

FDR's Program--and Ours

1) FDR is vague about how to limit "excess profits." Leaves many loopholes; doesn't prevent profiteering. With big business Congress, excess profits tax is a joke. The \$25,000 income limit proposal is full of loopholes and no bar to profiteering.

2) FDR price ceiling proposal leaves many loopholes; puts ceiling on prices at highest level; doesn't put ceiling on many important foods.

3) FDR proposes wage freezing; this means wage cut since wages contracted about a year ago while prices rose in the meantime.

4) FDR would put ceiling on farm prices. This hits the small farmer.

5) FDR is for "voluntary" buying of war bonds by workers. Threat is made by Washington of "compulsory savings" if that flops.

6) FDR proposes rationing of "scarce commodities." Leaves control in hands of profiteers. Paves way for Black Market.

7) FDR would "discourage installment buying." This strikes blow at poor.

1) The only way to really prevent war profiteering and make the rich pay for the war is: Confiscate all war profits; a stiff capital levy on accumulated wealth; a stiff tax on undivided profits; expropriate the 60 families who own 96 per cent of the national wealth.

2) We're for a price and rent ceiling at the 1940 level; with price fixing controlled by trade union and housewives' committees.

3) We're for a \$1.00-an-hour minimum wage for all workers with strict overtime pay.

4) We're for fair prices to poor farmers. Cut down on farm products corporations which get the gravy.

5) We're for making the rich pay for the war. It's their war and they can afford it best.

6) We're for fair rationing; wage increases for workers needed to make it fair. On the lookout against the Black Market.

7) We say: this hurts the workers, not the rich who can pay cash.

LABOR ACTION

MAY 11, 1942

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

FDR "FREEZE" ORDER HITS WORKERS HARD, GOES EASY ON BOSSES

Though it was labeled as a program to stop the rising cost of living, President Roosevelt's seven point economic program could only have the effect of lowering the standard of living of the American workers. Despite the varnishings of vague proposals against the bosses and Merchants of Death, most of the points—and those with most chance to pass—were directed at the living standards and rights of the American working class.

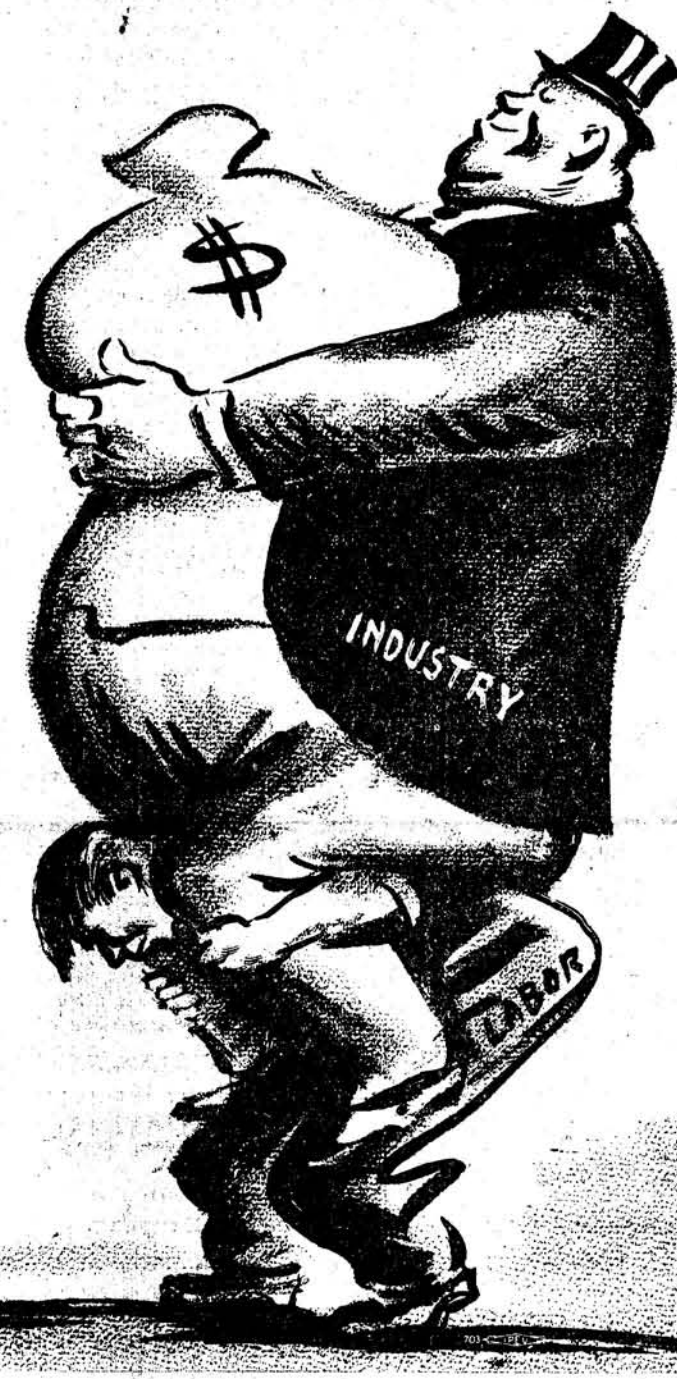
FDR labeled it a program of "equality of sacrifice." It is nothing of the kind. The very premise, the very basis with which it started makes that impossible. How can there be equality between a worker making \$25 a week and Henry Ford with his millions? How can there be equality of sacrifice between a worker and the president of Standard Oil? Any program which allows for and desires the continuation of the capitalist system—as this one does—makes a farce out of "equality."

No, this is a program to make the poor pay for the major burden of the war. The rich will be made to pay too, of course, but in no way approximately commensurate with the workers.

The intention of this program, as FDR explicitly admitted, is to limit and lower the already pitifully inadequate standards of the workers. The workers, if this program goes through, will be cut down to a subsistence level. The rich, even if the "only" make \$25,000 a year, will still have their vast fortunes to fall back upon.

Let us now take up this program, point by point, and show why this is so:

"EQUAL SACRIFICE"



FDR Would Knife Wage Raise for Ship Workers

By JACK WILSON

President Roosevelt intervened directly in the conference of shipyard workers and employers to demand that the contract signed under the stabilization agreement be violated in favor of the industrialists, and labor take a wage cut!

It was a devastating example of what Roosevelt's seven-point program means in practice to the union movement!

Under the agreement signed one year ago, the base rate for skilled mechanics is \$1.12 an hour in all four

zones except the gulf zone, where it was set at \$1.07 an hour.

Increases in the cost of living, as reported by the Department of Labor, would bring the base rate on the Gulf Coast to about \$1.34 and on the Pacific Coast to about \$1.27.

That is, if labor is to keep the same real wage level that it had one year ago, these increases in wages per hour are needed.

There is no question of a general wage increase. That is, of labor getting more real wages than a year ago! No question of labor getting part of the fabulous profits which the shipyard owners are enjoying.

If labor doesn't get this hourly increase to meet the higher cost of living, the shipyard workers are taking a wage cut!

The President presented his demands in a telegram to the stabilization conference which has been deadlocked for two weeks over this problem.

All that the unions have asked is that real wages be kept at the same level. And Roosevelt insisted that this was "irreconcilable with the national policy to control the cost of living." But his "controlling" is a controlling downward, while Bethlehem and the other major shipyards continue to hold the fabulous profits they reaped during the past two years from war contracts, and which they are still taking in!

Instead of the war profiteers and

the industrialists in general being squeezed hard, the squeeze is being put on the union movement, which already has sacrificed many vital gains and standards and rights.

The action of President Roosevelt is a precedent for all the CIO negotiations with employers.

If the CIO permits it—and Philip Murray is wavering all over the lot, along with other CIO leaders—the demands of the auto and steel workers to obtain a \$1.00 a day increase to meet the higher cost of living are also sunk.

Another national wage cut for all important CIO unions looms as a result of this action of President Roosevelt.

The policy of "letting the poor pay for the war" will win a major battle unless the CIO rejects the Roosevelt demands.

Housewives!

There is an important angle to the problem of rising prices, price control and the President's new economic program which you must consider because it affects you vitally. Turn to page three and read about it in Susan Green's column, "Of Special Interest to Women."

Negro, White Workers Win UMW Strike

By ROY GOULD

Winning a brilliant strike, the 450 workers of the American Smelter & Refining Co. at Alton, Ill., have demonstrated how to get a union organized and improve their working conditions, regardless of the anti-labor hysteria beaten up under the guise of patriotism. They have also demonstrated the practical way in which colored and white workers can overcome race barriers and unite against the Wall Street bosses who have hitherto played them off against one another. Seventy-five per cent of the American Smelter workers are colored and 25 per cent are white; the president and vice-president of the union are colored and the secretary is white.

This strike victory was won in Alton, a city over-run with company unions. These fake outfits are united into a federation of company unions which serves the manufacturers as anti-union insurance. American & Refining, however, did not even bother to form a company union until the United Mine Workers, District 50, began its organizing campaign last summer.

