and holidays. Upon them depends the safety of the railroads and the only way that they can afford to take time off is by having paid vacations.

The railroad workers are on the alert as to the kind of a vacation clause that is written into the agreements. Vacations are more than a wage increase. Workers must take their vacations and other workers must take their place during that period and these workers shall receive the same salary as the ones on vacation. No "doubling up" or other speed-up experiments by the boss during the vacation period.

(To be continued)

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