By February 1, well over a majority of the workers had signed CIO cards, but the management refused to answer the union's demand for bargaining rights. For two weeks the union leaders tried in every conceivable way to get in touch with Mr. Buck, the manager. Feeling among the workers became intense and bitter. They were getting the run-around and they wanted to strike, but District 50 said no. The international union had made a pledge not to strike in war industries and the company was taking advantage of this. Finally a union membership meeting sent an ultimatum both to Mr. Buck and to District 50. In ten days they would strike regardless of the pledge.

At this point the chief of police went into action—the chief, appointed by the mayor, whose brother-in-law is assistant manager of the plant. The chief walked into the machine shop—where the whites get all of the skilled jobs—and stopped oper-

BREWSTER WORKERS

Turn to page four for LABOR ACTION's story on what should be done about your plant now that the government has taken it over. Read about the notorious Miranda brothers. Find out why Brewster should be taken away completely from the Miranda chiselers and run under workers control! Turn to page four.

New Ally of Merchants of Death:

Stalinists Defend War Profiteers!

By Irving Howe

Who are the defenders of the Merchants of Death which made cartel agreements helping Hitler?

Why, you will answer, everybody with one eye open knows that!

It's the boss press—Hearst, Scripps-Howard, the New York Times, the Chicago Trib and the others—who hug du Pont's Remington Rand to their bosoms.

It's the poison radio commentators—H. V. Kaltenborn, Lowell Thomas, Gabriel Heatter and their ilk—who apply big slabs of verbal whitewash to Rockefeller's Standard Oil.

But wait—add another, brother.

Add the Daily Worker, organ of the (Stalinist) Communist Party to the ranks of the pen prostitutes attempting to throw a smoke screen of yes-but, if-then-again and maybe verbiage to cover up the Merchants of Death.

All along, while every labor paper was giving front page spreads to the sensational disclosures about the monopolists' deals with Hitler's I. G. Farben and Krupp, the Daily Worker was maintaining a discreet and oh-so-dignified silence. When it did print a story about the disclosures it buried it on an inside page, so insignificant in size and place that only the faithful party-liners could find it. In this, the Daily Worker went along with the New York Times, which front-paged a story about 16 shipping clerks going on strike in Pittsburgh, but just about buried the Standard Oil and Remington Rand dynamite in between the women's menu and the art critic.

The only such story that the Daily Worker carried on page one was... the lying denials of Farish, Standard Oil boss!

A WHITWASH OF MONOPOLISTS

Finally, the Stalinists had to carry some comment. So they printed an editorial on April 24.

And it sure was a whopper!

The Daily Worker begins with an admission that the actions of Standard Oil and the others "certainly were not and are not in the interest of the country."

Then the whitewash: "It is true that certain American monopolies did pursue an earlier policy of pro-fascist appeasement... But it is also true that the wreckage of this Munichism, and the peril it created for the very existence of

(Continued on page 3)

(Continued on page 4)

1. Corporation and Personal Incomes

This point of FDR's program calls for heavier taxes on corporation profits and proposes a \$25,000 limit on personal incomes "after taxes."

The President has not specified exactly what taxes should be placed on big business. But his vague proposal for increased corporation taxes—how vague in contrast to the concrete and specific blows which the later points strike against labor!—undoubtedly represents a reaction to the rumbling discontent which the masses of workers feel against the present fantastic boss profiteering.

But it is precisely in his failure to be specific that President Roosevelt shows that he is not here trying to really abolish war profiteering. The big corporations have increased their profits tremendously in the past two years.

The Department of Commerce Bulletin reports that corporate net profits in 1941, after all taxes, were 30 per cent greater than in 1940 and 75 per cent greater than in 1939.

Most of these profit increases took place in the war production industries. Thus, the aircraft industry had an average rate of profit of 40 per cent, after tax deductions.

Senator Walsh Connected With Nazi Agents!

A prominent American senator, David J. Walsh, chairman of the Senate Naval Affairs Committee, was named this week in a lurid scandal involving women and Nazi spies as we go to press.

Coming on the heels of the devastating exposures of dealings between American big business, the Merchants of Death, and Hitler, the newest sensation rocked the nation.

What goes on in Washington—and Wall Street? LABOR ACTION will carry the full story next week.

It is obvious, therefore, that the present profits tax is an ineffective farce. First, because its rates are far too low. Second, because it allows corporations an alternative method of calculating their excess profits. Corporations may consider their profits in excess if they are: (a) Greater than an 8 per cent profit on the investment; or (b) Greater than the average profit for the 1935-39 period.

But it is this vast loophole, wide as a barn, which permits the corporations to get away with murder. A corporation with a large capital investment such as a half billion dollars (Ford Motor Co.) can make a neat profit with "only" an 8 per cent profit. While a corporation with a small capital investment, such as Coca Cola, chose the average profit method and made 20 to 25 per cent profit last year without paying any excess profits tax at all.

THE BIGGEST LOOPHOLE

This is the biggest loophole. And the proof that the President has no intention of closing it is seen in the fact that the Treasury Department proposal, obviously made with the direct knowledge and consent of FDR, does not suggest abolition of the alternative method of calculating excess profits. But the anti-labor Congress has already, through the House Ways and Means Committee, further sliced down the weak Treasury proposals with the result that next year's profits will be pretty much the same as this year's, since the increase in rate would be more than made up for by the increase in the mass of profits which the companies are getting.

The very fact that the President gives to the reactionary, anti-labor Congress the task of defining "undue or excess profits" shows his thoughts are really no different from theirs on this proposal. Nobody in his right mind can expect the present Congress to really cut down boss profiteering in any essential way.

In any case, why should the bosses, the Merchants of Death, be permitted any profits at all? The lives of the people are being conscripted—why shouldn't the wealth and profits of the bosses be conscripted?

The only effective way to stop war profiteering is to fight for LABOR ACTION's proposal: A 100 per cent tax on all war profits! Confiscate all war profits!

THE PERSONAL INCOME LIMIT

Now we come to the second part of the first proposal: the proposal to limit net personal incomes to \$25,000 a year.

This proposal would appear to be the most "radical" of all of the President's proposals. We, of course, are for a stringent limitation on the incomes of the rich. We are for a limitation of \$25,000 on the incomes of the bosses. That's more than enough for them to live on!

But it is necessarily to point out the limitations and weaknesses of this proposal. First, everyone knows that an "industry" has long been developed of shyster lawyers and accountants advising the rich on how to evade payment of income taxes, how to claim "exemptions" for various fake reasons and thereby pad their incomes.

Secondly, even if the rich are actually (Continued on page 4 in editorial column)

Europe in Revolt

News from the Socialist Third Camp

TWO WORLDS—TWO SIDES

We have just received two reports from London concerning quite different matters; but still do not these two reports, of which you are now to read, seem to be related in some manner, illustrating the profound gulfs that exist inside the "underground movement" in Europe?

The British New Leader, organ of the Independent Labor Party, carries the following on the working class struggle against the Nazis in Austria:

"The Nazis are anxious about unrest in Austria. Dr. Scheel recently had an article in Goebbels' 'Voelkischer Beobachter,' emphasizing that it is the duty of every Nazi to prevent a repetition of the munitions workers' strike of 1918.

"Reliable sources in Stockholm report that workers in munitions factories show increasing dissatisfaction. In a Linz factory, for instance, when the Nazi authorities refused to recognize the men's elected representatives on the grounds of 'political unreliability,' the workers decided unanimously not to appoint successors to treat with the government representatives. Instead they decided to take their complaints individually to the management. The result was a line of anything of the 100 workers outside the manager's office each morning."

The Nazis get jittery about the danger of workers' resistance; they are haunted by memories of the great anti-war strike waves of 1918; they know that the spirit of the workers has not been crushed. So they try to prevent such an eventuality by doubling the use of their terrorism, but what is the use of terrorism when the workers in the factories present a united front? The workers elect those as representatives among themselves in whom they have confidence and those men have their confidence just because they are "politically unreliable" from the Nazi point of view.

When the Gestapo intervenes they do not stage a demonstration; they have learned from bitter experience that times are not yet ripe for this. But they employ other, quite unassuming methods of protest. What can the Gestapo do against workers who individually bring their complaints to the management? The workers fight inside the bounds of Nazi legality but still they fight on.

All this may seem unimportant, a mere trifle to us over here, but it is really of the utmost importance, because it shows clearly that the class struggle continues in Europe in spite of terror. It shows that the workers fight by their own methods gathered from the experiences they have been able to collect in these years. They fight for their own aims and not for some vague Four Freedoms or Atlantic Charters. They fight for the right to be represented by those in whom they have confidence, by those who will be upright fighters for their class despite terror and defeat. Here lurks a much greater danger for the Nazi slave drivers than in a hundred broadcasts from the various "fighters for freedom."

GENERAL DE GAULLE IS WORRIED

There is trouble brewing among those distinguished fighters for "democracy and freedom" who are gathered around General de Gaulle. De Gaulle's chief claim to fame is that he developed the most thorough methods of totalitarian destruction in mechanized warfare, long before the Nazis did. And his aid, Muselier, is distinguished for his crushing of the revolt of the French Navy in 1918, when the French sailors refused to be a party to the anti-Bolshevik intervention at Sebastopol.

There is trouble brewing among these distinguished colonial officers who know how to crush the resistance of colonial peoples to the French Empire but who find that the organization of resistance to the Nazis is a much more complicated job than dealing with unarmed Negro tribes in central Africa.

Certainly something smells badly in de Gaulle's London headquarters. Even the virtuous State Department has caught some of this bad smell in its distinguished nose and sneezes a bit. The question being asked these days is: Do these men of the Free French Committee really represent France? Neither of the Allied capitals is worried about the fact that these distinguished "democrats" are mostly... monarchists; neither capital gives a damn about de Gaulle's avowed sympathy for a regime "with a strong hand." They support lots of other "governments in exile" of the same kind.

What they are worried about is whether or not these French stooges of theirs are really in a position to do the job; that is, of rallying the support of the French people. That is why important quarters in London and Washington play with the idea of cutting the allowance of de Gaulle; that is why things look oh-so-bad in the London headquarters of de Gaulle. Wouldn't it be clever to give to this Free French movement a somewhat republican flavor?

Some of the really audacious even consider adding some former socialists so as to give the whole cocktail a somewhat pinkish flavor. And thus cables flash between Washington and London; ambassadors are excited. It is almost like one of those cozy little ministerial crises of the by-gone happy days of the Third Republic—only this time the wires are pulled in Washington and London....

All this is quite natural and to be expected. Let us leave de Gaulle to his worries about subsidies; our hope for the liberation of Europe is pinned on the workers of Linz and their brothers all over Nazi oppressed lands, and not with the French auxiliary service of British imperialism which has its headquarters in London.

Europacus.

L.A. CIO Council in Turmoil On Stalinist Lynch Drive

LOS ANGELES, April 24—The Stalinist steamroller in the Los Angeles CIO Council jammed at tonight's meeting and threw the council into a half hour of turmoil. A letter from the American Civil Liberties Union questioning the violence used against distributors of LABOR ACTION and The Militant raised the issue of suppressing the distribution of LABOR ACTION, The Militant and the Socialist Call for the fourth time at a council meeting.

Signed by Dr. Taft, director of the Los Angeles ACLU, the letter cited information that had come to the ACLU's attention regarding a vigilante attack on four people by individuals connected with the CIO. The letter asked that the CIO Council declare itself on the "deplorable affair." Asking "Does your council approve vigilanteism?" the letter ended with a request that the council condemn or condone such action.

Stalled for almost four weeks (the letter was originally sent to the council on the first or second of April), it was finally brought before the council with a recommendation of the executive board that a committee be designated to explain the CIO stand to the executive committee of the ACLU and further that the president and secretary of the council constitute the committee.

A delegate from the auto workers offered an amendment to the motion which would have put the council on record against interference with distribution of labor papers outside its halls.

The temporary chairman, presiding in the absence of the regular chairman, and making a genuine effort to be democratic, declared the amendment in order. The Stalinist clique popped up and down with challenges and with points of order. In the confusion, a motion was made to table the amendment. Under parliamentary procedure an amendment cannot be tabled without the motion. On a standing vote, the motion to table was therefore defeated.

The Stalinist clique, aided by a few misguided non-Stalinists, continued to pepper the chair with demands that the amendment be declared out of order and, failing that, to close the discussion. Their efforts did not sit well with the bulk of the non-Stalinist elements. Even Phil Connelly, who has aided and abetted the attempt to "discourage" the distributions, was provoked into denouncing the Stalinist steamroller. He demanded that a serious discussion not be "cluttered up with parliamentary drivel."

Michener's Demagogy With the discussion finally opened, several militants defended the amendment and scored the anti-democratic elements which would suppress labor papers by vigilante action. Typical of the Stalinist rejoinders was the slick oratory of Delegate Michener, who, in a flight of demagogic filth, suggested that Dr. Taft be retired by the ACLU for being weak-kneed and wishy-washy and not understanding what "this

country needs." He fairly outdid himself in a demagogic plea against the CIO council explaining itself or "submitting its decisions" to "old people downtown."

After a bit of to-do about whether or not the floor had been closed, and whether she was speaking on the amendment, Sister Hilda Shapiro from the Amalgamated informed the delegates that she was "a lot older than the brother who just spoke (Michener), but not yet ready for the ashecan." Reminding the delegates that not even England, after its worst bombing raids, had suppressed the People's Conference for Peace, called by the Communist Party two years ago, she spoke very well and vigorously against gangsterism and totalitarianism in the labor movement. "I am not grateful to those who want to keep me from reading and I am not in favor of anybody being kept from reading what he wants to," said Sister Shapiro, concluding with an urgent plea against any labor body taking it upon itself to defeat what it ABOVE ALL must protect—labor's democratic rights.

Connelly then rose and, speaking entirely and deliberately outside the point, made a shady effort to skirt the issue. Defending the recommendation of the executive board, though opposing the amendment, he at least understood that on an issue of civil liberties a union body cannot ignore the ACLU. He referred to some "fine people" he knew on the executive board of the ACLU, after which he misstated the aim and purpose and content of the ACLU letter by insinuating that Dr. Taft had already tried, judged and convicted the council "on the basis of no information or misinformation."

Connelly knew very well that Dr. Taft's information was accurate. In a bill of particulars filed with the ACLU by Charles Cornell for The Militant and Emmanuel Garrett for LABOR ACTION, specific facts were given as to the attack, including the name of Gus Eckert, regional director of the CIO die-casters, who led the attack. (Other CIO leaders who were sitting in the CIO cafeteria saw the assault.) Dr. Taft did not charge the council with having undertaken the assault. He cited information that individuals connected with the CIO, and coming out of the CIO building, were responsible.

Connelly Begs Issue

Connelly informed the council that it could not help what "happens on a public street," which is one way of begging the issue. The council CAN help what is done under cover of a series of anti-democratic motions, VOTED BY THE COUNCIL. And it MUST HELP what is done by members, above all by leading members of the CIO Council. THEIR ACTIONS DISGRACE THE LABOR MOVEMENT AND THE CIO. IT IS THEREFORE A MATTER OF CONCERN TO THE COUNCIL.

The motion was carried and the amendment defeated. Even so, the issue is far from settled. There will be a hearing by the executive board of the ACLU and the matter may again come before the CIO Council. No local union has so far acted on the advice of the council to "discourage" the distributions. Leaflets published by the Socialist Workers Party and LABOR ACTION have had an excellent response. Despite the warning signs and fancy waste paper box, built especially for the purpose, few papers are discarded. Distributors before local unions report many rank and file as being disgusted with the Stalinist steamroller.

The Stalinists are attacking everywhere. There is a national and international campaign, not merely against Trotskyism, but against any section of militant labor. There is a campaign to sell out labor and slander all who expose that sell-out. Despite their campaign, the distributions continue. LABOR ACTION has increased its weekly bundle in Los Angeles to 1,200 since the first Stalinist attack. Los Angeles is as good a place as any to stop the Stalinist campaign.



The special LABOR ACTION and New International subscription campaign is now finished. Next week we shall announce in LABOR ACTION the results of the campaign, as well as those who won the various prizes we were offering for getting the special \$1.00 combination subscriptions.

LABOR ACTION wants to take this opportunity to thank all of its friends and agents everywhere for helping us to make a success of this campaign. Many people and readers of LABOR ACTION did a lot of work and spent much time to put the campaign across. And they all agree with us—it was well worth the effort.

Here's the list of subscriptions we obtained during the final week of the campaign:

Cleveland	7
New York City	6
Buffalo	4
Ann Arbor	3
Chicago	3
Los Angeles	1
New Haven	1
Philadelphia	1
Cincinnati	1
St. Louis	1
Louisville	1
Kansas	1
Arizona	1
Total	31

A Review of the Burmese Front -- What Were the Causes of the British Fiasco?

By WILLIAM BRAD

The battle for Burma had the character of inevitability from the very beginning. It could have but one outcome: British defeat. The British defense was purely military, offering no chance for native participation. As a military program it could only succeed if the British had overwhelming military superiority—which they didn't, of course.

Politically the British had no program for Burmese defense other than an outright imperialist one of that peculiarly ineffective British variety. Both armies, except for the handful of armed Burmese, were invaders scrapping for the right to Burma's riches and exploitation of its natives.

An examination of the roles played by the British, Chinese, Americans, Japanese and Burmese reveals this imperialist character of the war.

Let us start with the British. After years of despotic rule the British left Burma undeveloped industrially or agriculturally, the masses illiterate, starvation rampant and the death rate high. To Burma the British brought nothing. From Burma they took rubber, oil, rubies, tungsten and silver. The British administration had one function: to exact a heavy tribute for export to the stockholders and absentee landlords in England.

Ruling British Group

The resident British ruling group was very small, living in Rangoon and Mandalay, totally out of touch with the masses of Burmese and not even in intimate touch with the Burmese bourgeoisie.

The British found themselves vastly outnumbered, outsmarted—and surrounded by natives who hated them. According to Clare Boothe in the April 27 issue of Life, the British simply couldn't cope with the superior Japanese and above all with the Burmese "traitors." They were fighting in hostile territory and dared not arm the Burmese because these arms would have been turned against them.

But habits die slowly, even imperialist habits. Clare Boothe reports that after the natives fled Myanmar "Allied headquarters was left short of servants and laundrymen, and the markets all closed—no strawberry shortcake tonight." At the Mayo Country Club, "the typical colonial set-up, with cricket, tennis, racing and golf." Miss Boothe found "a pretty girl in tennis shorts in the powder room. She asked me, all dusty, where I was from. I said 'Mandalay.' She said: 'Oh, poor old Mandalay.'" This was several hours after Mandalay was bombed and burned to the ground.

The Chinese role was that of a tool of the British and Americans. The commander of the Chinese forces was the American general, Stilwell. With Stilwell came a whole crew of American officers. They dominated the Chinese forces militarily and politically.

Colonial revolutionists must be on guard against the Japanese imperialist diversion of their legitimate hatred of British oppression.

For the masses of Burma all that has occurred is an exchange of rulers. Their political status will remain the same as before. Their country will continue to be a battleground subject to the ravages of imperialist invasion. The land will continue to be monopolized by a few landlords, although the names of these landlords may change. Many of the Burmese have recognized the character of British rule. When the masses see that Japanese rule is at least as bad, the road to true national independence will be clearly marked.

The Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

Goodyear Men Hit Fingerprint Scheme

Dear Editor: In today's Akron paper a columnist says: "Goodyear local has directed its members to refuse to submit to fingerprinting by the company." Darn right! All of us CIOers are against such a dirty trick. I for one, a worker at Goodyear, hear a lot of cracks against it. It doesn't take long for us to smell a rat. This is nothing but a company move to make a blacklist record of us—too much like the third degree. You'd think we were criminals, and besides, what the hell is it of the company's business? And how does fingerprinting affect their employment policy and our work? And they talk about Hitler! I'm keeping my eyes open right here on the job.

Goodyear Worker. Akron, Ohio.

Free Panchelly, Woodworth and Brown

Dear Editor: Three West Coast seamen, Anthony Panchelly, Edward M. Woodworth and Donald N. Brown, were arrested in Hoboken during the seamen's strike of 1936-37. On New Year's day they got into a fight with a scab herder who offered them jobs on ships tied up by the strike. When the men were tried in Jersey City they were found guilty, not of the assault, to which they pleaded guilty, but of robbery of \$21.80. But none of the witnesses of the fight saw the money; it was not found on the street, nor on the arrested men. There was only "the word" of the scab herder that he ever had the money. On such shaky evidence

three men were given the maximum sentence for robbery: 15 years. The men are now on the State Prison Farm at Bordentown. They have now filed an appeal for pardon before the New Jersey Court of Pardons. Judge Kinkead, who sentenced them originally, is now supporting their pardon application. If their appeal is denied this spring, they cannot again apply for clemency for two more years.

It is obvious that such a case and such a sentence would not have occurred if there had not been so tense an anti-labor situation in Hudson County at that time.

The pardon campaign being conducted by the Workers Defense League has been endorsed by the CIO national convention, the American Civil Liberties Union and other groups.

Asks Source of Churchill Quotation

Dear Editor: In your issue of April 5, Winston Churchill is quoted as having said: "I have always said that if Britain were defeated in war, I hoped that we would find a Hitler to lead us back to our rightful place among nations." He is alleged to have said this on November 6, 1938. Will you please tell me precisely where this quotation can be found. Was it in the New York Times?

(The quotation referred to in the above letter is taken from a pamphlet, "War for Freedom or Finance?" by Oliver Brown, published by the British Independent Labor Party. The source is a radio address by Churchill, accounts of which—including the quotation—were in the London daily papers. —Editor.)

Letter on India in Akron Paper

The following letter to the editor appeared in the Akron Beacon-Journal of March 25, 1942.

INDIAN FREEDOM

Some plain words on India are now in order. L. C. Croy in your Sunday paper is quite right in saying, "India wants its economic shackles removed."

The question is: How and by whom can this be accomplished? Obviously, the Japanese or Nazi imperialist invaders won't elevate the Indian masses from their centuries old degradation under British rule!

On December 12, 1930, Mr. Churchill in a public speech summed up the Tory attitude of British imperialism toward Indian independence as follows: "The truth is that Gandhism and all that it stands for will sooner or later have to be grappled with and finally crushed. The loss of India would mark and consum-

mate the downfall of the British Empire. We have no intention of casting away that most truly bright and precious jewel in the crown of the king, which more than all our other dominions and dependencies constitutes the glory and strength of the British Empire."

All the Indian people are familiar with these words of Mr. Churchill, and have opposed continued British rule consistently. Is it any wonder now that they view with the greatest suspicion the "delicate" maneuverings of Sir Stafford Cripps, sent to India by Mr. Churchill with a so-called "independence plan" which was labelled in your United Press dispatch of March 11 as a "stagger"?

It appears that India will not strike off its economic and political shackles unless its teeming millions of workers and peasants take matters into their own hands. Otherwise, hopeless and piecemeal compromises between Cripps and the aristocratic caste led by Mr. Nehru will so demoralize the population that it will be incapable of successfully resisting Japanese invasion.

LABOR ACTION

SPRING DANCE FROLIC
 Book Auction • Entertainment
 In Support of the
18 MINNEAPOLIS LABOR DEFENDANTS
 SATURDAY EVENING, MAY 16, 1942
 WERDERMANN'S HALL, 156 THIRD AVE. AT 16TH ST., NEW YORK
 Admission: 50 Cents
 Auspices New York Branch, Civil Rights Defense Committee

From a St. Louis Hospital Worker

Dear Editor: Why are hospital workers continually quitting their jobs for jobs in war plants? Why should they quit a job preparing food or caring for sick and helpless people? First, because wages are too low to live on; they get \$42.50 per month. Some, in other parts of the hospital where I work, get even less.

Second, because working conditions are so deplorable. It is almost impossible to do a day's work and get through on time to go off duty when eight hours are up.

Someone is absent from his job most of the time and the rest have to do these jobs besides their own. One day recently seven people were out of the kitchen and the remaining employees saw that the patients were fed. Besides this, the management is such that pots and pans are often out of place, which further tends to kill time.

After a petition was recently signed by the kitchen help, asking for more help, the superintendent called them together to say they were working for a charity hospital and he was unable to give them more and that they were free to go elsewhere for employment. Although he reminded them that after the war they would still be running the hospital.

Labor Action's May Day Affair A Huge Success

In the true spirit of socialist comradeship and militancy, 225 workers attended the New York May Day ACTION's second anniversary—one banquet and celebration of LABOR of the most successful affairs held in years by our movement.

The audience cheered and applauded the speaker of the evening, Max Shachtman, national secretary of the Workers Party. Shachtman stressed the development of both the Workers Party and LABOR ACTION. "There were some cynics and adversaries," he said, "who sneeringly predicted an early demise for our movement. Yet we have lived and functioned as revolutionary socialists; we have met our political responsibilities with regard to our position on the war; and today, LABOR ACTION, popular with and respected by the workers who read it, has the largest circulation of any paper ever published by the Trotskyist movement."

May Issue of The New International Is Now Ready!

The May issue of The New International will be off the press by the time this issue of LABOR ACTION is read. The issue contains fine and interesting articles, a list of which follows:

The editorial Notes of the Month: Roosevelt's War Economy Program. War in the Pacific, by Henry Judd. The Dilemma of John L. Lewis, by Jack Wilson. Literature and Ideology, by James T. Farrell. A Thesis on the National Question and de Gaullism adopted by the recent convention of the French Trotskyists. Tarlé's Invasion of History, by R. Crane. The Social Roots of Opportunism (Part III), by Gregory Zinoviev. Plus the following book reviews: John Steinbeck's "The Moon Is Low" by Irving Howe; Granville Hicks' "Only One Storm" by Henry Judd, as well as other reviews and features. Get your copy immediately. You shouldn't miss it!

Defending the "Workers State"

"The United States Steel Corp. has made a contribution of \$75,000 to Russian War Relief, Inc. It was announced yesterday by Edward C. Carter, president of Russian War Relief.

"The gift is the largest received from any corporation and one of the largest received from any source, according to a spokesman for Russian War Relief." New York Times, May 2.

Of Special Interest To Women

By Susan Green

If the working class housewife has breathed a sigh of relief because of Leon Henderson's price fixing order to go into effect on May 18, she is a bit premature.

Putting teeth into such a price fixing order involves the kind of widespread and honest enforcement impossible in a society based on the sacred rights of private profit.

Think of the tens of thousands of manufacturers, wholesalers, jobbers and retail corporations, all dedicated to the cause of making profits and to hell with sacrificing. The driving motive of corporations and business men will not change between now and May 18. Judging by precedents, the ingenuity of those who obey the law of "grab" will not be unequal to the task of circumventing the price fixing order.

Remember that the minor job of enforcing prohibition was a major flop. And in England today the black market is more virulent than price control—which has managed to keep the prices of food climbing up to 72 per cent above pre-war levels—according to the British Board of Trade.

Indeed it is a bit too soon to heave that sigh of relief, especially since in Washington itself—from where Henderson's order came—it is expected that prices will be 10 per cent higher by the end of the year, and less conservative economists put the expected increase at 15 per cent. This is what the Kiplinger Washington Service advises its paying business men clients.

Resignation to "a certain amount" of war profiteering and to the continued rise in prices may be considered altogether fitting and proper in Washington. For the working class housewife, however, resignation is too expensive a luxury.

If Washington expects Mr. Henderson's price fixing order to be so toothless a thing that prices will go up from 10 to 15 per cent within the next few months in spite of it, working class housewives themselves must do something about price control.

LABOR ACTION has been urging the women of the country to organize themselves into neighborhood housewives' groups. This step can no longer be deferred.

One woman may grumble about what she knows to be illegal prices. She may even speak up and give an innocent store clerk an argument. But she is only one and her action is ineffectual. By herself she cannot reach the manufacturers, wholesalers, jobbers and big retail corporations responsible for profiteering.

But suppose a committee representing all the housewives of a district demand of a certain dealer that profiteering prices stop. That is a horse of a different color. Suppose a picket line decorates the sidewalk to give substance to the demand. That is a bird of a different feather. Suppose this committee goes to the local rationing board or to the local OPA office to insist on the revocation of the licenses of manufacturers, wholesalers, jobbers and retailers who war-profiteer. This would have a most salutary effect on all concerned—even on the moguls in Washington where orders are issued but not expected to be enforced against the upper classes.

Workers on the production lines have learned that in organization there is strength. For working class housewives on the consumption lines there is also strength in organization.

Not only is Mr. Henderson's order a toothless thing—but by admission from Washington itself—but it leaves loopholes through which the war profiteer will have no difficulty at all in passing with his money bags.

There is the matter of quality. This most important element in determining the worth of an article has been completely ignored by Mr. Henderson. Yet every housewife knows that the quality of merchandise is constantly deteriorating. Many products on sale today are decidedly inferior to those of a year or two ago. Store counters are filling up with merchandise of lower serviceability and durability. Of this there is no doubt.

The price of a pair of shoes may remain the same, but it isn't the same quality of shoes. What about the grade of leather—if it is leather? What about the workmanship? How will the shoes stand up in the rain? Will they keep their shape? How much sooner will they need repair?

Prices may not go through the ceiling, but how about the windows? Mr. Henderson leaves them wide open.

Here is more work for the organized housewives. They can boycott inferior goods. They can find out what manufacturers are responsible for picking the consumers' pockets by selling shoddy, and bring the weight of their organization to bear against them and against all wholesalers, jobbers and retailers who share in this kind of mass robbery.

That sigh of relief was indeed premature. What is necessary is the gritting of teeth and the determination of the working class housewives of the country to organize in self-protection.

But the biggest loophole in the Henderson order and that which really makes it a laughingstock is the list of exceptions. The following list of everyday food items are not included under the price ceilings:

Fresh fruits and vegetables.
Fresh fish.
Poultry, mutton, lamb.
Eggs, butter, cheese, evaporated and condensed milk.
Flour, dried prunes, dried beans.

This list of basic diet necessities was not jotted down by this columnist in a whimsical mood. Mr. Henderson's order actually lists these indispensable foods as exceptions to which price ceilings do not apply.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics in the middle of March this year reported an increase of 25 per cent in the cost of food above pre-war levels. The rich fruit and vegetable combines, the giant dairy companies, the moneyed poultry and packing houses which have been responsible for the rising cost of living, will be grateful for Mr. Henderson's thoughtfulness. So will the "law-abiding" wholesalers, jobbers and retailers as they mark up the prices on Mr. Henderson's list of excepted commodities—which are only foods that other government officials in Washington tell us we cannot do without. But, after all, an honest profit must be permitted under the profit system that Mr. Roosevelt has pledged himself to preserve.

It is thus very easy to understand why, in spite of price control, food prices in England rose 72 per cent—and why Washington economists expect costs here to advance 10 to 15 per cent before the end of 1942. It should be just as easy to understand why LABOR ACTION hammers on the idea that price control is up to the working class itself.

Negro and White Work Together in Swampeast:

Missouri Croppers Learn Lesson in Unity

A strange incident took place in Southeast Missouri the other day. It deserves consideration and every worker in Southeast Missouri should think it over and then talk to his neighbor about it, and get him to pass it on, and all act on it.

The wages for cotton chopping is the chief topic of conversation there. "We will not take \$1.25 a day. We want 30 cents an hour." Everybody is agreed upon that. The question is, how to get it? The only way is by union organization. But one of the great troubles about union organization is to get the whites and Negroes together in the same unions and in the same locals, not a great mass of Negroes and a few whites, or a great number of whites and a few Negroes, but all the whites and all the Negroes in one district together.

That is the problem and a Negro unionist who was thinking about it approached a white worker whom he had met and sounded him out about the prospects for a joint struggle. The white worker was very sympathetic. They met, a few times and after two or three talks they decided to have an organized meeting between representatives of both groups. A Negro was elected chairman and made the opening remarks.

"WAITING TO FIGHT"
In the course of these remarks he said: "We Negroes have long been wanting to fight, but we felt that the white workers by keeping away from us were preventing a really serious struggle. If they only join with us—" But here the white worker interrupted. "Excuse me," he said, "the white workers have been mad about these wages for a long time. But we have been saying that if the Negroes didn't come here and work for corn bread and molasses we would have been able to struggle for a decent pay."

There each group sat and looked at the other for quite a while.

This is something that happened a few days ago in the heart of Southeast Missouri and is as true as gospel!

Could anything be more revealing? Mustn't all of the workers, white and black, repeat this true story, one to another, until every worker in Missouri knows about it!

Here were two groups of workers living within a few miles of each other, all starving, all ready

More News from Swampeast Missouri

SOUTHEAST MISSOURI—Everywhere the union locals are being revived and all the talk is for militant struggle. So that once more the landlords are scared. For example:

They continually meet workers and ask them "What do you think cotton-chopping is worth this year?" One worker told the landlord who asked him this question: "Thirty cents an hour. Not a penny less." Another landlord has some men living on his place. He goes to them with a contract for them to sign up to work for him at \$1.50. The men refused, of course. But it shows that the landlord is afraid of a real mass demand for 30 cents an hour.

Another landlord has gone round to a project and started talking about \$1.50, then went up to \$1.75. The man he was talking to said: "I know you wouldn't get a man here to work for less than \$2.00." The landlord said nothing and went away.

Worse still is landowner P. M. Barton. For the past three years Barton has been bringing Mexicans into Missouri to under-cut wages. These landlords sow hatred between whites and blacks and when they feel the blacks and whites are uniting together for union action, they go and bring Mexicans to divide the workers more, set them fighting and so prevent organized struggle. Barton, it is stated, is making arrangements to bring thousands of Mexicans in from Texas. The only reason for this is so that he will not have to pay the decent wage which the workers are determined to get.

Meanwhile the workers are reviving the locals everywhere. That is correct. Union organization, white and black together, a clear demand and a determination to fight for it. That will win a decent wage.

to struggle. But the whites sat down and said: "If only the Negroes wouldn't work so cheap we all could get 30 cents an hour." How long has this been going on? For years. Until one Negro had the sense to go and talk to his white fellow worker and now they are together and busy planning and organizing.

GO AND DO LIKEWISE

Every worker must, as the scripture says, go and do likewise. You have been talking, brother white worker, to your white neighbors. You want 30 cents an hour. Down the road is a Negro who works side by side with you in the fields. He wants 30 cents—as much as you do. Why not go and talk to him about it?

Same with the Negroes. Why not go and talk to that white worker you know who lives on the other side of town. Tell him that you and your Negro friends want to have a little meeting with his white friends. Maybe you will find out that a real labor unity is closer than you imagine, as our two friends found out when they talked it over. And when the meeting takes place—what to do? Nothing could be simpler.

1. If there is a local, everyone agrees to join it.
2. If there is no local, form one. All you have to do is to keep on meeting, and write to the UCAFAWA-CIO, Chicago, and say that you want to form a union local to fight for 30 cents an hour.

3. Call upon the CIO to come and help organize the workers. Ask them to help the work organization to get a decent wage.
4. While you call upon the union for help, back it up by starting to organize. Elect a committee and systematically get all the workers in your neighborhood to agree to back each other up for 30 cents an hour and no less.

In one district in Missouri over a hundred whites and Negroes are busy carrying out these plans and simply because one bold Negro worker went to a white worker and found out that each group was blaming the other group for a state of affairs which only both groups working together could remedy.

Gandhi's "Passive Resistance" Line a Blow at Freedom for Indian People

By HENRY JUDD

Meeting in the city of Allahabad last week, the conservative executive committee of the Indian National Congress adopted the pacifist resolution put forward by Mahatma Gandhi which declared that, while opposing an invasion of India by Japan, "Such resistance can only take the form of non-violent non-cooperation, as the British government prevented organization of national defenses by the people in any other way."

The British authorities who rule the country are also joining (in their own way) with the supporters of Gandhi and Nehru in making it easy for the Japanese to conquer the country. Anxious to prevent a defense of India by the people themselves, they have ordered the provincial governments which have been organizing home guards for defense to arm them with "wooden batons." The conservative nationalists and the British imperialists sabotage a revolutionary defense of India for different reasons but the results can only be the same—the tragedy of a Japanese victory over the Indian people.

Gandhi is correct when he accuses Britain of preventing the organization of a people's defense, but that makes it only more necessary for the nationalists to take charge of their own defense. However, Gandhi and his capitalist supporters among the Indians are unwilling to go so far and take such responsibility. Having failed to come to terms with Cripps in the recent negotiations, they have now probably decided to passively accept conquest of India by Japanese imperialism. Since British imperialism has nothing to offer them, since it refused to make any concessions to them, the native capitalist class that stands behind Gandhi now feels that it can perhaps strike a better bargain with the Japanese. Therefore, it proposes "non-resistance." What could be more helpful to Japan in its march of conquest?

With the rout of the British and Chinese forces in Burma the Japanese are in an extremely favorable position to advance on India by two routes—overland from Burma into the hostile, anti-British native states on the border and into the equally anti-British province of Bengal; by sea against Ceylon and Calcutta from bases in the Andaman Islands and Burma. The fact is that the invasion of India has all but begun and can actually start at any hour!
India Needs Leadership

But India's hour of crisis finds the great population of that country still without leadership. The imperialists of Britain, now reinforced by the United States, have withdrawn the Cripps plan and are sitting tight, preparing to "defend" their colony by the same methods they employed in Malaya, Burma, East Indies, etc. That is, a purely military struggle, without the support of the people, with a small handful of white troops doing the fighting amid an unfriendly, neutral or hostile population. What chance has India to ward off the Japanese under such circumstances?

The Indian Nationalist leadership, dominated by conservatives or open

reactionaries of the Indian capitalist class, has likewise failed to rally the people. The Congress leadership today is divided into three mutually warring groups.

First, the Gandhi group (majority). They—with an eye to the future—propose to remain on friendly terms with the Japanese. They are "non-resistant" to Japanese imperialism and they will not scorch their private property for Britain; they will fight to see it preserved and continued—if necessary, even under Japanese rule.

Second, the Rajagopalchariar group (minority). This group, coming from the key seaport of Madras, wishes to accept the Cripps proposals and openly support British rule and the British war effort. It urges a complete surrender on the part of the Congress Party to Great Britain and is the most conservative of the leading conservative groups.

And finally, the most shameful and pitiful group of all, that of Nehru. Standing in between the above mentioned leaders, Nehru has nothing to offer but tears (his own tears!) He

neither wishes Gandhi's capitulation to Japan, nor Rajagopalchariar's capitulation to England. But, as his many and confusing statements to the press testify, he has no independent program to offer the people. With invasion imminent, it is hardly likely that Nehru can continue his balancing act.

This Congress "leadership" that we have described is today completely impotent and reactionary. It has failed to issue a single directive to the people; it has ignored the 385 million Indians at the most crucial moment. Although the time for independent class action on the part of the people themselves grows shorter with each day; although the difficulties of organizing a Peoples Militia of workers and poor people in defense of the country increase, nevertheless, the socialists and revolutionaries of India are still hard at work advancing their program of action: Defense of India against Japan by the people, independently of British imperialism.

Stalinists Whitewash Merchants of Death

(Continued from page 1)

the whole country, including these monopoly corporations, did result in a transformation into an opposite policy."

This is a lie. The Merchants of Death have NOT broken their cartel agreements. There has been no "transformation into an opposite policy." On the contrary, they are still working on the basis of agreements with Farben and Krupp which will give these Nazi vultures post-war rake-offs for American war products made under the cartel agreements.

And what does the Daily Worker mean by that puffed-up bunkum about "transformation into an opposite policy?" When it utters that kind of nonsense it is spreading the illusion that the Merchants of Death function as capitalist vultures out of choice and can therefore "transform" their practices once their hearts are won over to sweetness and light. In reality, they function according to the inexorable economic laws of capitalism—and the only way to abolish their practices is to abolish their economic system.

THE DAILY WORKER'S MOTIVES

But what is the Stalinist paper getting at when it whitewashes the monopolists in this way? We see that in the next sentence of the editorial:

"So today, even though they may not always be the most dependable forces within the anti-Axis camp and retain characteristics inherent in finance capital (sic) nevertheless these large corporations are as a whole part of the camp of national unity..."

Now we get it. The Daily Worker is worried lest the workers get steamed up about the Merchants of Death, begin to do something about it and in that way disturb "national unity." (For the Stalinists, "national unity" means having labor surrender all its rights, kowtow to the bosses 24 hours a day with double time on week-ends, so that "unity" can be maintained between the workers and the bosses.)

So while they are forced to admit that these corporations are pretty smelly, still don't get excited. Remember "national unity," even if Standard Oil is rooking the people, even if they're freezing your wages. Smile, brother, smile—says the Daily Worker—and don't you annoy our good friends, the monopolists.

(By the way, if you read the above sentence, you notice that the large corporations "retain characteristics of finance capital." From that we may gather that while some characteristics are retained—after all, you can't expect Morgan to abdicate right away, especially while Browder is in jail—there are a number which have... evaporated. Where to?)

SOME AUDACIOUS DEMAGOGY

But if the Daily Worker is reticent about attacking Standard Oil, it has no such hesitation about lambasting into the New Republic and The Nation for their exposés of the Merchants of Death. And then, in an audacious piece of demagoguery, it writes: "Trust-busting propaganda is not always associated with progressivism; Hitler did not hesitate to use 'anti-monopoly' demagoguery when he needed it, and Charles E. Coughlin also knows the trick."

But Hitler used it as a trick to gain mass support. When in power he did not bust the trusts; he strengthened them. Those who would genuinely bust the trusts by busting the trust system, the socialists, stand on the opposite side of Hitler. Why does the Daily Worker lump them together?

The answer is clear. The Stalinists in their frantic anxiety to aid Uncle Joe of Moscow will go to any lengths against the interests of American labor. They supported the "no-strike" proposals. They support FDR's "freeze" program that would put labor behind a great big eight-ball of ice.

And now they whitewash the Merchants of Death. Move over there, Kaltenborn, Hearst, McCormack and Pegler. Make room for Earl Browder.

Why Socialism Means Equality For Negroes

By Paul Harris

(Editor's Note—The following article is another in a series exposing the propaganda that the Negro people can find their salvation by supporting Japanese imperialism. The author first showed the true character of Japanese imperialism, telling how it had practiced all of the racial bestialities of imperialism and then he went on to discuss the question sometimes asked by Negroes: What guarantee is there that socialism will insure Negro equality? The following article is a continuation of that discussion.)

By PAUL HARRIS

In this series of articles we have showed how capitalism developed into monopoly and got into deeper and deeper crises, climaxed by imperialist wars. It is worth while to recall Karl Marx's most famous writings in which he summed up his views, and Negroes should study them with care.

He says that at first capitalism began by taking the land from the poor working people. But later the capitalists began to prey upon one another. The large capitalist devours the smaller, but is in turn devoured by the still larger capitalist. (This is exactly the way things went in America until we have about twelve corporations which own or control most things, and in Japan we have the four corporations which own or control over half the capital in Japan.) But along with this monopolization and, in fact, the cause of it, something else is going on. Says Marx:

"Hand in hand with this centralization, or this expropriation of many capitalists by few, develop on an ever-extending scale the co-operative form of the labor-process; the conscious technical application of science, the methodical cultivation of the soil, the transformation of the instruments of labor into instruments of labor only usable in common, the economizing of all means of production of combined socialized labor, the entanglement of all peoples in the net of the world market, and thus the international character of the capitalistic regime."

THE GROWTH OF MISERY

But why aren't we all living a vigorous, progressive life? Because, as Marx pointed out:

"Along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital, who usurp and monopolize all advantages of this process of transformation, grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation."

Look at the millions of workers in every country, sweating in factories so that their brothers might kill each other; constant crises, fascism and war, that is all that capitalism has to offer.

"But with this too grows the revolt of the working class, a class always necessary in numbers and disciplined, united, organized by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself."

The last sentence is of tremendous importance for those who fear a permanent racial antagonism even under socialism. Marx said that the working class is increasingly "united, disciplined and organized" by the very development of capitalism itself. Now that is precisely what we have been watching here in America.

As monopoly grows, the workers and compelled more and more to unite. Hence the CIO and hence the Negroes in the CIO. More and more the development of capitalist production compels the workers to recognize their common solidarity. Even while the capitalist on the one hand tries to keep the workers apart, the same development of production drives them more and more together, and not only on a national but on an international scale.

WHAT COMPELS EQUALITY?

What can guarantee its continuance? Will not the whites, after a victory over capital, turn on the Negroes? Again we have in this argument a failure to grasp the essentials of modern society. Modern society compels an equality in the process of production, or it will enter into a period of decay. Society can no longer progress with 400 million Indians, 400 million Chinese and 120 million Africans having an average income of some five cents a day.

That is the difference between today and the U.S. Civil War period. Capitalist production in those days required the abolition of slavery and the creation of wage-laborers. When this was done, the capitalist class did not care anything more about the Negroes. Today, however, capitalist production is bankrupt. The two stages of production are different, so that the remedies will be different. The American capitalist class, once slavery was abolished, had nothing in common with the Negro. Today the working class, which will defeat the capitalist class, has everything fundamental in common with the Negroes. That is the heart of the question.

Complete equality will not begin the day after monopoly is destroyed; there will be a lot of capitalist mess to clean up. But the direction will be powerfully toward equality, or wars and crises will begin again and catastrophes will follow worse than ever. The South, for instance, will stagnate and go from bad to worse unless it modernizes itself, unless agriculture becomes a great mass production industry, which will lead to the integration of all labor. The Southern landlords believe that they will continue to live forever on the backs of a divided white and black labor force. They live in an illusion.

WAR IS NO SOLUTION

Periodically Morgan, Rockefeller, Mitsui, Mitsubishi, the Bank of England and the rest try to solve their perpetual crises by war. The workers will put an end to it, because war is no solution. The solution is greater and greater cooperation in the labor-process, greater and greater technical application of science, greater transformation of all the instruments of labor into instruments of labor usable in common, the further internationalization of production.

But all this demands equality of labor. And this can only come by the rule of the working class.

Thus we can say as surely as the process of production made capitalism international, abolished slavery, created mass production and monopoly, so surely it will create that equality of labor necessary today. As a matter of fact, race prejudice will be one of the least difficult barriers to break down, as soon as the socialist system of production becomes dominant the world over.

Kelly Postal Is Convicted

Kelly Postal, leader of Local 544-CIO of Minneapolis, was convicted last week on the technical charge of "mis-using funds" by a district court. In reality, the conviction is part of the frame-up campaign of the Tobin AFL Teamsters leadership with the cooperation of plant government officials.

Postal's "crime" was that he followed the instructions of a union meeting to shift the funds to the CIO.

Say, Bud—

What do you think of this paper? Interesting? Agree? Disagree? Why not read it every week and subscribe to it?

Editorials

FDR's Economic Program--

(Continued from page 1)

limited to \$25,000 a year, they will still have their vast fortunes, their fabulous accumulations of capital to fall back upon. For them to have to "economize" on such a "minimum income" (these pious plutocrats wail that they're against this part of FDR's plan because they'll have to fire some maids!) is hardly comparable to what the workers will have to suffer.

Thirdly, the bosses will get around this proposal by simply not dividing a large share of their corporation profits and thus hoard vast accumulations of capital to feast on after the war... when the workers will again be on the breadline.

PADDING EXPENSE ACCOUNTS

Fourthly, the bosses will still be able to soak in a lot more than \$25,000 a year by the simple device of getting themselves large "expense accounts" (as they do now) with their corporations. They'll be able to charge all sorts of things to expense accounts.

Fifthly, it should be remembered that this proposal calls for limiting the incomes of the rich "after all taxes." But the wages of the workers are to be frozen before all taxes are paid. Why the distinction?

Thus we can see that while an income limitation on the rich is highly desirable from labor's point of view, it is inadequate unless it be combined with the more fundamental methods of taxing the rich which LABOR ACTION proposes—a capital levy on accumulated wealth, a stiff tax on undivided profits and confiscation of all war profits. By itself, this income limit is very loose and inadequate, will not prevent war profiteering and even if strictly enforced will still perpetuate the present system of inequality between classes.

But as a matter of fact it has slight chance of being enforced since Congress is not at all "enthusiastic" about it. As Representative Doughton of the House Ways and Means Committee—the committee in charge—said: there has been "no feverish demand" in Congress for the acceptance of this proposal. Most likely, President Roosevelt will use it as a bargaining point with Congress and if any limitation is enforced it will be considerably higher than \$25,000.

2. Price, Rent Ceilings

The first point that must be recognized with regard to price and rent ceilings is that there is no way at present of controlling them. Price Administrator Henderson has admitted as much himself. The experience of Britain shows that even after legal price ceilings have been placed on products there is still a continued rise. Washington economists are quoted as expecting a price rise of 10 per cent even if the legal ceiling is placed on products.

The only effective way to control prices would be to put them in charge of local committees of workers and housewives with strict power to enforce. They would see to it that the big companies wouldn't go in for any chiseling because they'd really be interested in holding down prices.

But President Roosevelt's proposal would freeze prices and rents at the March, 1942, level. That is the highest price level in recent years. When you consider that most wage levels are based on contracts signed a year ago or a year and a half ago and that it is proposed that wages be frozen at that level and that prices be frozen at the March, 1942, level—you can see how labor is getting it in the neck.

MAY LOWER QUALITY OF GOODS

Another danger in this matter is that while nominal prices can remain stationary, the corporations can lower the quality of products and thus, in reality, increase their price. That is what took

place in Germany after the First World War. It is what is known as "hidden inflation."

Also, the corporations can change slightly the character of their products and thereby say that it is a different product and that it requires a higher price.

But, as a matter of fact, some of the most important of all products—30 per cent of all normally used foods: certain vegetables, fruits and meats—do not even fall under the price ceiling proposal!

The only real way to effectively bring prices down is to fight for our proposal: Freeze rents and prices at the 1940 level to stop the rise in the cost of living! Price control in the hands of labor and consumers' committees to enforce this provision!

3. 'Stabilizing' Wages

In connection with this point think of the following story:

President Roosevelt was asked by a reporter: "Once you spoke to us about 'termination of illumination' really meaning 'put out the lights.' Now doesn't 'stabilization of remuneration' mean 'freezing wages?'"

The President smiled and didn't answer. But we can answer. The President has said that all wages should be stabilized, that is, in his words: "You will have to forego higher wages for your particular job for the duration of the war."

Now that's wage freezing, no matter what you call it.

FDR's telegram to the shipyard workers—reported elsewhere in this issue—proves that.

And while the proposals to limit profits will have to be passed by the most reactionary Congress in 20 years, the proposal to freeze wages will take the form of a presidential "recommendation" to the War Labor Board.

WHAT A RAISE THAT WOULD BE!

FDR tried to varnish this proposal a little by speaking of "due consideration to inequalities and the elimination of substandards of living."

OK! Let's take him up on this one, union brothers!

Because, if that were done, then every wage increase demand of the CIO and AFL would be insufficient! If that were done, then almost every worker's wages would have to be substantially jumped. Because, according to the government's own figures, over 50 per cent of all industrial workers made less than \$30 a week in December, 1941; and that only 13 per cent made as much as the \$50 a week which, according to the government's own figures, is the minimum necessary wage for a decent standard of living. (And even that \$50 a week figure was calculated at a time when prices were about 20 per cent lower than today!)

But everyone knows that this is so much hogwash. The workers' wages will not be jumped. The shipyard workers have had the first taste of FDR's bitter "medicine." The auto and steel workers are next in line.

WHY FREEZE OUR WAGES?

Why should workers' wages be frozen? Especially at the rates of contracts signed when prices were 15 to 20 per cent lower than they are today?

That's a wage cut—whether you call it "stabilization of remuneration" or "freezing wages."

Small wonder that the pro-FDR leaders of the CIO were reported to have been "dismayed" at this proposal. How will they put this one across to their members? The auto workers have just sacrificed overtime for Saturday and Sunday. Thomas and Reuther had a tough enough time putting that fakery over. How will they jam this one through?

The patience of the workers is not endless.

We say: The workers deserve and need wage increases. Stick some pins up the nether parts of the union leaders. Fight for the CIO demand for a \$1.00 wage increase per day!

Enough of labor's surrenders. It's time for a labor offensive!

4. Stabilizing Farm Prices

This proposal, too, strikes a blow at the poor. This time at the poor farmers, who, you must remember, got next to nothing from the various government subsidies like the AAA, because those were grabbed up by the rich farmers.

It isn't the high price of farm products which the farmer gets that causes high consumer prices. It's the big milk corporations which get every thing.

Take the case of milk. In New York State the farmer gets between two and three cents per quart of milk. It's sold for anywhere from 13 to 17 cents per quart! The big profit goes to the monopolistic middlemen, to the milk companies, to the railroads!

Labor must support the demands of the farmers for decent prices. And the way to see to it that such a demand doesn't result in increasing prices for workers is by cutting down the tremendous take of the middlemen!

5. 'Billions for Bonds'

This point is nothing more than a disguised wage cut. Government officials have already hinted that if the workers don't take it voluntarily then a "compulsory savings" plan will be instituted.

But why should the workers, who have nothing, pay for the cost of the war? Why shouldn't the vast capital accumulation of the wealthy, the booty of the Merchants of Death, be taxed to pay for the war?

It's their war. Let them pay for it! Make the rich pay for the war! The poor are paying too much as is already.

6. Rationing of Scarce Commodities

We are in favor of rationing of scarce commodities—if they are really scarce, but not if they are lying around in the big companies' warehouses. But we demand real equality in rationing. What's the good of having the right to get a fair share of a scarce product if you haven't the money with which to buy it? And the way to insure that equality is to fight for wage increases with which to be able to equally participate in rationing.

Here again, we must warn: Beware of the Black Market!

Beware of this vicious institution that is spread like poison over England whereby the rich get whatever they want while the poor get nothing. And here again it is the vigilance of labor and the consumers that must wipe this plague out if and when it arises. Only if the local rationing boards are controlled by the trade unions and housewives groups can this be insured!

7. 'Discourage' Installment Buying

This is a vicious proposal aimed at the poor.

Does du Pont buy his furniture on the installment plan?

Does Jock Whitney buy his horses on the installment plan?

Does Nazi-Trader Teagle of Standard Oil buy his mansions, oil and gas on the installment plan?

Of course not. The rich can afford to pay cash. But the installment plan is a blow at the workers. How will the workers be able to buy furniture and similar things now?

We believe that we have shown that the basic character of FDR's plan strikes body blows at the economic rights of labor.

What will the labor leaders do now? Surrender and retreat once more? Suffer another humiliating defeat?

Or stand up and fight for a change?

The answer depends upon you, union brother. If you realize what a danger this plan is to you and your fellow workers, you must see to it that your union begins to act—now.

Fight in defense of labor's rights! No more "sacrifice" by labor! It's time for a labor offensive!

Labor Action Readers

Will be interested to know that the letter sent by Irving Howe, LABOR ACTION's managing editor, to the Christian Science Monitor, protesting an article which slandered LABOR ACTION and other radical papers, has been printed in the Monitor of April 24.

They might be interested as well in the fact that The Chronicle, Cincinnati AFL newspaper, reprinted two of our stories exposing the anti-labor press, and that Time & Space used some of our material on the Merchants of Death.

No Government Contract Without a Union Contract

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Conscript Brewster Plants Under Workers' Control!

The facts about the war profiteering of the Brewster Aeronautical Corp.—some of which appeared in previous issues of LABOR ACTION—have now become more known as a result of the government taking over the plants of this company.

The company fell into the hands of the Miranda brothers, as conniving a pair of financial shysters as has run across the American horizon in many a moon. They collected millions on government contracts for airplanes that were never produced. They collected 10 per cent on all contracts obtained by Brewster and an additional 5 per cent on all materials purchased by the corporation. They had 'em coming and going.

This was accomplished through a series of companies created by the Mirandas, who, from November, 1939, to June, 1941, skimmed more than \$5,400,000 from various deals with Brewster!

During the period the Mirandas were taking cream from the top of the bottle (some bottle!) they spent five months in a federal penitentiary and seven more months they were on parole.

They wrangled from the government a \$3,500,000 plant which they now hold on a \$1.00-a-year lease. They also obtained advance payments of nearly \$4,000,000 from various governmental agencies, although they did not deliver a plane.

These were the people, then, these worthy "captains of industry," who were running the Brewster company. Now the government has taken over the plant because, it claims, production has been held up to the point where not a plane was delivered during the past month.

Why did the government take this plant over? There are at least several possible reasons. Probably it is a combination of these reasons.

1) It is claimed that there are numerous Nazis among the firm's top officials. This is by no means impossible. The bosses of Brewster weren't interested in whether there were Nazis running the plant; they were interested in profits and nothing else but.

2) The inefficiency of the plant was even worse than the average run-of-the-mill plant—which is plenty inefficient. This cannot be attributed in any way to its workers, who, according to reliable reports, are now working at least 50 per cent harder than before Pearl Harbor. Here is one more proof of the fact that the rule of big business means inefficiency.

What the Brewster workers must be most concerned with from now on is, of course, what happens next.

First of all, they must be on guard to protect their union rights, to see to it that the bosses of Brewster or anyone else doesn't make this an occasion to chop away at union rights.

Secondly, there is the question of the continued operation of the plant. The present owners have been exposed as a gang of inefficient, profiteering scoundrels. Yet, although the management of the plant has been taken away from them, they continue to reap their usual profits.

In a way, they're on a sort of vacation. They make their profits—and they don't have to worry about production!

Why should they continue? The government has taken over the plant. OK. It should keep it.

But the bosses, the profiteers, shouldn't make a cent out of it. No profits for the Miranda shysters!

And in order to make this step worth while, we propose that the plant be run under the control of the workers in the plant themselves. Let the plant be run by the union and the shop stewards.

That will insure that there won't be any Nazis fooling around. The workers will clean that scum out.

That will insure that there won't be any profiteering. The workers will use that profiteering dough in order to get themselves some sorely-needed raises with which to meet the rising cost of living.

That's what we think ought to be done about Brewster: CONSCRIPT IT UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL!

Negro, White Workers Strike

(Continued from page 1)

ations long enough to make a speech.

He proclaimed that he was a director of the FBI and that if a stoppage took place, everybody would be locked up as saboteurs. He stated that Negroes were acting as Japanese agents and that he had already locked up some of them at the American Cartridge plant. All of these statements turned out to be false and back-fired against the chief. But Mr. Buck, the plant manager, still gave the workers no answer.

After 10 days, on March 13, there was a two-hour work stoppage on each shift; this went on all day Friday and Saturday. Management posted a notice in all nine departments that any worker stopping would be laid off one week without pay. Extra workers were brought in. Foremen approached every worker, getting a verbal pledge not to stop work, but the two-hour stoppages continued. The stoppage times were staggered to further confuse management. During this series of demonstrations most workers were courageous, a few were timid.

Saturday afternoon and Sunday the management began to lay workers off—which made the men more bitter and determined. Monday a spirited special meeting of the union voted unanimously to strike. The meeting adjourned in a body to the picket line to catch the night shift going on duty. Great was the tumult

on the picket line. Huge bonfires blocked the entry ways and the plant was shut down tight—something rare for Alton. Eighty-five per cent of the men were on the picket line.

Tuesday morning, every labor board in Washington was on the phone—advising the union to get in touch with Mr. Buck. That was exactly what the workers were trying to do! Now they had him imprisoned inside his plant.

At 4:00 p.m. Mr. Buck tried to drive out, but all gates were blocked. He protested that he was in a hurry, but the workers reminded him that

they had waited for him six or seven weeks, and they asked him to shut off his motor. They opened his car door and lectured him for three-quarters of an hour. The subject of their lecture was "Inequalities in Alton." They reminded him of his full stomach and finally let him go.

Only after this experience could even the NLR get in touch with Mr. Buck. He sat down with union representatives and made an agreement not to molest organizing and to take back all those who had been laid off. A picket meeting round the fire ratified this agreement and all went back to work next morning.

FDR—"Friend of Labor"

'Cocking His Cigarette Holder at a Breezy Angle'

WASHINGTON—AFL and CIO chiefs, sometimes called the President's "Labor Cabinet," tried to put the heat on him at the White House last week to stave off the ban on wage boosts. But they never had a chance.

The President pulled a charm filibuster on them—a favorite Roosevelt tactic when he wants to avoid talking about something.

Apparently the President figured the labor leaders would make a final attempt to block the pay freeze. So he launched his filibuster as soon as CIO President Philip Murray walked in, by previous arrangement, 10 minutes ahead of the joint committee. Whatever Murray intended to say, he never had the remotest chance.

The President immediately started talking about New York politics, and what he described as the colorful career of Lieut.-Gov. Charles Poletti.

This took up nine of the ten minutes allotted to Murray. Then, before he could break in, the President said, "Well, Phil, I guess it's time to call in the other boys. I know you don't want to keep them waiting."

That ended that. So Round I went to the President by a big margin.

ROUND TWO

Roosevelt took Round II by the same filibustering tactics and by the same wide margin.

Again, after the laborites had been seated and amenities had been exchanged, he launched immediately into a discussion of politics and politicians and kept this up in his most entertaining vein for most of the hour allotted to the conference.

Then he pointedly ended the meeting by remarking: "Well, boys, I guess it's time for lunch."

The disconcerted laborites had to take the hint. But as they rose to go Murray made one last attempt to raise the wage-freezing issue.

"Mr. President," he said, "are you going to issue an order to the War Labor Board not to grant any further wage increases?"

Cocking his cigarette holder at a breezy angle, the President answered with a broad grin: "Well, Phil, I haven't said that I will and I haven't said that I won't."

And that's all the laborites were able to get out of him.

From "Washington Merry-Go-Round," by Pearson and Allen in the New York Daily Mirror, April 30.

WORKERS PARTY PLATFORM

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

LABOR MUST DEFEND ITSELF!

- Hands off the right to strike! For the defense of civil rights and all workers' rights! Against any wartime dictatorship measures!
- Thirty hours a week; thirty dollars the minimum wage; time and a half for overtime! Rehire the jobless millions by a six-hour shift!
- Wage increases which meet rising costs! No sales tax on consumer goods; no taxes on wages! Freeze rents and food and clothing prices at the 1940 level to stop the rise in the cost of living!
- No government contract without a union contract! The closed shop in all war industries!
- Maintain and increase all government social services!

SOAK THE RICH—LET THEM PAY FOR THEIR WAR!

- A government levy on capital to cover the cost of the imperialist war. Confiscate all war profits!
- Conscript all war industries under workers' control!
- Expropriate the "Sixty Families"—the 3 per cent of the people who own 96 per cent of the national wealth!

DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS TO THE DRAFTEES!

- The right of free speech, free press and free assembly for the men in the armed forces!
- Sixty dollars a month minimum for draftees!

SMASH JIM CROW!

- Down with Jim Crow and anti-Semitism! All discrimination against Negroes in the Army and Navy, or by employers in industry, must be made a criminal offense!
- For full political, social and economic equality for Negroes.

BE PREPARED!

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

Roosevelt's 7-Point Freeze

WHAT WILL IT DO TO OUR Standard of Living? FREEZING—FIXING—RATIONING... Who Will Be Hit, the People or the Profiteers?

A LECTURE BY

MAX SHACHTMAN

National Secretary, Workers Party

MAY 17, Sunday at 8 p.m.

Auspices: Labor Action Institute

IRVING PLAZA
East 15th Street and Irving Place
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